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"YOUR HERITAGE WILL STILL REMAIN": SOUTHERN IDENTITY FORMATION

IN MISSISSIPPI FROM THE SECTIONAL CONFLICT THROUGH THE LOST

CAUSE

By

Michael Jory Goleman

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The following study traces the transformation of an American identity from the sectional conflict through the end of the nineteenth century in an effort to understand how that identity eventually changed into something regarded and defined as distinctly southern. Mississippi offers fertile ground for such a study since the state so closely mirrored the American experience prior to the Civil War with episodes such as Indian removal, frontier living, the incorporation of racial slavery, and the creation of a social order based on independent landownership. Mississippi also aptly represented the traditional southern experience beginning with the Civil War due to the state's participation in the formation of the Confederacy, staunch opposition to Reconstruction, the overthrow of Republican rule within the state in 1875, the codification of segregation and a white-supremacist social order, and the social, political, and economic oppression of the state's African American population. Understanding the nuances of social identity formation requires a ground-level analysis to uncover how individuals created and

reshaped their social identity in the wake of significant challenges to the established social structure. Diaries, personal correspondences, newspaper editorials, and reminiscences provide a wealth of information in revealing how Mississippians thought of themselves and others, how various groups (Unionists, Confederates, conservatives, and African Americans) fashioned competing social identities, and how those groups vied for legitimacy and control of the state through their interaction with one another. The transformation of a group or collective identity during a series of crises from the sectional conflict through the end of the nineteenth century not only reveals how Mississippians made sense of their surroundings and place within it but informed the parameters and outcomes by which the contest for social control of the state would be fought and won. The struggle for social control culminated in the establishment of a strict, white-supremacist social order which lauded the exploits of the white inhabitants, vilified the actions of blacks, and ultimately defined the basic tenets of a southern identity for the next one hundred years.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

We shall overcome,
We shall overcome,
We shall overcome some day.
Oh, deep in my heart, I do believe
We shall overcome some day.[1]

Born in South Carolina in 1831 and relocating to Mississippi shortly afterwards, Thaddeus McRae's family sent him to school in Hanover, Indiana when he reached young adulthood. McRae marveled at the new sights and customs he found when he first arrived in Hanover sometime after 1850 and noted two peculiarities "distinguishing the people of the 'free states.'" "They made change to the cent," McRae observed with naive incredulity, "For the first time in my life, I saw Copper-cents." In the South, McRae explained, a picayune, or five-cent piece, was the lowest form of currency, but the copper cent allowed northerners to ask for payment for performing menial tasks. "I thus got the idea of stinginess," McRae remarked, "as characteristic of the North which idea was intensified by the evident lack of that open hospitality to which I had always been accustomed in the South." In addition to the circulation of copper cents the other peculiarity that McRae noticed among northerners was "the honor with which they regarded domestic labor." "In the South work in the kitchen was regarded as servile," commented McRae, "and young ladies of 'Quality' felt disgraced if compelled to engage in it." Yet in the North the "young ladies of the best families [...] appeared to boast" of

their familiarity with the kitchen and ability to prepare and serve meals to family and guests. For a young southerner the North seemed an exotic place full of new customs and a seemingly different culture and social structure. Not surprisingly, McRae immediately detected features of the North that diverged from his southern homeland, and while somewhat superficial, his observations hold deeper meaning than just the flow of currency and labor division in northern homes. While not explicitly stated, McRae implies that northerners had an obsession with money as evidenced by the fact that they would take the time to make change and charge for "little personal favors, for which the bare thought of a charge would have been insulting to a Southerner." As for the high regard for domestic labor in the North, McRae suggests that supposed high-classed northern men impose servility and dishonor on their women by allowing them to perform the same tasks planters and men of similar social standing in the South relegated to slaves. Even though based on "two peculiarities," McRae perceived a chasmal divide that separated northerners and southerners.[2]

The following study traces the transformation of an American identity from the sectional conflict through the end of the nineteenth century in an effort to understand how that identity eventually changed into something regarded and defined as distinctly southern. Mississippi offers fertile ground for such a study since the state so closely mirrored the American experience prior to the Civil War with episodes such as Indian removal, frontier living, the incorporation of racial slavery, and the creation of a social order based on independent landownership. Mississippi also aptly represented the traditional southern experience beginning with the Civil War due to the state's

participation in the formation of the Confederacy, staunch opposition to Reconstruction, the overthrow of Republican rule within the state in 1875, the codification of segregation and a white-supremacist social order, and the social, political, and economic oppression of the state's African American population. Understanding the nuances of social identity formation requires a ground-level analysis to discover how individuals created and reshaped their social identity in the wake of significant challenges to the established social structure. Diaries, personal correspondences, newspaper editorials, and reminiscences provide a wealth of information in revealing how Mississippians thought of themselves and others, how various groups (Unionists, Confederates, conservatives, and African Americans) fashioned competing social identities, and how those groups vied for legitimacy and control of the state through their interaction with one another. The transformation of a group or collective identity during a series of crises from the sectional conflict through the end of the nineteenth century not only reveals how Mississippians made sense of their surroundings and place within it but informed the parameters and outcomes by which the contest for social control of the state would be fought and won. The struggle for social control culminated in the establishment of a strict, white-supremacist social order which lauded the exploits of the white inhabitants, vilified the actions of blacks, and ultimately defined the basic tenets of a southern identity for the next hundred years.

Historians have also noticed peculiarities between the northern and southern states that has fueled historiographical debates concerning why the American South is so distinct from the rest of the nation. From W. J. Cash's *The Mind of the South* to C. Vann

Woodward's collection of essays in *The Burden of Southern History*, many scholars have devoted their efforts to recognizing some of the characteristics found in the South and among southerners and, more importantly, why and how those distinctions emerged. Answering these questions has produced and informed a large body of literature that span the spectrum of themes, methodologies, and historical understanding. Several historians have followed the lead of Ulrich Phillips who began his book *Life and Labor in the Old South* by briefly expounding on the influence the environment has had in shaping southern labor and society. The southern climate and environment significantly contributed to the implementation of indentured servitude and slavery, what crops they grew, the way southerners built their homes, and the customs which they embraced. Other scholars have emphasized how the creation and institutionalization of racial slavery helped define the social structure in the South as a means of determining and limiting who could own land and ascend the social ladder. Slavery assisted in fashioning other relationships including those between planters and other members of their family, whites and blacks, and even played an important part in shaping gender roles. Slavery also informed and reinforced a strict code of honor (different from that found in the North) that affected the way in which southerners interacted with one another. Southern whites acted under the strict roles prescribed by their conceptualization of honor which designated the appropriate ways in which planters should behave in the presence of their slaves, yeomen, and poor whites, or ways in which poor whites should interact with slaves, yeomen, and planters, etc.[3]

While these works have provided valuable insight into ascertaining specific characteristics of southern society and culture, the experience of Thaddeus McRae demonstrates the weight and relevance of how southerners identified themselves and others in revealing the underpinnings behind southern distinctiveness. Southerners (correctly or not) perceived a difference between themselves and northerners, and, in the process of forming that perception, they created a distinct social identity that did more than categorize traits inherent within their society and culture but determined the roles of individuals within the social construct. The process of forming a southern identity began during the sectional conflict and extended into the late nineteenth century, becoming a mainstay throughout most of the twentieth century until ruptured by the Civil Rights Movement. The process of forming a peculiar social identity culminated out of a series of crises that rocked the South, namely the sectional conflict, secession, Civil War, and Reconstruction, in which southerners had to make sense of their ever-changing environment and their place within it. Ultimately solidified in Lost Cause writings, southerners (more specifically, white southerners) reinforced their social identity as southerners in an effort to preserve their "heritage" and "traditions" which has lasted to varying degrees into the twenty-first century. Understanding the process of identity formation requires elucidation on how scholars have used and defined identity as well as the ways in which identity formation can act as a historical force.

Scholars have grappled with the meaning of identity ever since Erik Erikson popularized the term during the middle of the twentieth century. Erikson, who famously coined the phrase identity crisis, argued that identity "connotes both a persistent

sameness within oneself (selfsameness) and a persistent sharing of some kind of essential character with others." Erikson's use of the word encapsulated both an internal sense of self as well as an external distribution of that self (or carefully chosen portions of it) to others. In Erikson's interpretation, identity is largely permanent, fixed within the individual and unfolding throughout one's life. By contrast, sociologists took the term and contended that identity was primarily external, created and molded by society through social constructs and interaction. As social scientists vied for the legitimacy of their usage of identity, the word became in vogue, appearing in various forms of popular culture, which had the effect of making the term nearly meaningless and even influencing how social scientists and historians used the word in their academic works. Soon identity came to simply describe characteristics of societies, cultures, and individuals, rather than as a process of either self evidence or social creation. Historians began employing identity in national character studies to elucidate self understanding of Americans and migrants. Over time, however, identity became just a buzzword, something that was often thrown into a historical study without any thought given to its definition or use as an analytical tool.[4]

Southern historians have not been shy in using identity and some works aimed at understanding southern distinctiveness have taken the term seriously and employed it very deliberately. Although he failed to provide an explicit definition of identity, C. Vann Woodward's essays "The Search for Southern Identity" and "The Irony of Southern History" sparked debate among scholars regarding the distinctiveness of the South and the inherent factors in creating those peculiarities. Woodward explained that the South's

history differed from that of the rest of the nation, producing a sharp contrast between the military defeat, poverty, and social collapse experienced by the South in the wake of the Civil War to the more exceptional history of progress, victory, and modernization of the rest of the nation (especially the North). While the collective experiences of the North and the South varied, other historians have pointed to different causative factors that resulted in a unique southern identity, culture, and society. In a process dubbed as "internal orientalism" by scholar David Jannson, historians have described how northerners (at various points throughout history) have assigned unflattering characteristics to describe and define the South in an effort to create a positive American identity. Within the process northerners cast southerners and southern society as backward, stagnant, uneducated, and disconnected from the progressive American historical narrative. While these works amply explain how the rest of America came to view the South, they tend to ignore a larger process of identity formation, one in which the South participated in and actively sought to define themselves as distinct from the rest of the nation.   The process of identity formation did not just lead to the creation of perceived differences but also to the establishment of a distinct culture and specifically defined social roles in the South. Southerners actively (at times very deliberately and consciously) engaged in the creation of a social identity that was relatively all-encompassing and helped form the dominant group construct within their society. Identity is more than just the denouement of a series of events but a factor in the driving force behind the development of events.[5]

Traditionally identity refers to how individuals and societies understand and perceive of themselves and others, and identity formation refers to obtaining a sense of identity, yet the actual process of identity formation requires a bit more elaboration. According to social identity theory, conceived of by Henri Tajfel and John Turner, identity formation is an active force, conscious to a point that it often drives actions. Tajfel and Turner proposed three theoretical principles on which social identity theory is based: first, "individuals strive to achieve or to maintain positive social identity"; second, "positive social identity is based to a large extent on favorable comparisons that can be made between the in-group and some relevant out-groups: the in-group must be perceived as positively differentiated or distinct from the relevant out-groups"; and lastly, "when social identity is unsatisfactory, individuals will strive either to leave their existing group and join some more positively distinct group and/or to make their existing group more positively distinct." Historians, then, can use identity as an additional analytical tool to explicate historical causation that is responsible for social and cultural change. In many instances, identity formation guides action as individuals act and interact in social situations based on prescribed social symbols and what meanings society has ascribed to those symbols. Social identities change over time as people interact, resulting in alterations to the social and cultural structure of society; however, social crises typically accelerate these changes in identity when there is a complete, near complete or perceived collapse of the social, economic, political, and cultural institutions within a given society causing an identity crisis. During these crises individuals are usually at odds trying to determine the appropriate identity to assume resulting in the formation of competing

identities until one comes to dominate the other creating a new social order which is either modified or completely altered from the original structure prior to the crises.[6]

A series of crises from 1850 through 1877 produced ripe conditions for identity formation to transform southern society and culture. In his work on Europe's Thirty Years War, J. V. Polisensky described a crisis as "the culmination of ever-deepening internal conflicts within the infrastructure of a given society, which leads to a sudden collapse of existing economic, social, cultural and political relationships, and whose consequence will be either regression—regional or general—or on the other hand a powerful step forward in the development of that society." As southerners faced the sectional conflict, Civil War and Reconstruction they had to fashion new identities as Americans, Confederates, and southerners. The series of crises southerners underwent resulted in regression rather than the development of southern society; as white southerners tried to maintain a positive identity they resorted to clinging to several old notions of identity that continued to brand blacks as physiologically inferior, whites as paternalistic caretakers of the labor force, and the southern way of life as agriculturally based with cotton as the crop of choice. Such decisions (compounded by the utter destruction of southern fields during the Civil War) resulted in economic collapse for the South and a labor system that whites maintained as a means of racial control rather than for its efficacy.[7]

The process of identity formation does more, though, than just explain the complete social collapse of the South after Reconstruction, it provides historians with an understanding of why a dominant white social identity emerged and how white

southerners built and rebuilt their society and culture in an effort to maintain a positive identity in the eyes of the North, abolitionists, carpetbaggers, scalawags, Republicans, African Americans, themselves, and posterity. As David Goldfield argued, a distinctive regional identity of the South really emerged from the ashes of the Civil War and Reconstruction. A particular brand of southern identity that still has a lasting impact on southern culture comes from the Lost Cause; a series of legends employed by white southerners to cope with the stinging defeat of the Confederacy, justify their actions at the time of secession, defend their social institutions (particularly slavery), and reconcile their place within the American nation. Historians have written volumes on the Lost Cause and what it is, but have varied on why it occurred. Several works have focused on memory and how southerners remembered the antebellum South, Civil War, and Reconstruction. In more recent works, historians have demonstrated that the Lost Cause was more than just a memory of the past, but grounded in southern culture, whether through the creation of Confederate nationalism or a sense of invincibility on the battlefield.[8]

Looking at the Lost Cause as part of a larger process of identity formation reveals that the Lost Cause was the final culmination of years of identity creation that began in the 1850s and continued through the end of Reconstruction. In an effort to create a positive identity during the series of crises that shook the South during the middle of the nineteenth century, white southerners produced the Lost Cause, which contained accounts of a culture and society that was largely imaginary but real to them, not just a lie or a memory or a means of reconciling the past, but something more substantive—it became

them and was them. It was not only a way to fashion a positive identity for the present, but also for the future. Although often backward-looking, the Lost Cause allowed white southerners a means to reassure future generations that they were not the out-group, that they had acted rationally, and that the Civil War was not their fault. The Lost Cause leaves out black southerners and usually consigns them to the antebellum period as docile servants, Mammys, and Uncle Remuses. Black southerners, though, went through a process of identity formation during the Civil War and Reconstruction since they had to make the transition from slave to freedman, from chattel to citizen of the United States. Their process of identity formation was often at odds with that of most white southerners leading to fears among many whites that the identity blacks had constructed would eventually become the dominant identity. This collision of competing identities accelerated the process of identity formation, contributing to and eventually ending with the white-constructed identity dwarfing and dominating all others.

Scrutinizing the process of identity formation requires narrowing the scope of the study to allow for analyzing the nuances of social interaction as well as addressing a major problem in the historiographical literature. Much of the scholarship on southern history has focused on the South Atlantic states, especially Virginia and the Carolinas. This sizeable body of literature has increased historical understanding of major issues such as the development of racial slavery, the politics of secession, major military campaigns during the Civil War (such as Gettysburg and Sherman's march to the sea), post-war worship of military heroes such as Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson, the formation of Lost Cause organizations such as the United Daughters of the Confederacy,

and the construction of post-war monuments to preserve Confederate memory, among others. However, the southeastern-centric focus has left a sizeable gap in the broader scope of southern history by leaving out important components of the larger narrative that historians have repeatedly recognized as quintessentially southern.[9]

The history of Mississippi provides the missing pieces in providing a fuller view of southern history since the state's history very closely mirrors the standard narrative of southern history from the nineteenth century onward. Mississippi defined the Cotton Kingdom of the Old South as a major cotton-producing state as well as a state that incorporated a plantation-based economic system that relied heavily on slave labor. Mississippi stood at the fore during the secession movement, the establishment of the Confederate government (with Jefferson Davis as the only president of the Confederacy), hosted the site for what many historians consider one of the most critical battles during the Civil War at Vicksburg, developed the sharecropping system which spread to the rest of the southern states, and provided the pattern for other states to follow in overthrowing state Republican leaders through the implementation of the Mississippi Plan. Not only that, but after redemption Mississippi led the nation in the number of black lynching deaths, held stubbornly to the sharecropping system until well into the twentieth century, resisted integration and the Civil Rights Movement with such vehemence that the state became a lightning rod for criticism during the 1960s as well as a leader and exemplar in white resistance, and still remains a largely rural, poverty-stricken state; all dubious honors, but ones that historians have recognized as belonging to the standard southern narrative. It is curious, then, why scholars have paid so little attention to Mississippi.

Despite a large body of work on the Battle of Vicksburg and its importance in helping to secure a Union victory, Mississippi historiography has large gaps that desperately need attention. For instance, scholars interested in slavery in Mississippi would still have to consult Charles Sydnor's *Slavery in Mississippi* (1933) as the defining book on the subject. Those interested in Reconstruction in Mississippi have a body of work a little closer to the present-day in William C. Harris's *The Day of the Carpetbagger* (1979). One of the few books that details Mississippi's Civil War experience in totality arrived in recent years with Ben Wynne's *Mississippi's Civil War* (2006), while a single work dedicated to Mississippi's Lost Cause has yet to surface.

Mississippi offers fertile ground for studying identity formation not just because of the deficiencies in the historiography but because of its ability to represent the South as a whole and explain how a dominant white southern identity emerged and dominated throughout most of the twentieth century. In many instances Mississippians blazed the trail for the rest of the South, not just in secession, the formation of the Confederacy, or the implementation of the Mississippi Plan, but in what it meant to be a southerner (especially a white southerner). White Mississippians worked feverishly to maintain a positive identity, not just for their benefit, but for posterity. The formation of this identity relied primarily on the interaction with a southern-perceived North, northerners, blacks, and those who ventured to challenge the status quo. Black Mississippians also worked to sustain a positive social identity, especially in the post-bellum years, and threatened the stability of the state's dominant white identity. The struggle between competing identities contributed to secession, the formation of the Confederacy, the drive to

continue fighting the war, and the eventual redemption of the state from Republican rule which reasserted and guaranteed a white supremacist social order for nearly one hundred years.

Understanding the formation of a southern identity requires a mixture of intellectual, cultural, and social history. What Mississippians thought about themselves and others provides key clues as to how they viewed their surroundings and their place within it. Several Mississippians wrote journals, diaries, and letters in which they comment on how they thought of themselves as well as other social groupings. Speeches, pamphlets, and sermons also provide a wealth of information. These sources offer excellent examples as to how Mississippians perceived of themselves as well as those with whom they interacted. Often times they mention their thoughts and feelings about northerners, occupying Union forces, laborers, carpetbaggers, scalawags, etc., and the language they chose to employ reveals how they projected either a positive or negative identity on those they talk about. Many of the above mentioned sources (including newspaper accounts, reminiscences, and official testimony) also include anecdotes of social interaction with persons of opposing groups. Social interaction is a necessary component in the process of identity formation because individuals act towards one another based on socially constructed symbols projected on an object (including people). For instance, a person would act differently towards a Union officer than a Confederate officer, or a person might act differently in the presence of a Union flag rather than the Bonnie Blue. How individuals interact with persons or even objects provides clues as to how they projected their socially-constructed ideas and roles onto those objects. Social

interaction also illuminates how individuals perceived and understood the social structure and roles of individuals and groups within their society. A white, wealthy male would act differently relating with a poor white, a slave or sharecropper, a woman, or another wealthy male. They would also expect those individuals to act a certain way in their presence. As crisis after crisis deteriorated the status quo in the South, new forms of interaction took place. For example, whites tried to maintain a strict racial hierarchy during Reconstruction but also had to contend with the fact that Congress (and even state legislatures) had granted social and political freedom to blacks. This did not mean, though, that whites just accepted the change—they still desired to maintain some type of hierarchy but at the same time had to recognize (if even a token recognition) that African Americans were no longer chattel and had a right to vote. This changed the way whites interacted with blacks.[10]

The following study, then, traces the evolution of a dominant social group identity (or a southern identity) that began with the sectional conflict and ended with Lost Cause historical writing and why a dominant white group identity eventually succeeded. The process of forming a southern identity in Mississippi owed its existence to the collision of competing identities, usually between whites and blacks. White Mississippians would eventually triumph in the creation of a dominant, white southern identity by projecting negative characteristics onto the black community and defining the social identities of those who lived in the state. The opening chapter surveys the identity white and black Mississippians had embraced over the course of the nineteenth century and then explores the first major crisis to white Mississippians' collective identity in the form of the

Compromise of 1850 and the issue of slave expansion into the acquired Mexican cession. While quick to criticize the proposals of northern politicians and abolitionists to prevent slavery's expansion westward, Mississippians chose to reinforce outwardly a group identity as primarily that of an American. Examining the Union Meetings that took place across the state reveals that most Mississippians had no intention of separating themselves from the United States and embraced an American identity as a means of political convenience. Yet, as described in chapter two, Mississippians felt disconnected from their outwardly American identity during the 1860 political season when the Democratic Party split over the issue of slavery and northerners elected a "Black Republican" candidate to the presidency. Declaring a desire to preserve American republicanism and constitutionality, Mississippians decided to secede from the corrupt northern states who had polluted the image and principles upon which their forefathers had built the nation. At the same time the slaves in the state had crafted an identity based on their thoughts and feelings about their enslavement and anticipated emancipation. Chapter three analyzes the creation of a Confederate identity built upon the core American principles Mississippians had hoped to preserve and the complications that arose due to resistance from other groups in the state who opposed the Confederacy. A significant portion of the state retained Unionist sympathies while many others grew war-weary as famine, destruction, and death consumed Mississippi over the course of the war. In addition, slaves recognized that a Union victory would secure their freedom which in turn would provide an entrance into and new opportunities within southern society.

Confederate Mississippians battled to control the opposing social groups who vied for legitimacy and temporarily lost the struggle at the conclusion of the war.

Chapters four and five detail the effort to retain and maintain a dominant group identity among freedmen, radicals (carpetbaggers and scalawags), and conservative Mississippians. After the war former Confederates had to deal with defeat and the changes to the social structure of the state. No longer able to embrace their Confederate identity (to do so openly would appear treasonous, especially during Republican rule), conservative Mississippians began to pine for the days of the Old South and longed for the social order they enjoyed years earlier. In the meantime the freedmen and radicals began to change the social identity of the state by assuming political control. Freedmen tested their new liberties and began to fashion an identity of their own that in some instances mirrored what they had observed among their former masters. One of the more important components of freedmen's new identity was their ability to participate in politics. Forming clubs and organizations devoted to the Republican Party, freedmen actively exercised their right to vote, campaign, assemble unimpeded, and created an alternate group identity that directly opposed the former southern and Confederate identity espoused by most whites. No longer willing to just ruminate on the halcyon days long removed, conservative Mississippians set about to impose a social identity upon the freedmen that would subjugate them economically, socially, and politically. Conservative Mississippians created the sharecropping labor system as a way to control labor and replace slavery. Clandestine organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan sprang up across the state and terrorized freedmen in an effort to define the social identity of blacks

as inferior. Any blacks who behaved like whites (wore costly clothing, attended school, stayed on the sidewalk when approached by whites) often received a visit from hooded men who threatened or carried out brutal acts of violence and intimidation. By 1875, conservative Mississippians had also found a way to devastate black political participation through the Mississippi Plan which involved a campaign based on white-line voting, intimidation at the polls, and violence. Successfully retaking the state from Republicans, conservative Mississippians would eventually codify a black social identity of inferiority in the 1890 state constitution.

The final chapter probes the Lost Cause writings of Mississippians from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It specifically examines how Mississippians wrote of their past and the actions they took during the tumultuous years of the sectional conflict, Civil War and Reconstruction. More than just apologias for secession and romanticizing of the Civil War these writings provided conservative Mississippians with a way to solidify and preserve the social structure and identity they had created and warn future generations of the disastrous consequences a return to racial equity would bring to the state. In addition to appealing to posterity to uphold Old South traditions and memory, conservative Mississippians portrayed Reconstruction as a time of corruption brought about by black suffrage and equality and cautioned against allowing anyone from fomenting a return to the "darkest days" in the history of the state. These sentiments resulted in the enforcement of Jim Crow laws and brutal lynchings throughout the state in an effort to maintain a strict racial hierarchy and a white supremacist social order. Blacks had little means to escape the crushing conditions brought about by the white-imposed

social identity created and thrust upon them. Successful in their attempts, conservative Mississippians passed their constructed southern identity on to succeeding generations which lasted well into the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

CHAPTER II

"THE SOUTHERN PHALANX"

Then, brothers, to the rescue!
Redeem your country's wrongs.
She has fallen on evil day, indeed—
'On evil days and tongues,'
Let every heart be a holy fane,
Ten thousand stand as one;
And your heritage will still remain,
And a shout go up from every plain:
'The Union—it is won!'[11]

Greene Callier Chandler, born in Washington County, Alabama, became a lawyer

after completing his formal education and moved to Marion, Mississippi where he began

writing his memoirs in 1855 at the age of twenty-six. Although a lawyer by profession,

Chandler edited the *Lauderdale Republican* for fourteen months, served in the state

legislature as a Democrat in 1854, and eventually ended up in Clark County just before

the commencement of the Civil War. Born into a Whig household, Chandler upheld

Whig principles until the party collapsed, after which he adhered to the Democratic

platform. In trying to explain the heated passions caused by the sectional conflict

Chandler felt impressed to detail the settlement and formation of Mississippi and

provided a synoptic characterization of the people of the state. "The history of

Mississippi from its formation as a State to the beginning of the Civil War was one of

progressive development and romance," Chandler wrote, "influenced largely by the

people who flocked here from the northeastern and southeastern States, but principally

from Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, and Kentucky." According to Chandler, those who settled on the Mississippi frontier carried with them a "pioneer spirit," and in addition to "those sturdy men and brave women came many educated people with cultural backgrounds, and with the germ of feudalism still lurking in their veins." These men and women had simple desires in which "they wanted the opportunity to build landed estates, and be independent of government or outside influence." The introduction of the Wilmot Proviso and the conclusion of the Mexican-American War resulted in government interference causing Mississippians (already "jealous of their rights" and "contemptuous of those who disagree with them") to take principled-stands for their constitutional liberties. The debates over the extension of slavery into the territories of the Mexican cession caused bitter sectional rifts to emerge and widen as the decade progressed. Chandler, along with his compatriots, "voted against all of the resolutions seeking to approve the compromise of 1850, and voted against denial of slavery to Nebraska," and actively sought to uphold the states' rights doctrine that guaranteed and protected slavery and placed governmental power in the hands of the state. During the 1850s, Chandler, like several other white Mississippians, began a process of forming a strong regional identity that would eventually pave the way for the formation of a Confederate identity during the Civil War.[12]

Alone, the sectional conflict did not produce enough support to sustain an expansive southern nationalist movement. While adherents to southern nationalism increased over the decade, a majority of southerners still outwardly maintained and declared their primary allegiance was to the United States of America. Understanding

why white Mississippians championed the banner of constitutionalism rather than fully adopt the doctrine of secession or some form of southern nationalism requires exploring how white Mississippians viewed themselves prior to the crises. They had developed particular notions and perceptions of their station regionally and nationally and had specific ideas related to the characteristics of their unique, burgeoning, agriculturally-based society and culture. The political wrangling and debates over slavery and its expansion westward, however, did lead many in the state to reevaluate their place within the nation, its history and future. As political leaders hashed out the details of compromises and concessions over the territories, southerners began the process of solidifying their regional identity, one that designated them alone as inheritors of the Founding Fathers' legacy, one that viewed a perceived North as a separate entity full of rabid abolitionists and radicals, and one that favored southerners as God's chosen people and the inheritors of Providence. Although radicals and fire-eaters existed in the South, including Mississippi, their doctrines did not penetrate and gain substantial converts among the masses during the 1850s. Throughout the South many called for sectional unity on issues that involved the expansion and maintenance of slavery but not necessarily for the separation of the region from the rest of the country. Demonstrated in the poem "The Southern Phalanx," the author pleads with southerners to stand "hand to hand, and heart to heart […] until the storm is quelled," and concludes that if united the South could save the Union. The sectional conflict produced the idea among southerners that they were the true defenders of the Constitution and the Founding Fathers' legacy.[13]

In Mississippi 1850 marked a critical juncture in the development of a regional group identity among the white inhabitants. The debates over the compromise bills produced such a fervor throughout the state that Mississippians assembled and attended what they termed "Union Meetings" in order to discuss the issues, devise a plan of action, and gather together on a united front. Although quite political in nature, organizers called the meetings in order to bring Mississippians together despite party affiliation to discuss issues that affected the state as a whole. Planned and organized along party lines, the Union Meetings largely represented the two main ideological strands proposed to remedy the conflict: one of states' rights and the other of unionism. States' rights proponents did not necessarily call for separation from the United States but sponsored quick, decisive, and bold measures in countering the abolitionist and unconstitutional threats pronounced by northern politicians while unionists believed in continued compromise that would appease both sections of the nation. While other events over the course of the decade fanned the flames of sectional animosity, the crisis of 1850 was the primary event during the political conflict that rallied white Mississippians together to confront a common enemy. As the decade progressed the events of Bleeding Kansas and John Brown's raid only ratified what white Mississippians suspected in 1850—the North desired to subject the South or separate her from the rest of the nation.

At the same time it is also important to understand group identity formation among the slaves in Mississippi and what they believed their role entailed in their own community, as slaves, and as southerners. The transformation of slave identity over the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries reveals that slaves amalgamated to

European/American customs and culture with the expectations that one day they might have the ability to gain their freedom and also to enter into white society. Just as white southerners had the North to juxtapose their group identity against, slaves created their identity through observing their masters and the interplay between the social classes of the state. While the sectional conflict did not pit master against slave in a contest for social dominance and legitimacy, the frequent wrath of their owners aimed directly at northerners (who southerners often referred to as abolitionists) enlivened debate within the slave quarters of the possibilities of freedom and liberty and would later inform how they developed their social identity once freedom came.

Writing forty years after the close of the Civil War, Washington Clayton explained to his readers that "the South was settled by the chevaliers of England and their descendants, a proud and loyal people." While an example of Lost Cause historical writing, the claim that southerners had descended from aristocratic English Cavaliers persisted in the early nineteenth century around the time of the nullification controversy. The Constitutional Convention in 1787 had revealed a startling regional divide in the fledgling republic as the issue of slavery stirred passions along sectional lines. While somewhat of a stumbling block in the composition and passage of the Constitution, those northerners who predicted slavery's natural demise could not have foreseen the explosive influence the invention of the cotton gin would have on the nation's socio-economic fabric. As southern planters cleared fields to grow cotton, northeastern factory production in cloth manufacturing exploded. Content to ship their cotton northward or to England, southerners preferred planting to manufacturing since they had a ready supply

of slaves to draw upon as well as productive soil. Not only that, but southerners had endeared themselves to an agriculturally-based lifestyle that prominent men such as Thomas Jefferson had advocated. Southern planters believed that their economic system represented progress as they commercialized their agricultural production, retained a steady labor force, and tamed the environment around them. As the nation began to diverge along two separate socio-economic ideologies (one based on agricultural production and slave labor and the other on manufacturing, modernization and free labor), northerners and southerners began a process of explaining why the divide occurred. Southerners viewed and labeled the North as a homogenous whole and as something antithetical to that which was southern. A pseudo-ethnic explanation proved effective that designated the Puritan Roundheads (opponents of the king during the English Civil War) as the founders of the North, who by nature were industrious and hardworking, and the Cavaliers (aristocrats and loyalists) as the settlers of the South who preferred a slow-paced, highly-cultured lifestyle. While some early Virginians did have Cavalier blood, most southerners could not trace their origins to English nobility (quite the opposite), yet the idea that southerners were natural aristocrats became an important fixture of their identity and how they viewed themselves in comparison with what they perceived as the North.[14]

White Mississippians also derived much of their identity through their interaction with slaves. Concepts of honor, patriarchy, and paternalism rested largely on how masters maintained their plantations and cared for their dependents. The demonstrative ability to manage a large estate, serve as the patriarch and father-figure, and act according

to a strict code of honor determined the planter's place and acceptance within affluent society. For the yeomanry and nonslaveholders, the creation of racial slavery and the supposed fluidity of social and economic mobility kept the majority of whites under the impression that they could one day ascend the ladder and enter into genteel society. While the yeomanry did not maintain large plantations, they could function under the similar social and gender roles as the planter class through their interaction with their dependents, whether slave or family. Nonslaveholders reinforced their superior social status over the slaves by participating in slave patrols, a nightly rendezvous between neighbors who scoured the countryside in search for runaway or wandering slaves. Slavery functioned as more than just an economic labor system, it became entwined in the construction of southern society and white identity.[15]

Slaves first arrived in Mississippi sometime in the early eighteenth century when the French settled near Natchez and brought their slaves with them. As the region changed hands over the course of the century, British settlers retained permanent residency in Natchez just as the War for Independence commenced. By 1795, the Spanish had given up claims to the area which attracted settlers from the eastern southern states who had desires to secure their own land and invest in the cotton boom. Mississippi formally entered the United States in 1817 and attracted more settlers in the 1830s when several treaties opened the northern portions of the state by removing the native Choctaw and Chickasaw Indians. The influx of white settlers increased the demand for slaves: between 1830 and 1840 the slave population increased by nearly 200 percent, with the white population increasing by 150 percent. By 1850 the slave

population hovered at just over 300,000, comprising 51 percent of the state's population. The concentration of slaves followed the path of the Mississippi River, with several of the counties along the river's banks boasting slave populations at over sixty-five percent. The slave population diminished in the state's interior with a very low concentration in the central and southeastern regions where the soil and environmental conditions made cotton planting less profitable.[16]

Like their masters, slaves underwent significant changes during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in their conceptualization of themselves and social structure within their communities. Arriving to the New World from divergent West African cultural groupings, African slaves (those who crossed the Middle Passage) maintained their ethnic identities while adapting to their new surroundings and status as chattel. Some areas allowed for slaves to maintain their ethnic identities over a prolonged period of time, however, as the Atlantic slave trade closed in the United States at the beginning of the nineteenth century slave communities began to cultivate a more stratified social construct that delineated social standing rather than ethnicity as the primary component of group identity. Leaving behind ethnicity as their defining social feature, slaves created their own social structures within their communities that they mimicked from their observations of their masters. Rosa Starke, a South Carolina slave, best described the social construct of plantation slave communities. "Dere was just two classes of de white folks, buckra slave owners and poor white folks dat didn't own no slaves," Starke explained, "[but] dere was more classes 'mongst de slaves." "De fust class was de house servants [...] de butler, de maids, de nurses, chambermaids, and de cooks," Starke

commented, followed by "de carriage drivers and de gardeners" with the "wheelwright, wagoners, blacksmiths and slave foremen" coming in next. Starke placed the "common field niggers" on the lowest rung of the slave social order and noted that sometimes a male house slave might occasionally mate with a field hand but that "you never see a house gal lower herself by marryin' and matin' wid a common field-hand nigger." Although slave plantations operated differently between South Carolina and Mississippi, evidence suggests that a rough social order described by Starke existed among most plantation slave communities and that slaves understood the white social order.[17]

As concepts of class permeated slave communities, slaves often emulated what they witnessed in their masters as a way to communicate their own social standing to their peers. Through their material culture, slaves expressed and signified their place within their community's social stratum. Although masters usually provided drab clothing for their chattel, slaves altered their articles and placed a great amount of emphasis in the way they looked, especially on occasions that allowed them to flaunt their dress such as Sundays or holidays. Clothing oftentimes became a form of currency in slave communities and many clamored to obtain certain materials, cloths, or designs that signified gentility. Slaveowners frequently commented that their slaves desired to dress above their status and would often reward good behavior with articles of clothing. In addition to the way they dressed, slaves placed importance on hair style (a significant practice in many West African cultures) with some emulating the hair style of their masters to signify class. Evidence shows that male slaves in the eighteenth century often

wore their hair in a fashion that resembled the wigs worn by the prominent men of the day.[18]

While trying to retain much of their African culture and heritage, slaves did incorporate their observations of white society into their own social structuring which would eventually lead them to believe that they would have the ability, once freed, to assimilate into white society. More conclusive evidence for this comes from how slaves viewed white society and their place within it. Many plantation slaves considered themselves somehow socially superior to the non-slaveholding whites, or the "poor white trash," that composed a considerable portion of white southern society. Slaves understood their place as chattel and their lack of ability to break the chains of bondage and better their situation, but many frequently belittled the plain folk of the South in a way that demonstrated an air of superiority over them. Although forced to obey the commands of one of his former overseers, Jim Allen of West Point deprecatingly commented, "I knowed the oberseer was nothin' but po' white trash, jes a tramp." Almost with disgust and regret, Calline Brown of Coahoma County recounted that her owners "warn't nothing but poor white trash what had never had nothing in their lives."[19]

Slaves, like white Mississippians, had developed a specific group identity that was widely accepted and recognizable. By the eve of the Civil War slaves had conceived of a place for themselves in their own communities and within white society that would remain relatively intact until the opening of hostilities. The dominant white group identity, though, came under fire near the conclusion of the Mexican-American War when sectional hostilities began to challenge and transform white Mississippians' sense

of self. White southerners believed that the North desired to eliminate the agricultural, aristocratic world from which they derived so much of their identity by preventing the spread of slavery into the newly acquired territories. The debates over the 1850 Compromise bills stirred such a reaction among white Mississippians that they redefined their place and role in the nation by claiming the North had fallen from the republican principles upon which the Founders built the nation. While still thinking primarily about the state before the nation, white Mississippians strategically chose to champion constitutional liberties as a means to redress their standing within the nation rather than embrace a southern nationalist or separatist impulse that would brand them in a negative light as treasonous, impulsive, and a band of rebels. Such tactics prevented a true, sustained southern nationalist movement from ever coalescing in Mississippi until 1860.

In September of 1850, as Congress broke apart Henry Clay's omnibus compromise bill and Stephen Douglas deftly maneuvered behind the scenes to secure the passage of the individual bills, Mississippians debated the appropriate means for the state and the South to pursue. The more radical elements called for immediate secession from the Union while conservatives argued that any rash decisions would lead to unnecessary bloodshed. Although most of those who favored a more uncompromising course of action allied themselves with the Democratic Party and most unionists carried the Whig, Unionist, or Opposition banner, the issue was not necessarily or entirely a political one for Mississippians: it was a southern problem that needed concerted actions. Throughout the state, Mississippians gathered at Union Meetings in order to discuss the measures of the compromise bill, propose responses to any injunction made on the part of northern

radicals, and find a common thread that would appear as if the state acted unanimously in upholding the principles of the Constitution. These gatherings provided Mississippians an opportunity to campaign as to the proper course of action the South should take, and although partisan to some degree, they invited all to attend regardless of party affiliation. Most of the meetings occurred in the southwestern portion of the state, such as Natchez, Jackson, and Vicksburg, and drew in prominent members of society as well as the yeomanry.

The language that Mississippians used with regards to these meetings is important in uncovering how they identified themselves and others. Part of identity formation is labeling, or creating symbols as a means of understanding and identifying groups or objects within society by giving them positive or negative meanings. Individuals who advocated secession or a tougher stance against the compromise bills often referred to unionists as "submissionists." In nineteenth-century gendered terms this relegated unionists to the feminine sphere and inferred indecisiveness, subservience, and weakness. Not only that, but slaves submitted to the will of their master and thus implied that "submissionists" would eventually bring the whole South into bondage and under the control of northern aggressors. F. C. Jones, editor of the *Vicksburg Sentinel* lambasted the "abject submissionists" who, if they had their way, would place Mississippi in a state of servility. Eventually, these submissionists (again, if they had their way) would have to answer to the people of the state and explain to future generations that "our Legislature acted like a gang of ninnies when by an overwhelming majority it declared that the State would not tolerate or submit to acts which an Abolition Congress has had the temerity to

crowd upon us." In another editorial, Jones took aim at "Southern submissionists" who "adopted a 'sliding scale' of ultimatums" in an effort to muscle the northern brass. The problem was, though, that "the very next provocation [was] always to be their resistance line," and that ultimately "they won't fight." The paper went on to declare that "men who now 'acquiesce,' submit quietly to, and even laud, what has been done, will never reach a point where they think forbearance no longer a virtue." Another paper blatantly labeled submissionists with "pitiable weakness" and "ignorance."[20]

In a speech delivered in Lowndes County, Jefferson Davis criticized the "submissionist" sentiment and alluded to them as weak. "Our Union was not formed by men who suppliant bent the knee to power," Davis declared, "and loved a government only as it was powerful and glorious; nor did they leav [sic] us institutions which would be practicable in the hands of men forgetful or careless of the principles on which they were founded." He claimed that only "true friends of the Union" would "resist by all means every invasion on the Constitution." As a moderate Davis believed that only a concerted southern effort, one aimed at directly and boldly confronting the North, would "enable us to preserve the principles on which our federal Union was based." True patriots, true unionists, were men of action, men who loved their country and would fight vehemently to preserve the principles found in the Constitution—submissionists did not share these qualities and if they had their way they would eventually bring the South into "territorial subserviency."[21]

Unionists often slandered their opponents by calling them "disunionists," and although secessionists advocated the removal of the South from the rest of the nation, the

term "disunionist" did not sit well with them. John Holt, editor of the *Woodville Republican*, defended the position of the more radical elements and took objection to the term "disunionist." "We of the South," Holt began, "who have taken a just and bold stand in defence and protection, by every means, of the honor of our States, have been called by the Submissionists among us, Disunionists." Continuing Holt asserted, "We abhor (and retort) the term Disunionists, for in it are contained many elements of evil." Holt explained that disunionists were individuals who had lost their patriotism and desired to "disgracefully" disregard and "trample" on the "compact entered into between sovereign States." According to Holt, it was submissionists, "those tender-hearted gentlemen who have kissed Peace until their lips drop distilled sweetness," in addition to the North, who were responsible for and "co-workers in the foul work of Disunion."[22]

Taking aim at the sensitivities of "disunionists," Thomas Palmer, editor of a unionist paper, explained, "Our opponents say they are not disunionists; it is a great offence to call them so, and they will not submit to it; it is a personal insult." "Why is this?" Palmer asked, "Is there any thing odious in the mere name? Does it of itself import crime? Not at all. A mere name cannot of itself be offensive, but it is the thing it represents, or the idea it conveys to the mind, which makes it so." According to Palmer, the reason disunionists took "aversion to the name is plain enough; it represents a thing which is wrong under the circumstances." Acknowledging that the founders took pride in calling themselves "rebels," Palmer insisted that the founders stood for a noble cause while the secessionists had desires for personal gain and would eventually lead the state and the South into ruin.[23]

What made the word "disunionist" so insulting was that in 1850, Mississippians, whether Democrat or Whig, secessionist or unionist, wanted to maintain a sense of allegiance to the United States of America and insisted that their actions constituted a continuation of Providence. Such an argument would not only uphold a positive image of southerners as heirs of the American Revolution but also give them more legal latitude in trying to secure their efforts to expand the peculiar institution westward since the Constitution protected property rights. Each group could agree that the North had broken the sacred bond of nationhood established by the Constitution, but disagreed on the necessary approach to counter the treasonous actions of a vocal band of abolitionists. Both groups wanted to sustain a connection with the United States by either separating with the North (in which the North would, of necessity, have to become a new nation) or through concessions and compromises in which each side (North and South) could formally agree; only ultra-radicals called for a southern nation out of a sense of southern nationalism. As the submissionists and disunionists wrangled in their speeches and editorials, each group tried to persuade the citizenry of the state that they were true patriots of both the South and the United States in an effort to win supporters but also because they truly believed they had the best interests of the region and country in their ideas. Speaking of an upcoming Union Meeting in Hinds County, one Whig newspaper urged that "all lovers of the Constitution and the Union should unhesitatingly demand of their public servants immediate measures to stop the embarrassing and fatal discontents and destructive discords which now jeopardize and threaten to dash asunder the sacred ties that make us a powerful and harmonious people." Disunionists exacerbated the

problems that had come between the North and the South and their proposed solutions would prove detrimental. The paper continued by explaining that the Founding Fathers had worked through their problems in the past to create the greatest nation on earth, not by rash action or impulsive behavior, but by "stern, [resolute], and patriotic action, […] mutual concession, generous forbearance, and consummate wisdom."[24]

Addressing the recent sectional debates, a planter wrote to a Natchez paper to persuade his fellow planters that submission would not solve the South's problems. He insisted that the South needed to act boldly, with secession as a possible solution, but was quite explicit in declaring that he was an American patriot. "We are proud of our past history," he wrote, "of our long and glorious connexion with the people of the North." The planter continued to explain that their forefathers had fought for a common cause and "died by each others side; and when the aggression of the Mother Country stimulated a common defence they united as a band of brothers through nine years of suffering and succeeded in elevating themselves to the dignity of an independent nation." Since the aftermath of the Revolution, the planter maintained, the South's progress "has been upward," and now a northern "majority are uniting in their exertions to undermine our institutions." The South had maintained its compact with the rest of the country and the principles for which their ancestors had fought and died, it was the North who had made a conscious decision to destroy the Constitution.[25]

For many Mississippians, these Union Meetings had a profound effect and several who attended, read about them, or discussed them with others gave their own opinions on the matter. Elijah Walker, a physician-in-training from a non-elite family, commented

frequently in his diary regarding the confusion and debates that engulfed the state over the compromise bills. After attending a speech in Oxford delivered by Henry Foote (a senator from Mississippi and unabashed unionist) Walker commented that "no unprejudiced person could listen to his arguments and then cry disunion while there is no more cause for complaint than now exists." He briefly described the bills under consideration in Congress and declared that each had favorable outcomes in the South. Walker sarcastically opined that there was "a party of the south who are dissatisfied with these bills (and would be with Jesus Christ were he on earth) giving for a reason that they give all the advantage to the north." He further chastised the secessionists: "What fanatics, what misguided creatures, How much better off think they we, the southern division, would be with the bond of union severed, with the dust of Washington divided, and two independent sovereign nations formed?" Walker continued to imagine a world overcome with the secessionist impulse. "In the event of war which is inevitable in case of disunion, where is our security at home in the heart of the south?" Walker asked, "Where would be the virtue, would be the persons of our beloved and chaste daughters; where the safety of our bosom companions, where the lives of our aged mothers?" The answer: "All would be in the hands of the rough black buck negroes of our country, lured on by a worse than savage fanatical hosier of the north whose very looks would curdle the blood of our fond loving tender virgins." Disunionists would not only destroy the nation, but destroy the South's social institutions.[26]

The issues surrounding the Compromise of 1850 continued to divide Mississippians largely along party lines. Two groups vied for legitimacy and as the voice

of all Mississippians: those who promoted strong and immediate action against the North, and those who believed that the South should find a solution within the Union based on compromise and mutual understanding. Each believed they had the South's best interests in mind, beginning the process of solidifying a regional southern identity. Since two dominate groups engaged in a battle for legitimacy, each labeled the other with negative characteristics. According to the unionists, the "disunionists" were unpatriotic and therefore un-American, while "submissionists" were weak, feminine, and indecisive. Both sides had created two different southern identities that were still fundamentally American: one in which southerners were bold, decisive, and uncompromising, and the other in which southerners were law-abiding, peaceful, and willing to compromise on issues that beset the nation. Although unionist sentiment would eventually prevail in 1850 and over the next few years, the disunionists would gain more converts over the course of the decade. In addition to the creation of two competing visions for a southern identity, what helped propel the formation of a sectional identity occurred as southerners began to project negative characteristics onto northerners and thereafter a positive southern identity in contrast.

Despite all their bickering, the two sides agreed that the North had acted as aggressors who threatened to overturn southern social institutions, and that only collaborative action among all southerners could prevent the worst from happening. Although party animosities prevented a true cohesion among all Mississippians, many called for "every good and true patriot, to merge all party distinctions, and to obliterate all party lines." In a letter to the editor a farmer explained, "I have been a partisan,

unflinching, uncompromising, and am yet upon the old issues; but I am like you, gentlemen, in these trying times[;] I willingly lay aside the partisan." Although he believed the Union should remain intact, he thought that the time had come for "party bickering to cease." While advertising for a Union Meeting, one paper explained that at the meeting they "desire[d] to see no exhibition of party feeling" believing the "occasion [was] above party." Another paper, one that often supported radical measures, publicized a future Union Meeting in Woodville and explained, "It is to be desired by every true patriot that all will come there freed from party animosities." After all, the Union Meeting was to address the problems facing southerners "and nothing but Southern feeling should prevail. There is no aspect in which the whig or democratic party, as such, is concerned." True patriotism, then, was to abandon party animosity and to work together for the good of the South.[27]

A Union Democrat, Samuel Boyd appealed to a true sense of patriotism by claiming in a speech at a Union Festival that the United States was the "only government under which genuine liberty—liberty regulated by law—is enjoyed." Boyd argued that Great Britain had actually perpetrated the conflict which had engulfed the nation, perhaps in an effort to quell the bitter hatred that had plagued the United States and threatened to break into open hostility. Such an argument also allowed Boyd to unite southerners together and appeal to a strong American nationalist sentiment. Boyd contended that after England had emancipated their slaves in the West Indies that they sent their "emissaries" to do the "work of abolitionism here." Boyd claimed that "nothing but an adherence to our Constitution and Union can save us; because it is by our Constitution

alone that these designs can be prevented." Reassuring his audience, Boyd reminded his listeners that the Constitution protected slavery and that the compromise measures of 1850 did as well. As long as Mississippians and southerners continued to uphold, support and defend the Constitution, peace would reign, foreigners could be defeated, and the Union would remain persevered "in all its integrity."[28]

White Mississippians labeled northerners as unpatriotic and willing to sell their birthright for a "mess of pottage." Assigning blame for the sectional conflict on the North helped to create the perception that the South had no responsibility in instigating the discord that threatened to tear apart the nation. Defending the southern homeland and institutions against northern attacks was an act of honor in southern society, and in turn meant that aggressors like the North acted in a shameful fashion. Blaming the North for the disheveled state of the nation helped reinforce and create a positive southern identity. In a speech delivered to the House of Representatives, Mississippi congressman Albert Brown rhetorically asked, "Who is at fault, or rather who was first in fault in this fraternal quarrel?" "We were the owners of slaves; we bought them from your fathers," he answered, "We never sought to make slaveholders of you, nor to force slavery upon you. When you emancipated the remnant of your slaves, we did not interpose." Brown continued: "Content to enjoy the fruits of our industry at home, within our own limits, we never sought to intrude upon your domestic quiet. Not so with you. For twenty years or more, you have not ceased to disturb our peace. We have appealed in vain to your forbearance." According to Brown, the North had pestered the South for years over the slavery question, not only that, but the North was really responsible for slavery's

existence in the first place. Even unionists blamed the North for the crisis and questioned the irrational motives of northern men. Appalled at the prospects of disunion, Elijah Walker blamed northerners for the sectional conflict and questioned their attacks on the institution of slavery. "How blinded to their own interest the men of the north are," Walker exclaimed, "They are dependent on us for the material which experience has proven can not be produced with out the labor of the black."[29]

In the southern mind, the North, as the aggressor, sought to destroy southern institutions, and although slavery was only one aspect of the South's social structure, historians have shown repeatedly that slavery and the relationship between masters and slaves determined much of the South's social and cultural composition. Engrained in every aspect of southern society and culture, the institution of slavery helped maintain a racial hierarchy, determine gender roles, and signify class status—an attack on slavery was an attack on everything southerners knew. For southerners, the North appeared intent on annihilating all that the South was, not just slavery. Northerners had also conducted themselves in a manner that appeared to endanger the principles upon which the Founding Fathers based the Constitution. The North seemed fixed on dissolving the nation and took aim directly at the South, the vanguards of the republic. In response to northern attacks, southerners defended slavery (and therefore the South) and began to brand an identity of all northerners as abolitionists, anti-southern, unpatriotic, and unconstitutional, while southerners viewed themselves as harbingers of providence and defenders of the Constitution.[30]

In his gubernatorial inaugural address in 1850, John A. Quitman, a secessionist and filibusterer, spoke about the agitation the slavery question had caused and commented on how northern attacks threatened the South's social institutions as a whole, not just slavery. Quitman bluntly stated, "This institution is entwined in our political system, and cannot be separated from it, without destruction to our social fabrics." Not only that, but "the Supreme being, whose all-seeing eye looks down upon the nations of the earth, has beheld and tolerated its existence among us for more than two centuries, and has poured out upon us the choicest blessings of his providence." Despite northern arguments about the immorality of slavery, Quitman declared, "We do not regard it as an evil, on the contrary, we think that our prosperity, our happiness, our very political existence, is inseparably connected with it. We have a right to it above and under the constitution of the United States. We cannot give up that right. We will not yield it."[31]

Addressing Congress, Albert Brown shared with Quitman the same basic sentiments on the subject of slavery. Brown regarded "slavery as a great moral, social, political, and religious blessing—a blessing to the slave, and a blessing to the master." Brown also believed that God, through His providence, planted slavery in the United States and that "in [H]is own good time, will take it away." By implication, Brown equated northern assaults against slavery as a direct attack against divine providence and therefore against the will of God—northerners were baseless and ungodly. Southerners, by comparison upheld the providence of God, believed in His divinely inspired institution that allowed the "degraded […] race of cannibals" a chance to improve "their moral, social, and religious condition."[32]

Out of the debates surrounding the Compromise of 1850, Mississippians began to develop more of a sense of a southern regional identity that would slowly strengthen over the next several years. Recognizing that combating northern attacks required at least a semblance of unity left many Mississippians willing to abandon party affiliations for the good of the South. Although partisan bickering still continued to divide Mississippians, each worked for the same goal: to confront the perceived aggression from the North that threatened to obliterate southern society. "Disunionists" and "submissionists" worked feverishly to win the minds of the state, and ultimately, after the compromise bills passed in Congress, unionist sentiment prevailed among both Whigs and Democrats. A sense of southern nationalism had largely failed (although it had won several converts) but most Mississippians believed that the best tactic was to remain in the Union and use the Constitution to secure their desires, in fact, there was a brief backlash against the "disunionists" in the aftermath of the compromise debates, splitting the Democratic Party in Mississippi into States' Rights Democrats and Unionist Democrats. In 1850, governor Quitman had pledged some support for the filibustering expedition of Narciso Lopez into Cuba. Lopez had hoped to liberate Cuba from the Spanish and asked Quitman for assistance. Desiring to continue his tenure as governor, Quitman reluctantly declined but did provide names and locations of material sources to aid and assist Lopez. The expedition never left the planning stages because United States officials captured Lopez in New Orleans. Investigations revealed Quitman's involvement, forcing the governor to face prosecution for violating United States neutrality laws. Eventually acquitted of the charges, Quitman decided to run again for governor of Mississippi later in 1851 against

Senator Henry Foote the candidate for the Union Party. The campaign highlighted the two extreme factions that had led the debates a year earlier against the compromise bills.[33]

The 1851 campaign pitted two "extremists" against one another and resulted in heated exchanges and a splintering of sentiment throughout the state. Henry Foote had joined the Union Party in Mississippi to run for governor and to help further his political career. A year earlier several Mississippi newspapers had lambasted Foote for his support of the compromise bills, and the state legislature even censured him for not appropriately representing his constituents at home. From the start, the state Democrats worried that Foote might have enough support to win the fall election and asked Jefferson Davis (because of his more moderate position) to resign his senate seat, give it to Quitman, and then for Davis to run as governor. Davis agreed to the plan, but Quitman believed the gubernatorial chair was still his and refused to acquiesce. Quitman finally stepped aside after convention delegate returns in September heavily favored the Unionists, leaving Davis with the almost futile task of trying to create some momentum for the States' Rights Democrats. Although not a radical, the Unionists labeled Davis as a disunionist and secessionist. While many Mississippians did not necessarily favor all the compromise bills, they viewed Quitman as too fanatic and believed the States' Rights Democrats also condoned many of Quitman's ideas. The Unionist Party prevailed in the elections with Foote becoming governor (beating Davis by nearly a thousand votes) and attaining a preponderance of unionists in the state legislature. Despite the victory, the Unionist Party failed to make much headway and even Foote became disenchanted by the

growing sectionalist impulse throughout the state, so much so, that Foote resigned his position as governor after losing in the 1853 election and moved to California.[34]

With the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854, which repealed the Missouri Compromise line and experimented with the implementation of popular sovereignty, white Mississippians once again found cause for alarm as free-soilers poured into Kansas and began to form a state government and constitution that outlawed slavery. Even as violence erupted throughout Kansas, culminating in 1856, southern nationalists remained in the minority in Mississippi. In a speech delivered at Mississippi City in 1857, Jefferson Davis (forever aligned with the more radial elements in the state due to his participation in the 1851 gubernatorial election) spoke of Mississippi's early role in the Union and commented that "she had never violated the compact of our Union." Davis explained that Mississippi had "fulfilled her duties to the Union, and thus she has given assurance that, in whatever contingency the future may bring forth, at whatever sacrifice she may be called upon to make, she will tread the paths of constitutional principle and of duty." In a pamphlet addressed to the citizens of Mississippi a year later, Davis reiterated the cause of the South as being akin to the cause of upholding the principles of the Constitution and the Founders' vision. "Habituated to respect the popular judgment, to confide in the patriotism of the people, and to revere our constitutional Union," Davis began, "I cling to the hope so uniformly cherished, that the good sense of our generation and its posterity, will not allow the madness and wickedness of fanaticism and sectional jealousy, to destroy the political fabric our fathers erected and dedicated to the happiness, tranquility, prosperity and liberty of their descendents

forever." The sectional hostilities that increased over the course of the decade continued to produce a swelling of American patriotism that trumped the fervor and rhetoric of southern nationalists and fire-eaters.[35]

Even though most Mississippians seemed relatively unconcerned with the actual affairs in Kansas during the 1850s, the state had decidedly grown more united in their regional identity as the decade progressed. This did not yet translate into a strong sense of southern nationalism since their identity as southerners rested heavily on their connection with the American founding and the idea that they had become the vanguards of the Founders' vision. Mississippians, however, began to look on northerners with a degree of suspicion as rumors surfaced that abolitionists worked incessantly to start slave rebellions in the South. Samuel Agnes, pastor of a Presbyterian church commented in his journal concerning a potential slave uprising. "From what I hear there is some danger of an insurrection of negroes in this whole country," Agnes wrote, "and those who now think it necessary to be on the watch in this neighbourhood as they think there is some cause for apprehension." Counties organized patrols and cautioned everyone to be extra vigilant in dealing with dubious activity among the slaves. Other counties, prompted by other rumors, ran extra patrols and a feeling of uneasiness fell upon Mississippi slaveholders.[36]

Mississippians also worried about northern emigrants who had recently made the South their home. Betty Beaumont, Englander by birth, moved to Mississippi in 1849 when her husband received a job as a machinist working on the railroad in Woodville. Upon arriving to Woodville, Beaumont hired a black servant, Aunt Charity, and asked

her to borrow some flat irons from their neighbor, Mrs. Conrad, since their belongings had not yet arrived from Philadelphia. "I noticed that [Aunt Charity] was talking to herself in an angry manner," Beaumont explained, "Calling her, I asked the cause of her vexation. She replied that Mrs. Conrad said that she did not want to lend to Yankees, and we'd better send for our own things if we had any to send for." Beaumont expounded on the treatment she and her husband received in Mississippi: "It was a time of great political agitation, and every stranger, especially from the North, was looked upon with distrust. I knew that there was some sort of current against me, but what that current was I could not understand." She continued, "I did not think I could be in any way mixed up with anything at all connected with politics, for I had never given any thought to such matters. Neither was Mr. Beaumont a politician in any sense of the word; and yet, as we long afterwards discovered, we were at this time constantly under the eye of suspicion." As the years passed, Beaumont noted the growing distrust of northerners and those "not in favor of slaveholding." She commented that her "husband really cared nothing about the matter one way or the other; he did not consider that he had anything to do with it." Despite this, their neighbors misconstrued "his indifference on the subject […] and it was hinted that he was secretly an abolitionist. This impression worked against him and made us many enemies long before we had any suspicion of it."[37]

The event, though, that confirmed Mississippian's worst fears came in 1859 with John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry. On 16 October 1859, John Brown and a few followers began their march on Harper's Ferry in an attempt to cause a slave insurrection that would hopefully spread throughout the South. Amid some tactical errors, military

officials quickly surrounded the arsenal that Brown and his men captured. With Brown trapped and unenforced, the military officials eventually stormed the building, killing several of Brown's cronies and capturing the remainder, including Brown. Although unsuccessful, Brown's raid on the arsenal and his desire to provoke an insurrection among the South's slaves produced a firestorm of fear, hatred, and distrust among southerners. Many cool-minded southerners who believed the threats of abolitionists were minimal and that they were just a part of the North's lunatic fringe began to change course, while those of the more radical element reissued their cries for secession from the Union. Southerners began to view northerners as sympathetic with the abolitionists and even believed that abolitionists had created and allied themselves with the Republican Party. For southerners, northerners had become not just hostile to slavery, but willing to destroy it by all means necessary. Southerners had defended the institution of slavery for decades by describing it as God's will for southerners and the slaves, but northerners were no longer willing to listen.[38]

When the first reports of Brown's attempted insurrection first appeared in Mississippi newspapers, much of the content was exaggerated and unknown. However, as more accurate reports came across telegraph wires and reached the state, the outrage felt by Mississippians continued to burn, especially when word came that Brown had a map that contained areas throughout the South of high slave concentrations. In her diary, Susan Darden noted the places Brown had marked with a cross in the state (apparently areas for a planned uprising): "Warren, Claiborne, Jefferson. Church Hill, for this county, not far from here. Franklin, Adams & Wilkinson." "It is dreadful to think of a

set of white scoundrels rising & killing persons with the plea to liberate the slaves," Darden commented, "They ought to be hung; burning would be nothing but right. It was providential that it was not carried into execution." A newspaper in Natchez entreated readers that they "cannot be too vigilant" and continued to remind Mississippians of abolitionist machinations aimed at the South.[39]

As word of the insurrection plot continued to spread, even moderate and conservative newspapers commented on Brown's raid and the further implications of the episode. The *Mississippi Baptist*, a religious newspaper that rarely commented on local or national events, finally produced an editorial which exclaimed that "it was time that [the North] should begin to reap the harvest which they have so abundantly sown." The paper continued that "if they cease not, there is but one course for the South to pursue […] the arm that holds the dagger must be broken in the North." The paper hoped that northerners would silence the "unholy" abolitionists in their midst and warned that the South will not "fellowship with a whimpering alliance with those who continually hold over our heads the assassin's dagger."[40]

Mississippi newspapers also started to find parallels between the abolitionists, John Brown, and the newly formed Republican Party. Several newspapers claimed that William Seward and his party should shoulder considerable blame for Brown's actions as well as those of the abolitionists. The Republican ideology that viewed slavery as the antithesis of a strong, productive society did not find southern supporters, and southerners viewed these principles in direct opposition to their own ideology that slavery was morally right and the primary reason for the South's prosperity. The Republican Party, in

turn, threatened the principles the Founding Fathers established in the Constitution, the right to own property, and therefore was un-American. One Mississippi editor commented that the Brown incident should "carry with it an instructive lesson to the South." "It warns them of the sleepless activity and fiendish hate which the leaders of the anti-slavery party cherish for her institutions," the editorial continued, "and bids her be ready at a moment's warning to repel the blow which they are preparing to strike." The Republican Party, which had won the hearts and minds of northerners, now stood poised to destroy the South.[41]

As the decade progressed southerners began to identify northerners as harbingers of destruction to the Union and the Constitution, especially after Brown's attempted slave insurrection in 1859. The Compromise of 1850 had compelled southerners to unite together, regardless of political affiliation, to respond to the "outrages" against the South by northern politicians hoping to eliminate the spread of slavery into the territories. Although partisan rankling continued, southerners identified northerners as the ultimate culprits who had done more to disunite the country than the fire-eaters of the South. Northerners, by threatening to extinguish the institution of slavery, had abandoned the Constitution, the country's proud heritage, and also God's will for the nation. The South, then, became the vanguard of the principles upon which the Founding Fathers had built the country as well as God's divine Providence. As events continued to transpire throughout the 1850s, southerners believed that the North was intent on destroying slavery, which also meant the southern social structure. Few options remained, but

secession became more of a viable and necessary alternative in order to preserve southern

society and the nation.

CHAPTER III

"THOSE WHO SHOULD BE BROTHERS"

Oh, freedom,
Oh, freedom,
Oh, freedom over me,
And before I'd be a slave,
I'd be buried in my grave
And go home to my Lord
And be free.[42]

Speaking to a crowd at Enterprise, Mississippi on southern interests during the 1860 presidential campaign, Greene Callier Chandler warned his audience that "anti-slavery feeling" had "taken possession of the northern mind." "Abolition," Chandler declared, "is there taught from the husting, in the schools, from the pulpit, indeed, everywhere, and is embraced by two-thirds of the people in some form or other." Abolitionists had "banded together for the one avowed purpose of destroying the peace of fifteen States." Chandler saw an "irrepressible conflict" and warned in a Fourth of July address the same year that "it is not with foreigners, but those who should be brothers, who have a common history, lineage, and destiny, that trouble is to be apprehended." The North had attacked and would destroy the South and her institutions unless southerners united and acted in concert. Chandler felt the North had damaged the South's ability to participate in the government their forefathers had helped to establish, and, sadly, at present, even the "the national democracy, the bulwark of southern defense against northern fanaticism, has shown its incapacity to withstand longer the immense

abolition pressure upon it." Chandler firmly believed that "Mr. Breckinridge alone is called upon to breast the storm of northern fanaticism." Chandler commented that the "two other candidates, Douglas and Lincoln, are creating and riding upon the whirlwinds that promises to lay the country in ruins, while Mr. Bell stands by with cool indifference, with no avowed principles, and very few avowed friends." Chandler urged Mississippians to prepare militarily to meet the dark storm that loomed ominously on the horizon.[43]

Henry Foote, senator from Mississippi, referred to the difficult decisions placed before the citizenry of the state and the South in 1861 as choosing between the Classical Greek monsters Scylla (a six-headed sea beast) and Charybdis (another sea monster who sucked up mouthfuls of water opposite of Scylla near the Straits of Messina). When Mississippians finally made the decision to leave the Union, they not only left their nation out of a desire to protect slavery, but also to protect their sense of identity. The sectional conflict had inflamed passions on both sides regarding slavery and its expansion westward, but for southerners, the threat of slavery's demise was an attack on the social fabric on which they had based their society. Planters gained social standing based on their ownership of slaves, the demonstration of paternalistic qualities, and their ability to manage their large estates. The planter class derived their hegemony through the formation of racial slavery and by preaching that all whites had the ability to rise through the ranks and become like their social superiors. As growing sentiment in the North shifted towards a free labor system in the late eighteenth century and progressed throughout the nineteenth century a fissure occurred in how each region defined what it

meant to be an American. Southerners believed the Founding Fathers had given them the right to own slaves and that the Constitution protected that right. Southerners spent the 1850s strategically solidifying an outward identity as Americans and patriots by labeling northerners as un-American and by defending their right to own slaves and to take their property westward. The election of 1860, though, would shatter the image that southerners had attained and open the door to southern nationalists and fire-eaters who quickly secured leadership and promised to rejuvenate the South's fallen status by leaving the Union.[44]

The process of assuming a socially acceptable identity played an important role in the secession movement in Mississippi. Not willing to embrace the growing Republican ideology based on free labor, southerners upheld their understanding of the Founding Fathers' vision for the nation, namely the protection of property and a country composed of a coalition of autonomous states. Adhering to an American identity allowed southerners to legitimize their actions as they placed themselves in the roles of their forefathers as rebels who fought to secure republican principles and liberties that power-hungry aristocrats desired to expunge from the masses. In doing so, southerners would appear patriotic rather than treasonous in their efforts while branding the North with undesirable characteristics. Explaining the process of group identity formation, Henri Tajfel and John Turner stated that "the aim of differentiation is to maintain or achieve superiority over an out-group on some dimensions. Any such act, therefore, is essentially competitive." By outwardly maintaining an American identity, southerners wanted to delegitimize the dominant group identity in the North based on free labor,

industrialization, and abolitionism that northeasterners had embraced over the course of the nineteenth century. Southerners had failed during the 1850s to substantially detach northerners from the legacy of the American Revolution and the founding of the nation, but with secession they had their chance for redemption by declaring the North fallen and the South as the heralds of God's Providence.[45]

In trying to sustain an American identity throughout the 1850s, though, southerners found themselves dissociated from that identity by the increasing attacks of northerners. Beginning shortly after the Democratic Conventions in early 1860 which split the party, and continuing through the first year of the war, southerners began to move away from their American identity and start the process of adopting a new Confederate identity. The Confederate identity was one that southerners could easily embrace since it changed ever so slightly from the American identity southerners had already assumed and also because it provided southerners with a feeling of unity that would help the war effort. Of course, some Mississippians refused to accept the radical changes, but as the new Confederate identity came to dominate, opponents to the cause found themselves socially ostracized, and, in some instances, forcibly removed from the state. Others chose to espouse the new identity and set aside their criticisms of secession despite years of rankling and partisan bitterness. The new Confederate identity was persuasive and exciting and rallied a significant portion of white Mississippians to its banner.[46]

The dissociation of the South's American identity from the rest of the nation first began at the 1860 Democratic Convention in Charleston, South Carolina. Unwilling to

accept the nomination of Stephen Douglas, many southern delegates went to the convention with the goal to have the party implement a platform that would guarantee slaveholding rights to southerners in the territories. Jefferson Davis proposed a series of resolutions in the United States Senate in February 1860 that he hoped the Democratic Party would adopt as part of their platform. The fifth resolution stated that Congress should have the ability to protect "constitutional rights in a Territory" if the territorial government, executive or judicial branch of the federal government failed or refused "to provide the necessary remedies for that purpose." While Davis's language was a bit ambiguous, southerners expected the Democratic Party to take a firm stance during their summer convention and felt that the nomination of Douglas as the presidential candidate would undermine their goal. Douglas had perhaps prevented civil war ten years earlier after breaking apart Henry Clay's omnibus compromise bill and working feverishly to secure the passage of the individual bills. While this helped further his political career, several southerners felt less than satisfied with the compromise's outcome. Disappointed and wary of Douglas's eventual siding with the Republicans concerning the fraudulent pro-slavery Lecompton Constitution drafted in Kansas (which caused a more pronounced sectional rift in the Democratic Party), southerners rightly assumed that Douglas supporters would not welcome a slave code as part of the party's platform.[47]

The issues that plagued the 1860 Democratic Convention fell largely along sectional lines and both sides refused to give any ground. Before the convention ended most of the southern delegates walked out after a stinging defeat for their pro-slavery platform. A majority vote for a popular sovereignty policy angered delegates from the

Lower South (including the representatives from Mississippi) and in response they stormed out of the convention in a huff allowing a northern margin to elect a candidate for president. Douglas did not receive enough votes after fifty-seven castings leaving the remaining tired and weary Democrats torn asunder. Eventually the Democrats would have two candidates running in the presidential election: Stephen Douglas and John C. Breckinridge who ran on a pro-slavery, states' rights platform. The split in the party confirmed the fears of many southerners that they had very few allies in the North. One Mississippi planter condemned the northern delegates for desiring "to force upon the South a candidate for her support who has openly and avowedly declared himself opposed to the very rights that she is trying to maintain and a question that is threatening the very basis of our organization in this 'Union.'" He hoped that "this action was no creature of the people of the North" and felt confident that the southern delegates would still unite the Democratic Party after their convention in Richmond and rally the North behind their cause for "the Constitution and laws."[48]

The split in the Democratic Party left many Mississippians disappointed with their northern compatriots but many quickly united behind Breckinridge as the states' rights Democratic nominee. One newspaper optimistically declared that "the nomination of Breckinridge and Lane is received throughout the Union with huzzas, firing of cannon and the greatest enthusiasm." A Jackson newspaper reported that upon hearing of Breckinridge's nomination, the citizens of the city "signalized [their endorsement] by the blazing of rockets, the firing of cannon and other evidences of joy." The paper lauded Mississippians and their role in the presidential nomination and claimed that from the

beginning "neither friend nor foe has entertained a doubt as to where [Mississippi] stood. It was known that no sort of influence could induce her to accept either Douglas or his heresies." The editor predicted that Breckinridge would win in a landslide in the state because, according to the paper, they could not name more than five counties in which they could find a "Douglas Democrat."[49]

Although a show of support in favor of Breckinridge tended to dominate the pages of many newspapers, the two major political factions of the state (now referred to simply as Democrats and the Opposition) still divided the opinions of many Mississippians. The Opposition, composed of former Whigs and Union Democrats, still believed the best course of action for the state was to resolve its differences with the North through compromise and concessions. Most of the Opposition favored John Bell, the Constitutional Unionist candidate, in the presidential election of 1860. Bell, a slaveholder from Tennessee, ran on a platform that defended the Constitution and believed in the enforcement of law (which implied the illegality of secession but also sought to defend property rights). The Opposition decided to throw their support behind Bell knowing that many Mississippians would not sponsor Douglas and hoped that perhaps their endorsement of Bell might stifle the rising secessionist inclination that had strengthened throughout the state. A majority of Mississippians, though, would campaign for Breckinridge in the 1860 presidential election. Nearly 70,000 Mississippians voted in the election and the state carried Breckinridge with a fifty-nine percent majority.[50]

Abraham Lincoln's election prompted widespread outrage throughout the South. Most southerners believed that Lincoln and the Republicans not only threatened the institution of slavery but also the existence of southern society. With slavery so intertwined with the South's social and cultural structures the demise of slavery meant the departure of all that was southern. Upon hearing the news of Lincoln's election Mississippians began to predict the agenda of the "Black Republican" president. In his diary, Flavellus Nicholson, a Mississippi farmer, explained that the Republican policy was "to prevent the slave holding states from ever acquiring any more territory, and by this means indirectly, and by Legislation—directly, to finally destroy the institution of Slavery in the South." Not only that, but the election results determined "the perpetuity & continuence of this great & hither to glorious Union." After learning of the election results a newspaper editor declared that "The Black Republicans have boldly published their programme and they will steadily carry it out if the South submits, to the bitter end. They have proclaimed the 'irrepressible conflict.' They have said these States and Territories must be all free or all slave." Another editor blatantly decried that "The outrages which abolition fanaticism has continued year by year to heap upon the South, have at length culminated in the election of Abraham Lincoln and Hannibal Hamlin, avowed Abolitionists, to the Presidency and Vice Presidency—both bigoted, unscrupulous and cold-blooded enemies of the peace and equality of the slaveholding States."[51]

The preservation of slavery meant a continuation of white southern social and cultural constructs but also the perpetuation of a horrible institution that controlled the

lives of half of the state's population. While most slaves probably did not understand or have enough information concerning the presidential election and the potential consequences, some slaves who overheard their masters knew the implications of the political crisis in late 1860 and assumed their days as chattel were numbered. Dora Franks of Aberdeen, a house servant prior to the war, recalled hearing her masters speaking about an impending war. "[Marse George] feared all de slaves 'ud be took away," Franks remembered, "[and Miss Emmaline] say if dat was true she feel lak jumpin' in de well. I hate to hear her say dat, but from dat minute I started prayin' for freedom. All de res' o' de women done de same." The decisions made by white Mississippians after the election of Abraham Lincoln would affect the lives of the slave population just as much as the white citizenry and would eventually open the door for a rival dominant group identity to emerge in the state and compete for social legitimacy.[52]

A strong component of slave identity centered on eventual emancipation and the promise of freedom, despite the inability to express their desires openly. Over-worked, slaves eked out an existence primarily controlled by the whims of the master. Beginning their day at sunrise, field-hands meandered to the cotton fields where they would often remain until sunset. Typically small children would carry food and water from the kitchen with meals consisting of rationed meat and corn. Slaves sometimes supplemented their diet with garden vegetables grown on plots they tended after their regular duties or local wildlife male slaves hunted in the evening hours. Strong storms or harsh weather conditions sometimes halted work but for the most part slaves labored regardless of the oppressive heat or freezing cold. Failure to meet the expectations of the

master or overseer resulted in physical punishment. "[Slaves] was whupped 'til de blood come," Gus Clark of Howison recalled, "'til dey back split all to pieces. Den it was washed off wid salt, an' de nigger was put right back in de fiel'." Charlie Moses, who became a preacher after the Civil War, described how his master typically handled discipline on the plantation. "[Marster]'d whip him 'til he'd mos' die an' then he'd kick him 'roun in the dust," Moses said, "he'd even take his gun an', before the Nigger had time to open his mouth, he'd jus' stan' there an' shoot him down." Poorly clothed, ill-fed, scantily sheltered, and chronically abused, slaves still somehow managed to create a distinct identity and culture that borrowed from African customs and largely focused on the desire for freedom.[53]

Slaves expressed their yearning for freedom in their spirituals which they sang in the fields while they labored, at home, or in secret meetings late at night. Many of the spirituals contained veiled references to freedom ensconced in Biblical imagery which allowed slaves to perform them in the presence of whites. One song implored slaves to "steal away to Jesus" and "steal away home" because "I ain't got long to stay here." Another, more blatant spiritual, referenced Moses leading the captive children of Israel out of Egypt, and consoled the listeners to "doncha weep, doncha moan" because "Pharaoh's army got drownded." While the Biblical references in their spirituals allowed slaves to mask their true desire for freedom, slaves maintained a Christian belief in which God had promised them their emancipation as long as they endured their trials well. One spiritual promised "I'm gon' live so God can use me, / Anywhere, Lord, anytime" while

another invited the presence of Christ to take away the pains of bondage and claimed that "No man can hinder me."[54]

The longing for freedom also heavily influenced slave activities late at night in which slaves exercised as much autonomy as they could after they had returned home and the master and his family slept. Men and young boys often stole away into the nearby woods where they would hunt on their own and gather additional food. The men would frequently fashion furniture to adorn their meager cabins and do whatever they could to provide other basic necessities the family lacked. At the same time, women would sew clothing and alter their drab articles through patches and dyes, allowing them to express themselves in a manner generally uncontested by masters. Slaves gathered to attend their own religious services performed by their own preachers who often recounted the story of Moses and the plight of the children of Israel while in captivity to the Egyptians. God had promised Moses that He had prepared a land of promise for the enslaved Israelites to inherit and that the fulfillment of the promise rested on the obedience and faithfulness of the people. Evidence indicates that slaves found some solace in the story since it permeated their spirituals and also their sermons. Pet Franks of Aberdeen recalled with fondness the "preachin' an' singin'" that caused the slaves to "git so happy" and even lamented that "dey don' have no 'ligion lak dat now-a-days." Adhering to strong religious convictions, slaves clamored for the day of their emancipation, and the agitation they witnessed in their masters during the fall of 1860 only heightened the fervor.[55]

As slaves prayed for their freedom, white Mississippians had to devise a course of action after Abraham Lincoln's election, but secession was not initially the consensus

answer. Members of the Opposition still clung to an American identity and urged Mississippians to do likewise. Many Opposition papers recommended calm amid inflamed passions and tried to remind Mississippians that the South still had the Supreme Court, the Senate and the House of Representatives for protection. A bill for the abolition of slavery would have to pass both houses of Congress, any presidential appointment would require Congress's consent, and if the president did act unlawfully, the House could proceed with impeachment hearings. The North and the South also had a mutual dependence that would transcend secession: the South produced raw materials that northern factories needed while the South relied on northern manufacturing. Secession would most likely result in bloodshed but really would not change the relationship between the two regions since their economic livelihood depended on the other. One paper reminded readers that the new president would only hold office for four years and that "Being in the Union does not compel us to have [direct] intercourse with the North. We need never go North of Mason & Dixon's line."[56]

A prominent unionist and minister in his community, John Aughey wrote a memoir shortly after escaping from a Confederate prison during the middle of the Civil War. Detained for his unionist sympathies, Aughey claimed that the state had many Union men even after the election of Abraham Lincoln. Aughey described the feeling of unionists in the days after the final revelation of the presidential contest. "The conservative men were filled with gloom," he wrote, "They regarded the election of Mr. Lincoln, by the majority of the people of the United States, in a constitutional way, as affording no cause for secession. Secession they regarded as fraught with all the evils of

Pandora's box, and that war, famine, pestilence, and moral and physical desolation would follow in its train." Aughey grieved that when the citizens of Attala County learned of Lincoln's victory that "there came a day of rejoicing." He continued, "The booming of cannon, the joyous greeting, the soul-stirring music, indicated that no ordinary intelligence had been received. The lightnings had brought tidings that Abraham Lincoln was President elect of the United States, and the South was wild with excitement."[57]

Late in 1860, Aughey preached a sermon to defend the unionist cause by appealing to a sense of patriotism and connection with the United States. Aughey began by asking, "Why should we secede, and thus destroy the best, the freest, and most prosperous government on the face of the earth? the government which our patriot fathers fought and bled to secure. What has Mississippi lost by the Union?" Aughey hoped to strike a chord of commonality that would somehow manage to hold the North and the South together. Continuing, he boldly proclaimed, "I deem it the imperative duty of all patriots, of all Christians, to throw oil upon the troubled waters, and thus save the ship of State from wreck among the vertiginous billows." But if a plea to patriotism failed, Aughey had another tactic. "I have a message from God unto you, which I must deliver, whether you will hear, or whether you will forbear," he audaciously sermonized, "As to the great question at issue, my honest conviction is (and I think I have the Spirit of God,) that you should with your whole heart, and soul, and mind, and strength, oppose secession. You should talk against it, you should write against it, you should vote against it, and, if need be, you should fight against it." Using the same rhetoric that appeared ten

years earlier during the Union Meetings, Aughey contended that true patriots and Christians would condemn the cause of secession.[58]

In the final months of 1860, some hoped that a return of the Union Meetings would quell the hysteria and believed that their past success would yield similar results, however they failed to gain any momentum. The only Union Meeting held convened in Vicksburg near the end of November and, according to the local paper, "it was a turnout of the masses […] and their voices united as that of one man in protesting against the sudden and unpremeditated revolution and civil war which we have been invited to encourage and hurry on." Anticipating future attacks from the secessionist press, the editor declared that "There were no 'submissionists' there, nor were there any 'Union-at-any-price' men, but they were all men who know their rights, know how to maintain them and expressed a determination to do it." The paper conceded that after reasonable attempts for reconciliation the South might have to severe its ties with the North but that it was "their determination to endeavor, first, to obtain their rights in the Union." If, however, "after all the exertions which patriotic men have made to save the Union, it should finally go down, those who participated in the meeting of Thursday will have the satisfaction of knowing that they did all which could be done with honor to save it." The honorable and the patriotic would do what was necessary to first save the Union before making any decisions to excise their relationship with the North.[59]

Jefferson Davis, elected once again to the Senate in 1857, also tried to balance the cries for secession with some kind of decisive action southerners desired to combat the potential crisis that threatened to dissolve the nation. In Washington, D.C., Davis pled

for patience and hoped that Republican leaders would do something to assuage the fears of southerners that Lincoln or the party would not compromise the existence of slavery where it existed and that they were not enemies to the South. None came. On December 20, despite the gaining momentum across the Deep South for secession, Davis along with twelve other Senators formed the Committee of Thirteen in an effort to find a solution to the national crisis. Comprised of five Republicans, seven Democrats, and one Know-Nothing/Constitutional Unionist, the committee agreed (under Davis's urging) that any action would require majority support among the party lines within the group. John Crittenden of Kentucky (and the Constitutional Unionist) proposed a series of compromises aimed at protecting slavery in the South by re-extending the Missouri Compromise line (except through California) and guaranteeing its perpetuation through the passage of Constitutional amendments. The committee, however, failed to agree on the compromise with Republicans unwilling to break from their party platform to allow the extension of slavery into any new territory. The Committee of Thirteen disbanded by the end of the month leaving Davis and other moderates unsure of how to counter the rapid momentum of secession.[60]

Despite the pleadings and argument of the Opposition, a current of southern nationalism swept through Mississippi and the idea of a southern nation became more appealing after Lincoln's election. A Jackson paper claimed that after talking to several persons attending a fair a few days after the presidential election that "almost without division, the people are in favor of immediate withdrawal from the Northern States and the establishment of a Southern confederacy. In this great conservative movement for

self-preservation, men of all parties are joining with a zeal and enthusiasm which we have never before seen equaled." Henry Craft, a lawyer near Pontotoc, commented on the rising secessionist sentiment in his diary. "The feeling seems to pervade the whole south that we cannot longer remain united," Craft wrote, "I have always been a Union man but now I go for immediate secession." Craft further elucidated his position, "I regard Mr. Lincoln's election as conclusive proof of the existence of the 'irrepressible conflict' and of the existence of a majority party which will war upon the south until disunion will be inevitable. This party might not precipitate this result for some years, but seeing that it is inevitable we should, I think, wait no longer." A planter's wife, Susan Darden noted in her diary that citizens in Fayette (Jefferson County) had raised a "pole on the Public Square. It is called 'The Anti-submission Pole'; will have a flag on it."[61]

One planter, in a letter to the editor a few weeks after the election, pled the cause of the South as "a Southern man" and one who "loves his whole country." In his editorial he challenged the patriotism of the Republican Party, denigrating them as "exterminationists" and radical abolitionists who sought "to pervert the Federal Government into a power opposed to our equal right to enjoy our Constitutionally advised system of property in the common territories." The North had grown un-American, had allied themselves with agents of oppression and now the South needed to stand firm to uphold the principles on which the Founders had built the nation. "Instead of fighting the common enemy in solid, serried and unbroken phalanx, *as we should have done*," the planter remarked, "*we have been quarreling among ourselves*, thus insuring

the election of an avowed enemy, beyond a mere predication." The planter continued by urging all Mississippians to unite under a southern banner by rhetorically asking, "Do you not love one another well enough to stand against our common adversary? Are your Southern brothers less dear to you than the Northern brothers? Are your Southern interests entitled to less consideration than the Northern interests obtain? Is your property deserving of less protection (wherever you would enjoy it) than Northern property?" No, he declared, "For if we remain in a Union, whose Constitution has been time and again set aside by Northern negrophilists, we must remain as men who will yield to less than their rights—to circumscribed rights—and that will be less our right than our dishonor!" Mississippians should band together out of a sense of patriotism, which increasingly meant a sense of duty to uphold the compromised principles of the Constitution by breaking the bonds of union with the North in order to save the South's rights.[62]

In a private correspondence with Robert Barnwell Rhett, Jefferson Davis believed that if the South pursued secession it would prove successful and that several southerners would support the movement. Davis insisted that "The planting states have a common interest of such magnitude, that their union, sooner or later, for the protection of that interest is certain." Davis believed that a quick act of secession would come from the more homogenous planting states and that eventually the more "heterogeneous" Border States that contained "northern elements" would soon follow. A congressional representative from Mississippi, Lucius Q. C. Lamar had similar arguments which he stated in a letter, "A people cannot be free, who do not participate in the control of the

Government which operates upon them." The North, by electing Abraham Lincoln, would subject the South and exercise "irresponsible" dominion over the southern states. Lamar supposed that "If the formation of a Southern Confederacy, to extend from the Delaware or the Susquehannah to the western line of New Mexico, or to include California were adopted, […] a large majority of the southern people would be rejoiced." Public opinion had shifted enough after November 6 that many believed secession would shortly follow.[63]

Mississippi had a fire-eater at the helms in 1860 just as she had during the sectional conflict that embroiled the state in 1850. Governor John Jones Pettus, a planter from Kemper County, had won the gubernatorial election in 1859 supported by the state's prominent disunion men. Pettus had won the election by an overwhelming margin with over seventy-six percent of the popular vote cast in his favor. Pettus had not relented with his fiery rhetoric during the electoral season of 1860 and at one point declared that if Lincoln won the election that the state would no longer celebrate the Fourth of July. Shortly after hearing the outcome of the ballot returns, Pettus issued a decree demanding that the state legislature meet on November 26 to address how Mississippi would handle the recent results. Many throughout the state praised Pettus's actions and believed his leadership would help Mississippi weather the storm the Republicans had thrust upon it through their fanaticism.[64]

On 26 November 1860, as the state legislature convened according to the governor's orders, Governor Pettus issued a message for the political body and the citizens of the state. The process of forming a new southern identity had already begun

and leaned strongly upon the collective social identity that Mississippians had shared as Americans. Like other secessionists, Pettus used the language of American patriotism as his rallying cry for separation claiming that the South had maintained the Founding Father's conceptual principles upon which they built the nation and that God would support the southern cause just as He had directed the Founders nearly a hundred years earlier. Pettus began by declaring that the North had dragged "the institutions of the South" before a tribunal "in violation of every principle of the Constitution and common sense, and tried before a Court having no jurisdiction, and a jury ignorant of the law and the facts; and the verdict thus obtained is that slavery is sinful and must be destroyed." The problem, according to Pettus, was that the "Northern mind will never rest satisfied until slavery is placed in such a condition as will insure its ultimate extinction." Drawing upon biblical imagery and appealing to patriotism Pettus utilized a stunning analogy. "Then go down into Egypt while Herod reigns in Judea," he declared, "it is the only means of saving the life of this Emanuel of American politics, and when in after years it shall be told you, that they who sought the life of this Prince of Peace and fraternity are dead, you may come out of Egypt, and realize all the fond hopes of patriots and sages, of peace on earth and good will among men, under the benign influence of a re-untied Government driving its just power from the consent of the governed." Herod (the North) had threatened to destroy Jesus and everything holy (southerners and their institutions) which resulted in Joseph and Mary fleeing temporarily to Egypt to save the life of their precious child. In Pettus' metaphor, the life of the Union, just like the life of the Savior of the world, depended on escaping evil and returning more triumphant once that evil had

dissipated. As the only and true bastion of American republican principles, the South, out of necessity and preservation, needed to break away from the North and stand as an exemplary pillar so that one day when northerners changed their hearts and minds the restoration of the Union could finally take place.[65]

The state legislature issued a call for an election to convene on December 20 so the citizens could appoint delegates to a state convention that would assemble in Jackson in which they would discuss Mississippi's future in the Union. Each county could elect the same number of delegates they had as representatives in the state legislature. Most potential delegates ran on nonpartisan platforms and declared their intention as either a "southern co-operationist" or a "separate state secessionist." Southern co-operationists did not necessarily oppose secession but believed that the state should first exhaust all means of preserving the Union before making the decision to secede. With the delegate nominations held on the heels of a heated presidential election, voter turnout had significantly decreased. Only about sixty percent of those who voted in the November election (voter turnout for the presidential election exceeded eighty percent) participated in the December delegate vote. Despite the movement and gaining support for secession, the delegates elected to the convention did not heavily represent the same sentiment. The delegates who openly advocated for immediate secession totaled forty-three percent of the delegates elected, while co-operationists composed thirty-one percent with the remaining twenty-six percent of delegates representing a coalition ticket or whose views are uncertain. With the wide ranging election of delegates, secession was not necessarily

imminent, except for the fact that, unknown to Mississippians at the time, South Carolina had officially severed ties with the Union the same day the polls opened in Mississippi.[66]

Mississippi and the rest of the Lower South followed the lead of South Carolina who, days after the presidential election, approved the election of delegates to meet in convention on December 17. South Carolina had unsuccessfully tried to garner southern support behind nullification during the tariff controversy in the 1830s and knew that acting unilaterally might prove counterproductive. While it appears that South Carolina acted alone, Mississippi and Alabama appointed and assigned secession commissioners to visit other southern states to convince them of the judiciousness of prompt and immediate withdrawal from the Union. South Carolina soon followed suit and appointed their own delegation to attend state legislatures and rally support for the cause of the South. When the South Carolina convention met on December 17, they swiftly and unanimously approved an ordinance of secession which no doubt emboldened the other Deep South states who had already called for delegation elections. Robert Barnwell Rhett, a prominent South Carolina fire-eater, had called for a southern conference to assemble in Montgomery, Alabama for the purpose of forming a new government. With South Carolina firmly in the lead, the other Deep South states found it easier to take the next step and secede from the United States.[67]

The Mississippi delegates assembled in Jackson on January 7 to discuss the appropriate measures for the state to enact. South Carolina had already seceded from the United States leaving some moderates relieved that Mississippi would not act alone if they reached the decision to separate from the Union. Those representing the various

counties came from nearly all the social classes in Mississippi with a majority belonging to the yeomanry. Only four delegates of the one hundred members owned more than two hundred slaves, while fifty-five owned fewer than twenty—fifteen of the delegates were not slaveholders. Apparent from the beginning, the delegates had actually turned in favor of immediate secession. In the opening invocation, Reverend C. K. Marshall alluded to the almost inevitable decision of secession when he prayed, "Forgive all our sins; let them not be visited retributively on our homes, or our country. Make us Thy people and deliver us from all evil—and may we never have occasion to regret the steps we are about to take in the great work that now lies before us." Those opposed to secession knew they had an uphill battle and devised ways to decelerate the rising fervor. James Lusk Alcorn, supported by former Whigs and members of the Opposition, introduced an amendment that would require Mississippi to wait until other southern states took action before the state left the Union, but all his efforts failed to gain any significant momentum.[68]

The convention quickly decided that Mississippi would secede from the Union and issued a declaration to expound upon and justify the reasons for the dissolution. The delegates began the document by stating that their "position is thoroughly identified with the institution of slavery—the greatest material interest of the world." The problem, then, was that "a blow at slavery is a blow at commerce and civilization" and abolitionists (used almost synonymously for northerners) had nearly reached the point of exterminating the peculiar institution. While the document continues to outline the attacks against slavery by northerners over the course of the nation's history, an interesting thread occurs throughout the declaration: in the view of Mississippians,

northerners had estranged the South from what they believed was American, taking aim directly at their collective identity. While slavery remained the core issue, southerners had built their whole society on slavery and believed that their identity as Americans rested on the institution of slavery and their rights to its maintenance. The delegates declared that northerners had trampled "the original equality of the South under foot" and had "utterly broken the compact which our fathers pledged their faith to maintain." Abolitionists had "recently obtained control of the Government, by the prosecution of its unhallowed schemes, and destroyed the last expectation of living together in friendship and brotherhood" by breaking "every compact into which it has entered for our security." Drawing on their shared heritage, the delegates maintained that "for far less cause than this, our fathers separated from the Crown of England" and that they would "follow their footsteps." The act of secession was not an act of rebellion but an act of preservation and a way to "maintain their rights."[69]

Further evidence for the belief that northerners had stripped the South's American identity comes from the speeches by the secessionist commissioners Governor Pettus sanctioned to travel to other slaveholding states shortly after the November election to persuade state legislatures to pursue the course of secession. William L. Harris, commissioner to Georgia, spoke to the state legislature days before Mississippians voted on conventional delegates in December 1860. Harris began his speech by claiming that "the violation of our constitutional rights, which has caused such universal dissatisfaction in the South, is not of recent date." Speaking of the Compromise of 1850, Harris declared that "nothing but [the South's] devotion to the Union our Fathers made, induced

the South, *then*, to yield to a compromise." In the recent election the North gave support to fanaticism and a Black Republican, and, according to Harris, the federal "government [now] stands *totally revolutionized* in its main features, and our Constitution broken and overturned." What bothered Harris the most, though, was that the Founding Fathers had "made this a government for the white man, rejecting the negro, as an ignorant, inferior, barbarian race, incapable of self-government, and not, therefore, entitled to be associated with the white man upon terms of civil, political, or social equality," but the "new administration comes into power, under the solemn pledge to overturn and strike down this great feature of our Union, without which it would never have been formed." Harris again alluded to the Founding Fathers who "secured to us, by our Constitutional Union, now being overturned by this Black Republican rule, protection to life, liberty, and property, all over the Union." The North had destroyed the principles upon which the nation had rested for nearly a hundred years, and, by electing Abraham Lincoln as president, had chosen to steer the course of the nation in a new direction without the consent of the South.[70]

Assigned to Virginia, secession commissioner Fulton Anderson spoke to the state convention in February after Mississippi had formally left the United States. Anderson first wished to differentiate between the "patriotic and conservative men of the Northern section" who had "manfully defended the constitutional rights of our section" from the "dominant faction of the North" who had "trampled them under foot." Anderson harangued the convention with biting accusations against the northern people for allowing a "Black Republican" to come to power. "It cannot, therefore, be pretended that

the Northern people did not have ample warning of the disastrous and fatal consequences that would follow the success of that party in the election," he asserted. "Impartial history will emblazon it to future generations," Anderson proclaimed, "that it was their folly, their recklessness and their ambition, not ours, which shattered into pieces this great Confederated Government, and destroyed this great temple of constitutional liberty which their ancestors and ours erected, in the hope that their descendents might together worship beneath its roof as long as time should last." Northern hatred and fanatical passion had "practically disfranchis[ed] the whole body of the Southern people." By endorsing the radical party, the North had placed into office a political junta who "under the false pretence of restoring the Government to the original principles of its founders, but in defiance and contempt of those principles, it avowed its purpose to take possession of every department of power, executive, legislative and judicial, to employ them in hostility to our institutions." Because of this, the South, "the descendents of the leaders of that illustrious race of men who achieved our independence and established our institutions, were to become a degraded and a subject class, under that Government which our fathers created to secure the equality of all the States—to bend our necks to the yoke." Reconciliation with the North would prove futile since "an infidel fanaticism, crying out for a higher law than that of the Constitution and a holier Bible than that of the Christian, has been enlisted in the strife, and in every form in which the opinions of a people can be fixed and their sentiments perverted." This doctrine had percolated into "the school-room, the pulpit, on the rostrum, in the lecture-room and in the halls of legislation, [filled with] hatred and contempt of us and our institutions, and of the

Constitution which protects them, have been inculcated upon the present generation of Northern people."[71]

While many celebrated and supported the decision of the state to secede, some lamented the severed ties to the Union. On 10 January 1861, Susan Darden commented in her diary, "News came to Fayette from Jackson that Mississippi had seceded from the Union. It is sad to think that we are not one of the United States; all alone." G. W. Bachman, a Methodist Episcopal minister, noted in his journal, "I received the sad intelligence that my native state, Mississippi seceded from the Union yesterday at 2 P.M. I fear they have acted hastily." After hearing news of Jefferson Davis's election as president of the Confederate States of America, Edward Fontaine, a planter near Jackson, bemoaned that "the United States of America—This once glorious Republic is now no more." As he continued writing his patriotic pride swelled. "Its origin progress, decline of all have no parallel in History," he wrote, "Unlike all other Governments, which have passed away, it has fallen without the shock of foreign or civil war." Fontaine persisted, "The glorious banner which has waved victoriously even [sic] so many battle fields" now had scattered stars, broken arrows, and a dead eagle—"we weep over each." Fontaine concluded, "I fear that it will be long before we can rear another government whose flag will excite the hopes of the oppressed, and fire the patriotic devotion of the free, like that which fanaticism and fratricidal strife have folded forever and consigned to grave." One Whig newspaper in Vicksburg commented shortly after learning of the ordinance simply that "We did not approve it." However, the editor declared, "We are a Mississippian. Our State has spoken. It has taken its stand. It has dissolved its connection with the

United States. It has declared its independence. It was the voice of a very large majority of the people of the States. The act has been done, and it is not becoming for one single son of the State to refuse to yield to it all the support, moral and physical, in his power to give." Despite initial reactions, it did not take long for those who questioned the judiciousness of secession to throw their support behind the newly formed Confederate States of America.[72]

When the delegates from each of the seceding states assembled in Montgomery on February 4, they quickly framed and adopted a constitution four days later which mirrored the Constitution of the United States except for the inclusion of explicit defenses of slavery as well as other minor changes that favored states' rights doctrine. The next order of business for the Provisional Congress was to appoint a provisional president to serve until later that fall when elections would occur throughout the Confederacy. Since several slave states had yet to follow the actions of the Lower South, the Congress had decided to find a moderate voice to represent the Confederacy. Jefferson Davis, not a participant in the conference, quickly became the front-runner when prominent political leaders from Virginia (who had yet to secede) made known their preference for the former Mississippi Senator. Davis, a West Point graduate and military leader during the Mexican-American War, also had served as Secretary of War under Franklin Pierce in addition to his election on two separate occasions to the United States Senate. Davis, a states' rights Democrat and moderate, had supported secession but had not invoked the fiery rhetoric of men such as William Lowndes Yancey and Robert Barnwell Rhett. On February 9, Davis received word that the Provisional

Congress had unanimously elected him president of the Confederate States of America and requested his presence in Montgomery. Hesitant but willing to serve in whatever capacity his new nation required him, Davis set out for Montgomery where his inauguration occurred on February 18 at the Exchange Hotel.[73]

In his inaugural address, Jefferson Davis explained that the North had trampled upon American republicanism and had dissociated the southern states from the American ideal that they still cherished. Davis declared that the North had "perverted" the Constitution of the United States and "the purposes for which it was ordained." "The impartial and enlightened verdict of mankind will vindicate the rectitude of our conduct," Davis explained, "and He who knows the hearts of men will judge of the sincerity with which we labored to preserve the Government of our fathers in its spirit." According to Davis the North had caused secession by overthrowing the principles upon which the nation stood and trampled carelessly on the freedom of the southern states. God would support the Confederacy and the actions of southerners who acted to preserve the republican principles. Davis, surely to reassure the other slaveholding states yet to seceded, made it clear that the "Constitution formed by our fathers is that of these Confederate States, in their exposition of it, and in the judicial construction it has received, we have a light which reveals its true meaning." An appeal to American patriotism was also an appeal to join the Confederacy, the only nation who truly understood and accepted the doctrines which the Founders had established decades earlier. The new Confederacy would be a mirror image of the United States with the

clear protection of property and states' rights, an identity easy for southerners to assume.[74]

Davis's pleas aimed at the Border States in his inaugural address did not prompt additional states to join the Confederacy, but Lincoln's call for volunteers after the attack on Fort Sumter propelled Arkansas, North Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia to secede and boosted support among Mississippians for the Confederate cause. Thousands of eager men flocked to volunteer stations to join local militias, and in many cases, Mississippi had too many volunteers. Ezekiel Armstrong, a young Mississippian studying law in school, noted in his diary that "Lincoln's Proclamation calling out 75,000 men drew out my latent patriotism and on the 6th of April, 1861, I attached my name to a company." Sophia Boyd of Kosciusko grieved over Lincoln's call for troops as she "did not think it time yet for college boys to volunteer." Boyd's brother, who had declared his intentions to join a militia unit, questioned his sister's patriotism after she shared with him her views on the matter. Several young men across the South flocked to recruiting stations including M. Ryan who traveled to Corinth to join a company and worried "that the Yankees would be whipped before I could get there." The situation soon spiraled out of control when the state could not supply the newly formed companies with weapons nor assign them to any specific area for duty. Governor Pettus soon found himself in political turmoil trying to deal with how to financially provide for the military units. Despite this, men continued to volunteer thinking if they did not act quickly the war would soon end. Betty Beaumont, shop owner, Englander by birth, and suspected abolitionist, commented in her memoir that she could not contain the enthusiasm of her boys to go off to war.

Beaumont explained, "I wanted to keep my boys secluded, but to this their young spirits could not submit. Their sympathies were with the Confederate cause." She continued, "My sons eagerly caught the drift of the times and warmly espoused the Confederate side, giving such aid as lay in their power and ready to make any sacrifice for what they deemed right." In a letter to her daughter, Sarah Watkins, a planter's wife living near Carrollton, stated, "Hardly anything is talked about but war, nearly all the nice beaux have gone off to war."[75]

While men volunteered for military service to show their support for the newly formed Confederacy women also participated in helping the new nation. Many women belonging to the yeomen and planter class formed sewing clubs in order to make clothes and flags for the soldiers. Such organizing had not taken place among southern women previously and marked one of the crucial developments during the Civil War that contributed to the creation of a new feminine identity in the South. Sarah Watkins wrote to her daughter that "several of the ladies have joined to have a sewing society in Middleton to make up clothing for the troops." Annie Harper of Natchez remarked that "The Court house & other public buildings were turned into sewing rooms, where the ladies daily gathered to sew for the soldiers." Harper claimed that "Women knit riding in their carriages & at all visits, ever were the busy needles flying, and some even discussed the propriety of knitting during prayer meeting." Some women also found other ways to support the soldiers in the field. One group of young women in central Mississippi held a concert to collect money to purchase winter clothing for two local companies. "The girls who will give the concert are to represent the different Confederate States," explained

Mary Watkins "with each girl having the name of the state which she is to represent printed distinctly on the white sash which she wears pinned on the right shoulder, extending across her breast and back and tied in a bow in the left hip." The girls performed numerous musical pieces which included singing, piano and guitar playing, and group numbers.[76]

For others, support for the newly formed Confederacy resided in the principles upon which the founders had built the nation. Greene Chandler, a lawyer by profession, believed that "African slavery [was] imbedded in the Federal Constitution as one of the compromises, and whether slavery was right or wrong in the abstract, I fully believed that it was the imperative duty of all the parties to the compact to carry it out in good faith and give the amplest protection to slave property." In Chandler's understanding the "national Union was a simple confederacy of independent and sovereign States, with powers limited by the Constitution." Chandler also maintained that each state had the legal right to separate itself from the others if she so desired and that the other states had no legal right to coerce that state back into the bonds of union. "There is no doubt, in my mind," Chandler declared, "that this is the precise kind of Federal Government that the majority of the Constitutional Convention intended to make, and actually did make." The North's interpretation of the Constitution was wrong, they had moved away from the principles of the Founding Fathers, and as a consequence, they had brought war upon the people of the nation.[77]

As war commenced in the summer of 1861, Confederate pride and nationalism swelled, becoming the prevailing group identity across much of white Mississippi. The

formation of a Confederate identity took less than a year to coalesce and would provide

the foundation on which future generations would continue to base their collective sense

of identity. By claiming that northerners had abandoned their American heritage in favor

of Black Republicanism, southerners founded their Confederate identity and nation on

securing the institution of slavery to ensure their social structure would remain in tact.

Southerners led a revolution in 1861 in an effort to cling to the past and protect their

society from change. The new southern identity was easy for southerners to assume since

it offered a continuation of that which they already embraced; intensified by war, support

for the Confederacy also became a noble cause—the protection of family and

homeland—which helped to unite many of those who had previously distanced

themselves from secession.[78]

CHAPTER IV

"LIKE PATRIOTS OF OLD"

We are a band of brothers, natives of the soil,
Fighting for our property we gained by honest toil;
But when our rights were threatened the cry rose near and far,
Hurrah for the Bonnie Blue Flag that bears a single star […]
Then here's to our Confederacy, so strong we are and brave,
Like patriots of old, we'll fight our heritage to save:
And rather than submit to shame, to die we would prefer,
So cheer up for the Bonnie Blue Flag that bears a single star.[79]

Shortly after the Mississippi Convention issued its ordinance for immediate

secession, the women of Jackson presented the legislature with a flag: the Bonnie Blue.

Solid blue with a single white star in the center representing the newly formed Republic

of Mississippi, government officials flew the flag over the capitol building. In a single

article of cloth, the Bonnie Blue symbolized Mississippi's new identity, that apart from

the United States of America. Harry McCarthy, inspired by the sight of the flag, wrote

the popular Confederate anthem, *The Bonnie Blue Flag*, a lyrical treatise that explained

the principles upon which the new Confederacy stood. Northerners had attempted

through "treachery" to "mar" the rights of southerners and so they fought "for our

property we gained by honest toil." Alluding to the American Revolution, McCarthy

penned, "Then here's to our Confederacy, so strong we are and brave, / Like patriots of

old, we'll fight our heritage to save." The Confederate cause was noble, just as the cause

of independence was nearly a hundred years earlier, and it managed to attract several dedicated adherents in a very short period of time.[80]

The new Confederate identity (entwined with a sense of Confederate nationalism) formed so quickly that several scholars have questioned if it was simply a superficial façade that had minimal support among the citizenry. Some historians have argued that Confederate nationalism failed, having a direct impact on the war effort, while others have contended that self-interest always came before nationalistic impulses and southerners were more true to their families and communities than they were to the Confederacy. Recent studies on Confederate nationalism argue for the immediate and lasting success of the newly minted Confederate identity by exploring southern print culture and writings that percolated through the ranks to all classes of whites. These writings helped sustain a sense of "otherness" from the North and established a distinct southern culture and unifying symbols that differed from the rest of the American nation. While these writings, such as newspapers, pamphlets, speeches, and sermons, did reach the masses, a crucial aspect of Confederate identity formation came from the interaction southerners had with northerners throughout the war.[81]

The process of identity formation relies heavily on social interaction to create and sustain a sense of collective identity, and Confederate Mississippians interacted with various dominant social groups throughout the war: fellow Confederates, Yankees, slaves/freedmen, sympathizers, deserters, and staunch Unionists. As Confederate Mississippians interacted with northern occupiers they played the part of a rebel, a Confederate, and a southerner regardless of their feelings or fealty towards the

Confederate government at Richmond. This interaction helped them to solidify their understanding of what it meant to be a Confederate and thereby aided in the process of creating and sustaining a new group identity. For many Confederates, northerners were the antithesis of everything southern. By participating and interacting with southerners, northerners unknowingly helped form a new Confederate identity as much as those who created cultural symbols and disseminated their ideas of the Confederacy in their writings. Complicating the process, Unionists and sympathizers constantly interfered and threatened the establishment of a dominant group Confederate identity as all-encompassing among whites. At the same time, slaves began to play the role of freedmen when they heard of or witnessed advancing Union troops and began to carve out their new social identity as citizens of the United States. They began to act differently toward their masters and heralded the Union occupiers as their Moses, the means to an end of slavery, and bearers of a new social order. The process of identity formation extended to all social classes, allowing everyone to participate, unwittingly at times.[82]

A war waged in the minds of Mississippians during the Civil War as various groups vied to create a collective social identity that would legitimize and make sense of their actions and role within the larger social structure. Confederate men thought about their role as Confederates and interacted differently with northerners than the rest of the southern population. Most men served in the military and engaged with northerners in battle which constituted the most common form of interaction, and many developed their sense of a Confederate identity through interacting with other soldiers. Many soldiers

sent home letters or wrote in diaries about how they viewed northerners, deserters, themselves, and the Confederacy, yielding clues as to how they formed a Confederate identity and conceived of their place within it. The process of identity formation among Confederate women differed slightly in that many of them had more direct contact with northern soldiers, especially after the fall of Vicksburg. Many women, left behind to take care of the farm or plantation, had to open their homes to Union forces and had almost daily contact with northern soldiers. Confederate women played the role of a rebel just as well as their male counterparts who fought in the war and they often commented on their feelings towards their "oppressors" in their diaries and letters. At the same time, and as soon as the war commenced, slaves began the process of forming a new identity which intensified as Union forces pushed further and further into Mississippi. Slaves understood that an outcome of the war in the North's favor would settle their legal status as chattel and promise an opportunity for a new life. Quick to ally with their northern liberators, slaves threw off their chains of bondage and immediately began the process of creating a new social identity that would allow them to enter into southern society as equals. As the process of identity formation encompassed the state, one group of individuals did their best to maintain their identity as Americans. Pockets of Confederate resistance plagued Mississippi in several areas of the state, most famously in the southeastern counties. White Mississippians were not completely socially homogenous, a bitter pill for many Confederates to swallow, and resulted in their desire to suppress Unionist sympathies followed by numerous efforts to eliminate those who threatened the

Confederate cause.   All groups contended for social legitimacy, a struggle just as important as the outcome of the war.

William Nugent of Greenville wrote often to his wife throughout the war, and from the beginning Nugent believed the war would continue "for sometime" because "the North seems to be as united as we." Just days before the Battle of Manassas, Nugent predicted that two or three decisive victories would "demand recognition abroad" leaving him to suppose that the South's only hope resided with the "the stalwart arms and brave hearts of our soldiers. They and they alone can achieve our independence." As young men embarked to fight in war, many of them understood the reason for the conflict was to secure southern independence, but as they became more war-hardened and fought in some of the bloodiest battles in modern warfare, they re-evaluated their initial motives to make sense of what it meant to be a southerner fighting for southern independence. Several of these men, many of them just boys, had not taken part in the political wrangling that consumed the nation during the previous decade. While at war they heard the positions of their military superiors and political leaders, but they had to make sense of the war themselves, perhaps creating a different perception of what a Confederate was than that coming from the rostrums at Richmond or the editorials in newspapers. Upon enlistment soldiers developed a perception of the enemy as something antithetical to themselves (or that which was southern), labeling northerners with undesirable characteristics that also helped mold a conceptualization of that which was southern. Robert Moore, a yeoman farmer's son, noted that several of the men in his unit went so far as to believe that a Yankee did not "look like a man." As the war progressed,

thoughts changed but the basic tenets remained the same: the North and South were fundamentally different.[83]

In a sermon delivered to his company on a Confederate Fast Day in March 1863, Edward Fontaine, a planter, summarized the baseless, ungodly traits inherent in northerners. "[They are] the blasphemers of God, his Bible, and his divine institutions," Fontaine charged, "the violaters of the Constitution; the perjurers who swear to support it, and break it in all their acts; the hirers and employers of thieves and assassins; the stealers of poor slaves; the robbers of churches; the pillagers of helpless women and children; [and] the plunderers of tombs and graves." Harsh in his criticisms, Fontaine was not alone in his sentiment—many Mississippi soldiers believed that northerners possessed vile, immoral, and unholy characteristics based on the interaction between their fellow countrymen. Flavellus Nicholson, a farmer and soldier, charged northerners with greed when he commented that the victory at Bull Run "only tended to excite the pride and jealousy of the North and urged her to greater efforts to retrieve her fallen fortunes." Alluding to the exodus of the children of Israel in ancient times, one soldier, Jesse Sparkman, hoped that the "earth might engulf them as the wicked were in the Red Sea" since the North had brought a curse upon both sections because of "their own evil doing." Robert Moore blatantly called Abraham Lincoln a liar after reading a speech by the "abolitionist" president. Having become wicked and carnally minded, the North embraced the traits of sinners who had opened their arms to immorality.[84]

Many southerners viewed northerners as the fallen progeny of Providence and therefore believed that they alone had become God's chosen people. For many

Confederate soldiers, the belief that God's will would direct the outcome of the war in their favor helped sustain them through stinging defeats and morale-crushing conditions. Several Confederate soldiers maintained the belief that the Confederacy was bigger than just southern independence—it was akin to building the kingdom of God which necessitated wresting power away from the fallen North who had once belonged to God's Providential plan. William Nugent stated in a letter to his wife, "If God be for us, as I firmly and conscientiously believe he is—who can prevail over us." In his diary Joseph Garey, a native Pennsylvanian who moved with his family to Mississippi just a year before the war, commented, "We can & we will be free, God in his infinite wisdom & mercy would never consent to see his people downtrodden & crying to him for help in their hour of peril. So we will rest the cause with Him. Knoweth that He does all things well." James Neilson recognized the need for God's assistance during the war but had faith in their cause. "Without Divine interposition not only will many of our soldiers fall, but our cause, Southern Independence, will soon prove a failure," Neilson remarked, "We believe our cause to be just and will uphold it to the last!" In a letter to his mother, William Nelson acknowledged that God allowed the war to happen "as a means of settling definitely and conclusively the question of slavery." Regardless of the outcome, whether for southern independence with slavery as its defining hallmark or the abolition of slavery (which could occur without Confederate defeat), Nelson declared that he had "the greatest confidence in the wisdom of God, and believe that all things work together for good to them that love God." Even after decisive defeats, Mississippi soldiers continued to plead with God to deliver them, having firm faith in their cause. In 1864,

one soldier prayed in his diary after hearing of intense battles near Richmond: "Oh my God, wilt thou be with our army in this great struggle which is now going; oh give us our liberty again, so that we all can return to our homes in peace, harmony and worship god under our own vine fig tree."[85]

In addition to viewing northerners as a fallen people, Mississippi soldiers (no longer recognizing themselves as Americans but still considering themselves as heirs to the American Revolution) commented frequently on the North's apparent denunciation of the principles of the Constitution and republican government. In his journal Edward Fontaine sullenly lamented that northerners had adopted the policies of fanaticism by supporting Lincoln and frequently referred to the Union president as a tyrant and his administration as a "military despotism." In March 1863, Robert Moore noted that "The Yankee Congress has adjourned after clothing their President with absolute power. He now has the finance, the judiciary & the military of the country in his hands." William Nugent pondered the outcome of a possible Union victory and declared that he would rather join England or France as a colony or live under the "Russian yoke" rather than to submit to "close fisted" Yankee rule. William Chambers, stationed along the Mississippi River near Vicksburg, noted in his diary that on 4 July 1862 "two Federal fleets […] fired about 150 shots in commemoration of Independence Day, I suppose. Alas! How it is perverted!"[86]

While condemning the North for its tyrannical form of government and perversion of republicanism, Mississippians still felt connected with the American past. Writing while in a Union prison William Peel commemorated George Washington's

birthday in 1864 saying that southerners still hailed the occasion "as a day of rejoicing and feasting." Not only was it "the anniversary of the birth of the great founder of our once 'Glorious Republic,'" but it was also "the day upon which Jefferson Davis, who bore the same relationship to the [Confederate States], was inaugurated." At winter quarters in Virginia in 1862, Robert Moore sarcastically wrote, "The enemy commenced the firing of a salute very early this morning celebrating the anniversary of the birth-day of George Washington, the fruits of whose labor they are now attempting to destroy. Very consistent they pretend to be." He further commented on the double significance the day had for southerners since it was the "day set apart for the inauguration of our first president, Jeff Davis, than whom a truer patriot never lived." Mississippians also drew on imagery from the American Revolution and compared themselves to the patriots who fought for American independence. During the first winter of the war Joseph Garey described the sullen scene of the Confederate camp: "Our camp reminds us to day of the picture painted by historians of the Valley of forge during that dark period of the revolution with the exception of our being better clothed than they were for we have no barefooted or naked soldiers; but otherwise it presents the same dismal aspect." The war for southern independence paralleled that of American independence years earlier, with similar causes: overcoming a corrupt regime that threatened to enslave the colonists/southerners. Like their forefathers, despite the seemingly endless trials, they would eventually emerge victorious.[87]

While the men fought to preserve the Confederacy and secure southern independence, women at home contributed to the war effort and the formation of a

Confederate identity. The Civil War completely overturned the South's social structures, including gender roles and norms. With husbands and sons away fighting in the war women had to tend to the farm or plantation, oversee slaves and the sale of crops, organize clubs and meetings in an effort to support the war effort, and eke out an existence when crops failed and property impressments left little food or resources for basic survival. Women talked of the war as much as men and in so doing left their thoughts of the North in many of their writings. Many women in Mississippi also interacted regularly with occupying forces. Determined to defy northern soldiers and uphold the principles of the Confederate cause through their actions several women assumed the role of a "southern rebel" with impressive vehemence, leaving many northern men to conclude that the character they had heard of so often of the genteel southern lady was a myth. As women formed sewing clubs, wrote of the war, and confronted their enemies on a daily basis, they also contributed to the formation of a new southern identity that departed significantly from the conventional antebellum gender norms they had embraced years earlier. Known during the antebellum period as refined and high-classed, southern women would fashion a new identity that portrayed them as rebels, independent of men (when needed), and fiercely aggressive (again, when needed).[88]

From the beginning many Mississippi women believed that they could help the war effort just as much as the men. Many formed sewing clubs to provide uniforms and blankets to local companies, while many more did their best to cheer the hearts of those serving from the community. Writing to her friend in the summer of 1861, Cordelia

Scales commented, "It seems so hard that we who have the wills of men should be debased from engageing in this great strugle for Liberty just because we are ladies. The love of liberty is the truest & noblest aspiration which can ever inspire the human heart." Sophia Hays of Kosciusko wished in her diary, "O could I speak an army into existence, how soon would I annihilate [the North]." Stationed as a nurse in Corinth during the battles of 1862, Kate Cumming spoke with many Union soldiers. One revealed that he did not believe the South was united as a people to which Cumming curtly replied that "if the men did not fight, the women would." Several Confederate soldiers commented in letters and diaries on the support they received from the women of the South. Before boarding a train carrying soldiers outside of Mississippi, William Pitt received a gift from a young lady. It was a small Confederate flag with a piece of paper pinned next to it, the paper read: "'Compliments of Anna Collier to a Soldier. This represents Mississippi. Hurrah for the Confederacy and Davis! May an ever watchful eye be over thee! Anna Collier. Near Brandon.'" While marching through Tennessee, Robert Moore noted in his diary that despite many in Tennessee clinging to Union sympathies "there are a few ladies who dare to wave & present us with bouquets." Writing to his wife, William Nugent exclaimed, "God bless the women of the South, God bless them!" "With delicate frames not made to face the pitiless storm of battle, they yet uncomplainingly bear the brunt of privation at home," Nugent eulogized, "and hover, like ministering angels around the couches of those whom war has crushed beneath the iron orbs of his intolerable car. Rallying from the effects of each reverse they gather courage in misfortune, and inspire us with the ardor of their patriotism and the enthusiasm of their

souls." Devoted to the cause of southern independence, Confederate women hoped to bear their burdens and cheer their loved ones during the trying times of war.[89]

The zeal of Confederate women for the cause of southern independence emerged unconstrained when confronted with the enemy. After the fall of Corinth in October 1862, the Union forces began to raze Mississippi despite the intense amount of resistance to the advances. Natchez had fallen shortly after New Orleans in the spring of 1862 and by the middle of 1863 Port Gibson, Jackson, and Vicksburg would host numerous Union forces. Although several areas of Mississippi remained unimpeded by Union troops, the state had largely become the possession of the North by the close of 1863 despite the heralded attempts of Nathan Bedford Forrest during the concluding years of the war. Occupied in many areas, Confederate women in Mississippi had to deal directly with Union soldiers and interacted with them on an almost daily basis. Although militarily defeated, these southern women revealed very quickly that they were not morally defeated. After the fall of Vicksburg a young lady, Miss Mary, encountered a Confederate soldier along a well-traveled road. She asked the young man if he was a rebel and he responded affirmatively. A nearby Union soldier questioned Miss Mary, "'You told that man it was right to be a Rebel, didn't you?'" In a "fierce manner" Mary shouted back, "'I said Washington was a Rebel, and that was right.'" Living in Holly Springs, Cordelia Scales and her family unwillingly hosted Union officers after the town capitulated in 1862. One officer, Captain Flynn, asked Scales to sing "My Maryland" after which Scales shot back that she "did not play for Federal officers." Scales' father persuaded her to sing for Captain Flynn and Scales relented. After finishing the number

the captain asked Scales if she would write out the words of the song on paper. Scales agreed, but at the top of the piece she drew a Confederate flag under which she scrolled, "'no northern hand shall rule this land.'" Young and impudent, Scales insisted on waving a Confederate flag outside the family home. Several soldiers threatened her and repeatedly asked her to take it down. One officer told her that if she continued to wave the flag he would "blow [her] dam brains out." Scales persisted. One day, overhearing a captain speaking to his men about a passage in the Bible that stated the South would drive the North in the sea, Scales commented "I hoped I would be at the jumping off place & see the last blue coat go under."[90]

In addition to openly defying Union forces, Confederate women assumed a more masculine role in describing the endurance of their sufferings and also in contrasting themselves to the North and northern women. By employing masculine language, Confederate women elevated themselves to a more dominant position over their enemies by emasculating them. Hoping to rouse the occupying Union troops, Cordelia Scales alluded that the women of Mississippi would be willing to take up arms against the North. One soldier replied that southern ladies were "too good natured," to which Scales responded that indeed they were good natured but that "when our soil was invaded & by such cretures as they were it was enough to arouse any one." Emilie McKinley, a governess residing near Vicksburg and a northerner by birth, recalled a conversation held between Victoria Batchelor (one of her friends) and General Dennis, a Union officer. General Dennis said that "there was one circumstance he had noticed among Southern ladies he had met, and that was a great many were always bright and cheerful, even gay

and lively, and that under misfortunes which could crush many people." McKinley was proud to note in her diary that Dennis believed a "Northern lady under the same circumstances would hardly be able to speak for her tears." Colonel James Peckham wrote a report that contained other anecdotes of Victoria Batchelor and her role as a "spirited rebel." Peckham noted that "Vic is a stubborn traitor [… and] declares she will fight against us when her brothers cease fighting and thinks (at least she says she does) that Yankeedom is gone up." Peckham commented that many of the people in the area, including Vic and her friends, "openly denounce and abuse us." Writing in her diary Emma Balfour of Vicksburg lamented the dire situation of the city in May 1863. Despite the shelling and the constant cannonading Balfour asserted that the women and children of Vicksburg would not surrender and would be "content to suffer martyrdom." Anne Martin commented in her diary that she went to a friend's home and "spent an agreeable time talking over the Yankees, laughing at the Yankee women" and also mused gleefully about the "Battle of the Handkerchiefs" which occurred in February 1863 in New Orleans. As Union officers transported captured Confederate military leaders to Baton Rouge, the women of the city stood near the levee and waved their handkerchiefs in support of the southern cause. Hoping to disband the crowd, the women responded to the Union soldiers with continued resistance after which a brief melee ensued followed by unremitting handkerchief waving. The incident was widely heralded throughout the South, demonstrating the notion that southern women could also whip the Yankees if need be.[91]

Several events throughout the war tested the dedication of Confederate Mississippians to their cause, none more so than the siege and fall of Vicksburg. As the last Confederate stronghold along the Mississippi River, control of Vicksburg would geographically divide the Confederacy and allow Union ships unimpeded access of the major waterway. Employing several diversionary tactics in the spring of 1863, including a successful cavalry raid through the eastern and southern portions of the state led by Benjamin Grierson, federal commander Ulysses S. Grant managed to ferry over 20,000 troops across the river and into Mississippi just below Vicksburg. Grant made his move northward toward Jackson hoping to disrupt the city's supply lines that ran to Vicksburg. The only opposition Grant met came from John Pemberton's force of just over 20,000 troops which Grant managed to spread thin with his diversions. Reinforced by William Sherman's command, Grant reached Jackson in mid-May and turned eastward toward the city on a bluff. With no where to go, Pemberton backed his forces into Vicksburg and waited for the Union advance. Grant launched an unsuccessful assault on May 19 and planned another attack for a few days later; firmly entrenched, the Confederates inflicted heavy casualties on the federal forces. On May 25, Grant decided to lay siege to Vicksburg having the Confederates soundly surrounded throughout the hilly countryside outside the city. Grant's forces had swelled to over 70,000 men with Pemberton's only hope resting on Joseph Johnston's command of 20,000 who had re-entered Jackson after the Federals had left. Johnston, outnumbered and unwilling to launch an assault against Grant, puttered around the area and left Pemberton to his own devises.

Conditions worsened for the Confederate soldiers and the 4,000 inhabitants of Vicksburg as the days turned into weeks. Completely sealed off food soon became scarce and the soldiers started scavenging for anything edible. The citizens of the city crowded into caves which they used as bomb shelters against the constant Union cannonading from the river. Diseased, depressed and desperate, some of the Confederate men sent a letter to Pemberton on June 28 which indicated the desire to either be fed or surrender as men were seriously considering the dishonorable act of desertion. Pemberton called a conference with the other Confederate commanders and decided to meet with Grant to discuss the terms of capitulation. Grant and his troops formally marched into the city on July 4 and agreed to parole the Confederate soldiers who signed a pledge to remain out of combat until an exchange had taken place in which the Confederacy gave up an equal number of Union prisoners. With the siege over, Mississippi had almost completely fallen into Union hands. The government officials at Jackson had fled, including Governor John Pettus, and Vicksburg would remain in Union hands through the duration of the war. Although the paroled soldiers had orders to rendezvous in Demopolis, Alabama, many of those from Mississippi returned home or fled to anti-Confederate strongholds in the southeastern portion of the state. While Confederates would not understand the finality and significance the fall of Vicksburg would have on the ultimate survival of the Confederacy, a pall of harsh reality settled over the state. Sherman would eventually decimate the Mississippi countryside as he prepared for his infamous march toward the sea and food would remain scarce throughout the duration of the war.[92]

Defeated as a state, the fall of Vicksburg served as a catalyst among a number of loyal Confederates and strengthened their resolve. Despite demoralizing defeats, a sense of invincibility ran throughout the Confederate armies during the war that originated in antebellum southern culture. A similar process sustained many Mississippi Confederates who maintained unwavering faith in the cause and inevitability of southern independence even after the surrender of Vicksburg. Confederates believed that the southern cause was just and that, if need be, God would intervene, miraculously deliver them from bondage, and support them unwaveringly in their efforts. Even after the fall of Vicksburg and the complete devastation that followed, many Confederate women helped buoy the sunken spirits of their brothers, sons, husbands and fathers by retaining their faith in the Confederate cause. Hearing the rumors of the fall of Vicksburg, Natchez resident Kate Foster maintained the faith that God would still support the Confederacy. "And if this our glorious little city does fall," Foster wrote, "have we not Hope still left us in the goodness of God and we all believe He is for us and having this faith how can we doubt for an instant." Even when confirmation of the city's capitulation reached Adams County, Foster still held to her previous convictions. "Now our struggle will last longer but not for a moment do I think we will be unsuccessful," Foster exclaimed, "No! will these deeds make us love them any more and is Vicksburg the only city in the [Confederate States]. God has let it fall to show us our cause does not rest upon the mere fall or holding of any one city." Elizabeth Brown, also a citizen of Natchez, shared similar sentiments in relation to the capitulation of Vicksburg. "We have got to fight the war harder, that is all," she reasoned, "and trust that God will be with us, and enable us to

free our poor Country yet." Belle Edmondson wrote in her diary, "Vicksburgh, surrendered this morning and an exulting foe, madened by success, imagines the Rebellion crushed—poor deluded fools—tis just begun." She continued in prayer-like soliloquy, "Tis God's will you should prosper, and devastate our lovely land so far, and it may be even more than this, yet our faith is perfect. God will bless us. No matter how dim the Star of Liberty may grow, even in Months to come. We are content my Savior, thy will, not ours, be done. 'Blessed is the man, whose trust is in thee.' God is our Sun and Shield, and we will yet come out victoriously free." Writing to her husband, Maria Giles commented on the loss of Vicksburg and wrote, "they say that the darkest hour is always just before day, and I will try to hope that through all the clouds which now envelop us, will soon break the day dawn of our young Confederacy." For many of these Confederate women, the finality of southern independence was almost inevitable, as long as they bore their sufferings well and trusted in the Lord.[93]

For many, though, as much as they desired southern independence, the fall of Vicksburg heralded the inescapable ruin of the young Confederacy which was compounded by war weariness and failing support for the actions of the Confederate government at Richmond. Having fought at Gettysburg, John Crawford heard of the surrender of Vicksburg after retreating back to Maryland and wrote to his wife that if "Vicksburg has gon up the spout […] wee had just as well quit and give up the Confedracy." Even William Nugent, a diehard Rebel, recognized the lack of support among the Confederate citizenry after the fall of Vicksburg and charged them with primary culpability for the high desertion rates and low morale. "[The people of the

state] are much to blame for the desertion of troops," Nugent wrote to his wife, "they are almost ready now to *submit absolutely* to old Abe's will and kiss the rod that strikes them." Vicksburg had crushed the will of many Mississippians as a high rate of desertion left the Confederate army depleted, but the fall of the city only marked one factor in the waning support for the Confederacy.[94]

Throughout the war, the Confederate government at Richmond, led by Jefferson Davis, significantly handicapped the sustainability of nationalistic sentiment by failing to win the support of the yeomanry and plain folk of the South. Regardless of his states' rights stance, Jefferson Davis built a strong central government that imposed a number of unpopular laws upon the citizens of the Confederacy that heavily favored the planter class. Fearing the diminishing of Confederate forces once the first year-long contracts expired in 1862, the Davis administration supported the Conscription Act that required all men between eighteen and thirty-five to serve in the Confederate military. The act also extended the contracts of all those currently in the service and provided exemptions for those in positions deemed necessary for the normal function of southern society. While the act enraged the staunch states' rights elements throughout the Confederacy, an addendum passed in October 1862 raised the age eligibility to forty-five but also exempted anyone who owned twenty or more slaves. The yeomanry and nonslaveholders of the South replied with disdain and declared the struggle a rich man's war but a poor man's fight. The Twenty Negro Law incensed the plain folk of the Confederacy which only increased as other war measures that allowed the army to impress property left many without food or the means for subsistence. While Mississippi already had a significant

pro-Union population prior to and during the war, the failed support from the Davis administration as well as war weariness swelled these numbers and produced a sizeable anti-Confederate contingent throughout the state that threatened Mississippi's Confederate identity.[95]

Mississippi had strong pockets of Unionists in the northeast and southern counties of the state that openly defied Confederate and state authority and aided the Federal forces when opportunities arose. Many of these Unionists were nonslaveholders and had decried secession and engaged in opposing the radical measures adopted by the southern states, while others became anti-Confederates (sometimes Unionists) after they witnessed the horrible devastation the war had brought upon the citizens of Mississippi. Either way, they campaigned for an immediate cessation of hostilities and welcomed a reunion with the northern states. Confederate Mississippians usually detested those who opposed the Confederacy and even those who chose the less-honorable course of action through desertion. Several soldiers commented on the loss of morale in their companies after major defeats but also believed that desertion was not the appropriate remedy. Confederate Mississippians also shuddered to think that all whites in the state had not rallied in concert for the cause of southern independence and therefore sought to muzzle the voices of protest. Jones County became a hub of Unionist sentiment, led by Newel Knight, who openly defied the state's Confederate government and waged a war to retain its independence throughout the duration of the war. State officials made several attempts to regain control of the county but all efforts proved costly and futile. Most of the time pro-Union or anti-Confederate men and women wanted to establish that just

because Mississippi seceded from the Union that several within the state did not believe in the cause of southern independence (or came to realize the senselessness of such attempts) and that they had retained their identity as an American.[96]

Many Mississippi dissenters did not just disagree with the policy and act of secession but opposed several aspects of southern society and culture. John Aughey, clergyman and one of the more famous dissenters in Mississippi, faced intense scrutiny after openly opposing secession in 1861. Eventually moving from Attala County to Tishomingo County, Aughey began to help transport the cotton of his friends to sellers in the North after the war commenced. Arrested shortly afterward, Aughey spent time in a Tupelo prison and, with the aid of fellow sympathizers, ultimately made his escape before his scheduled execution. In his memoir, Aughey railed against the slaveholding class, characterizing them with "idleness, vanity, licentiousness, profanity, dissipation, and tyranny." Praising the yeomanry, Aughey described them as "industrious, frugal, hospitable, simple in their habits, plain and unostentatious in their manners." Claiming that many of the yeomen did not own slaves, Aughey painted a picture of Mississippi as one controlled by the slavocracy in which "poor whites are forced to obey." According to Aughey, those who chose to resist the slaveholders "[were] denounced as abolitionists, and are in danger of death at the hands of Judge Lynch, the mildest punishment they can hope for being a coat of tar and feathers." By labeling someone as an abolitionist or Yankee, slaveholders applied a label of "reproach" that would negatively "stigmatize" those accused. Aughey believed that many Mississippians opposed the planter class and claimed that only slaveholders manifested "considerable antipathy against the Yankees."

By claiming that the yeomen composed the honorable class in the South and by blaming the plantation class for the directed hostilities towards the North, Aughey (writing for a northern audience) hoped to portray a state divided in sentiment and overwhelmed by a powerful group of fanatics.[97]

Another Mississippi Unionist, John Wood, lambasted the state for pursuing the course of secession and those who embraced the foolish doctrine. Writing half-way through the war, Wood began by comparing the general condition of the state antebellum to that in wartime. Starvation, economic collapse, and a complete disruption in commerce all plagued the state because a fringe group of radicals had adopted the doctrine of states' rights and contended that unless Mississippi's young men "took part in the revolution, they would be regarded as the Tories of the Revolutionary War." Throughout the course of the century these "political parsons have seized upon the subject of slavery as a Divine institution," Wood believed, "and have rivaled the most fanatical enthusiasts of the North in their extreme views and zealous exertions." Their fanaticism had fueled the belief that "Providence is on their side, and whether in victory or defeat, they have an ample fund of scriptural quotations at hand, with which either to rejoice or to cheer up the weak and faint-hearted." These extremists had also introduced a delusional concept concerning the "great superiority" of the southern soldier versus that of the northerner. This idea had led to the death of thousands of boys who believed the pernicious lies and rushed off to war. By bowing to these radicals and their propaganda, Mississippi faced utter destruction at the hands of those who should be their friends. Writing to his fellow Mississippians, Wood maintained that "a love for the Union should

be cherished" and that "the ardent desire of every American patriot should be to see a re-union in feeling among the people of the United States."[98]

Confederate Mississippians actively sought to silence critics of the Confederacy or those who harbored unionist sentiments. A number of Unionists, many of them parolees from Vicksburg, fled to Jones County in the southeastern portion of the state (already a stronghold of anti-Confederate feeling) and waged their own war against Confederate officials. Led by the rascally Newel Knight, his military unit, the Jones County Scouts, evaded arrest, stole from the Confederacy to feed the hungry, and proved an embarrassing thorn in the side of the Confederate government (locally and nationally). Confederate Mississippians could not understand why such feeling should exist. William Howell, a soldier in a militia unit, had orders to march to Smith and Jones County to ferret out the Jones County Scouts. Referring to the hostile attitude present in the southern counties, Howell commented in a letter to his mother, "it is a disgrace to the state that Mississippians should act in such a manner." William Walton wrote a letter to his father-in-law in which he confessed, "we have an element amongst us which is neither southern in sentiment nor gladsome at heart when success attends the efforts of our brave men." Walton continued, "He who is not for us, is against us. He who is against us cannot and shall not, be on any other terms with me than those of enmity. The friendship of such persons brings ruin upon the true southern man." Confederate Mississippians made whatever efforts they could to suppress the efforts of those opposed to the Confederacy, even trying to rename Jones County and the county seat Ellisville to Davis County and Leesburg (which actually happened for a brief time after the war).[99]

While anti-Confederate sentiment swelled as the war neared finality, the nearly 450,000 enslaved men and women supposed that God had brought war upon the nation for the purpose of securing their emancipation. Composing roughly fifty-five percent of Mississippi's population in 1860, slaves knew and understood the larger implications of a northern victory versus that of southern independence. Many slaves hastened on emancipation by running away from their masters and joining the Union army, others secretly provided food and information to Union forces, while several simply refused to work. The thoughts and possibilities of freedom dominated the minds of many slaves and they too had to sort out what social identity and roles they would assume. Of course several jumped quickly at the chance to ally themselves with the Federal forces but learned that white southerners were not going to allow them to throw off the shackles of servitude with ease and end their status as chattel. Several others found themselves at the mercy of Union troops who despised blacks and abused them as much as their former masters. For many slaves, the war period allowed them a time to develop a new social identity based on what benefits they believed they would receive from freedom.[100]

Many slaves knew from the outset of the war that a northern victory would ultimately result in freedom and began to be emboldened by the thought of gaining their freedom. One striking example from a North Carolina plantation illustrates how much slaves knew about the meaning of the war and the consequences a northern victory would have on their status as chattel. Returning home on a furlough, Gregory, the son of the plantation owner walked around the front lawn "wid his sword clankin' an' his boots shinin'." While in the process of "struttin' 'roun' de yard showin' off," Leonard Allen, a

"big black buck," commented under his breath, "'Look at dat God damn sojer[,] he fightin' to keep us niggahs from bein' free.'" Just after making his aside the plantation owner walked up behind Leonard and asked him what he said. Without hesitation Leonard turned to his master and boldly proclaimed, "'I say, Look at dat God damn sojer[,] he fightin' to keep us niggahs from bein' free.'" Incensed, the owner called for one of the slaves to run to the plantation home and bring back his shotgun. The slave did as commanded and returned with the gun and the owner's wife in tow who stood in front of Leonard and refused to move despite her husband's commands. The owner knocked his wife to the ground, leveled the gun at Leonard, and told the spirited slave to pull open his shirt; Leonard, without wincing, obliged after which the master "shot er hole in Leonard's ches' big as yo' fis'." While an extreme example, the fact remained that slaves throughout the South knew that their freedom hinged on a northern victory and took every opportunity to hasten along the conclusion of the war and assist the Union forces.[101]

Shortly after the surrender of Fort Sumter in 1861, slaves from several plantations in Adams County, Mississippi conspired to revolt against their masters. Hoping to secure their freedom after hearing of abolitionists who were fighting against the South, the initial planning for the insurrection occurred while some of the male slaves fished along the banks of Second Creek in May. While specific details of the plot remain unknown, one white resident of the area, J. D. L. Davenport wrote to Governor Pettus and stated that "the plans as developed are of the most diabolical character, the white males were all to be destroyed—such of the females as suited their fancy were to be preserved as Wives

and they were to march up the river to meet 'Mr. Linkin'." Several years later one of Davenport's slaves, Charlie Davenport, recalled the episode. "When I wuz a little boy they wuz a slave uprising planned," Davenport remembered, "De slaves had hit all worked out how dey wuz goin to march on Natchez aftah slayin all dare own white folks." Whatever the details of the plot, the fact remained that the slaves in the area understood that the agitation between the two sections had resulted over an argument about slavery and they were not going to let the opportunity pass without doing something to secure their freedom. The white inhabitants kept knowledge of the plot attempt closely guarded and away from the press for fear that it might embolden their enemies. Between May and September of 1861, the white citizens near Second Creek held trials under the jurisdiction of a vigilance committee and hanged somewhere between twenty-seven to forty slaves for conspiracy. Counter to the image of the happy field-hand and content slave that masters conjured in their rhetoric defending slavery, those in bondage rallied and embraced whatever opportunities they could to finally end their life as chattel.[102]

Slaves throughout the rest of the state also recognized that the conflict between the two sections of the United States had occurred over disputes about slavery and believed that God had caused it to happen to bring about their emancipation. Of course slaveholders wanted to keep the northern rhetoric from reaching their slaves but, like Maria White recalled, "the white folks tried to keep us from hearing about freedom" but "they couldn't keep that from our ears. There was so much talk going on." George Washington Albright of Marshall County remembered that as a fifteen-year-old boy he

transmitted information to slaves on other plantations as part of a slave-created organization they called the 4 Ls or Lincoln's Legal Loyal League. "I traveled about the plantations within a certain range," Albright recounted, "and got together small meetings in the cabins to tell the slaves the great news […] We had to work in dead secrecy; we had knocks and signs and passwords." Ebenezer Brown remembered that after his master had left the farm for war that "de slaves kept prayin' to be sot free; dey wud go down under a hill way in de night an' pray hard ter be sot free." July Halfen also recalled that "All de slaves prayed all de time fur to be sot free." Like Confederate southerners, slaves believed that God was on their side and would support them through victory. Abraham Lincoln became a latter-day Moses, someone who would lead the captive children of God out of bondage. Former slave Frank Hughes compared Lincoln to the ancient patriarch. "I thinks about him jes like I did about Moses," Hughes said, "I think it was de will of de Lawd to talk to Abraham Lincoln through de spirit, to work out a plan to set the niggers free. I think he carried out God's Plan." One former slave went even further and declared that "we all thought [Abraham Lincoln] was a young Christ come to save us." Like a modern-day prophet, Lincoln "did what God put him here to do, took boundage [sic] off the colored people and set them free." Jim Allen believed that "Abraham Lincoln worked by 'pinions of de Bible. He got his meanings from the Bible." By sending Abraham Lincoln, God had shown his displeasure for the institution of slavery. Lizzie Norfleet commented that "There wasn't much said about Jefferson Davis. According to the Bible, he was wrong. The Lord said 'The World was made sufficient for all to have a living.' He never intended bondage for nobody. That's why he made the

world big enough for everybody to have a home." With God fighting on their side, many slaves believed that the outcome of the war would end their life of suffering and servitude.[103]

As Union forces swept through Mississippi, slaves began to take the opportunity to flee to the Union lines and also to challenge their status as chattel. Many whites complained that slaves began to act impudently and unruly as masters and overseers had a hard time maintaining any order or control on their farms and plantations. Alfred Quine, overseer of a plantation in Warren County, kept a plantation journal to track the progress of the crops and laborers. Beginning in May 1863, several entries simply stated, "Negros all doing nothing." Samuel Agnes, pastor of a Presbyterian church, noted in August 1862 that "The negroes is the absorbing topic. Our negroes seem to be restless and hard to please." By October, Agnes and his family had lost eleven slaves who had escaped to Union lines. Concerned, but knowing any efforts to force his slaves into absolute submission were futile, Agnes conceded, "I think every one, with but one or two exceptions will go to the Yankees." He even recorded that one of his slaves "does not conceal her thoughts but plainly manifests her opinions by her conduct—insolent and insulting." Many of the slaves that stayed on the plantation or farm until the close of the war still put on airs of defiance. One slave girl, Susan Snow, overheard the white children singing a popular song among Confederates:

> Jeff Davis, long an' slim,
> Whupped old Abe wid a hick'ry limb.
> Jeff Davis is a wise man, Lincoln is a fool,
> Jeff Davis rides a gray, an' Lincoln rides a mule.

In response Snow exploded in song:

Old Gen'l Pope had a shot gun,
Filled it full o' gum,
Killed 'em as dey come.
Called a Union band,
Make de Rebels un'erstan'
To leave de lan',
Submit to Abraham.

Unfortunately for Snow, the plantation mistress overheard her solo and beat her with a nearby broom. The fact remained, though, that many slaves understood their freedom was near and they were not about to let the chance allude them.[104]

Once the war began, many black men clamored for the opportunity to enlist in the military and fight for their freedom. As Union troops pushed into the South they quickly encountered former slaves who had fled their masters and desired to assist in the war effort. Considered contraband, the Union forces often employed them to perform menial tasks such as the cooking and cleaning in camp. By the summer of 1862, though, the United States Congress passed the Confiscation Act which gave the president the authority to allow for the enlistment of blacks into the military. Segregated and led by white officers, several of the black regiments fought in combat against the Confederacy. One battle involved two black regiments and occurred at Milliken's Bend, located just north of Vicksburg. Hoping to distract Grant's forces during the early weeks of the siege and cut part of the Union supply lines, the Confederates launched an attack against the federal garrison at the bend. The Union army had stationed at the bend over a thousand former slaves from Mississippi and Louisiana who had received their commission to defend the garrison just weeks prior. Ill-equipped, the federal troops managed to repel the attack after engaging in brutal bayonet and hand-to-hand fighting. Eventually two

federal gunboats floated close enough to the battle and commenced firing on the Confederates which dispelled them from the area. General Henry McCulloch, leader of the Confederate detachment, later reported that "while the white or true Yankee portion ran like whipped curs" the "negro portion of the enemy's force [resisted the charge] with considerable obstinacy."[105]

After the fall of Vicksburg, Grant stationed black troops in the city and even distributed confiscated land to former slaves. Whites complained bitterly about the action of the former slaves who infested the city and raided the countryside for food, and many commented with disgust concerning the parading of the black soldiers in their blue Union uniforms who were "making a fine show." In an episode dripping with overt symbolism of the changing social order, Grant seized Jefferson and Joseph Davis's plantations south of Vicksburg and allowed just under 2,000 freedmen to settle on the property. Robert Melvin, a friend of the Confederate president, wrote to Davis in July after visiting the plantation home and described the devastation. "Boxes were torn open and emptied of their contents," Melvin relayed, "books and papers were strewed over the yard and scattered through the woods for miles; fine carpets were cut to pieces and carried off for saddle blankets and saddle covers; […] in fact everything useful or ornamental was plundered and destroyed with a ruthlessness worthy of Attilla himself." For the next several years the Davis plantation would operate under the direction of former slaves who continued to produce a significant amount of cotton under a self-established, democratically-oriented, communal government. The social order of the state changed dramatically after the arrival of Union forces that augured the worst fears

of the white inhabitants of the state: the abolitionist government of the North would impose racial equality upon the South.[106]

Slaves who resided in Union-occupied areas began to break the social norms that forced them to act and behave in a certain manner. A strict code of conduct, reinforced by social control, determined the appropriate manner in which individuals acted towards one another within southern society. Regardless of status, slave or free, a black always had to assume a submissive public persona to avoid disrupting the stringent social order. Once Federal forces arrived, though, many blacks began to embrace a social identity that placed them on equal terms with whites and often relied on northern soldiers to enforce and protect them in their actions. Such behavior agitated the minds of many whites who were helpless in trying to maintain the old social order. Kate Foster recalled an incident that happened at a local Natchez church during the summer of 1863. While in the middle of a service attended by residents and Union soldiers, a black man walked into the chapel, strode up the middle aisle to the pulpit, and proceeded to sit on one of the front pews. Infuriated, one congregant loudly asked what the man wanted, and in reply the "impudent scamp said he came to church and wanted a seat." Another attendee arose and escorted the black man to the gallery reserved for slaves, all the while with Federal soldiers laughing at the scene. Elizabeth Brown, also a Natchez citizen, wrote in her diary that Union forces arrested her father after he threatened to beat a black man who had wandered into their garden. Brown resentfully commented in her diary that she hoped the former slaves "will be made to suffer for their impudence."[107]

By breaking the social code of conduct blacks did not intend to infuriate their former masters (although they most certainly were aware of this fact and no doubt some did so on purpose), but hoped to be able to take full advantages of their newly acquired freedom. Blacks initially wanted relatively little in the way of their freedom and often expressed what they believed their freedom would and should entail. Former slave Lewis Jefferson explained that "De slaves wanted to be free so dey could come an' go places like de white folks an' de Patroller wud not git dem. Den dey wanted some money to buy deir own clothes." Charlie Moses believed that "God Almighty nevah ment human beings to be lak animals." "Us niggahs has a soul, an' a heart, an' a mine an we is'nt lak a dawg or a horse," he declared, "I didn't spec' nothin' outten freedom septin' peace an' happiness an' the right to go my way as I please." Desiring to escape bondage and begin a new life based on their own concepts of freedom, slaves took whatever opportunity they could to hasten on the day of emancipation and exercise their new social identity. As the war came to a close the reality of emancipation settled with agitation on the former slaveholders and fomented a struggle throughout the state for control.[108]

A war of identity waged within Mississippi during the Civil War that pitted Confederate men and women against blacks and Unionists. Seeking social control, these groups hoped to dominate the others through a campaign of subversion and illegitimacy. Confederate soldiers sought to reinforce their southern identity by ennobling their cause for independence as godly, just, and providential. Confederate women did their part in forming a Confederate identity by emasculating their enemies and embracing the role of a rebel. These women abandoned antebellum gender norms and adopted new ones that

elevated them above their northern occupiers and assist in the efforts of establishing the Confederacy. Slaves also took the opportunity to assert their claim to social legitimacy by throwing off the shackles of servitude and engaging in activities that placed them on an equal plane with whites. Unionists throughout the state also threatened the realization of southern independence and maintained their connection with the Union as Americans. During the course of the war Mississippi Confederates not only fought for military victory but also social control of the state. Uncertainty crept in after the fall of Vicksburg when Federal forces had ravaged much of the state and left many areas occupied. While many whites had adopted a Confederate identity with ease, the realization that achieving southern independence would not come to fruition left many uncertain as to how to proceed in the future.

CHAPTER V

"DYING DIXIE"

Yes, I'm dying Dixie, dying,
Mother Southland, for thy sake,
For thy holy cause I'm dying:
Take me to they bosom, take!
See, my glassy eyes are closing,
See, my bosom gasps for breath,
Soon 'twill end in sweet reposing
On thy bosom—welcome, death!
I am dying, Dixie, dying,
Still'd my heart within its breast,
Hear the angel voices crying—
Dixie—mother, Heaven, Rest![109]

"The war took away the very flower of our population," Greene Chandler recalled, "Hundreds of young men in all the counties of the State, who were capable of great achievements, perished in battle or in hospital." Those who managed to survive found an appalling state of misfortune: "when the remnants of the Confederacy returned to their homes, what they found beggared description—thousands of widows and orphans and disabled soldiers, business suspended, starvation and mourning everywhere—stark tragedy indeed." Chandler grieved, "The South was bleeding and helpless." Recognizing the utter senselessness of further resistance to northern will, Chandler conceded to be "faithful to the Government." Mere obedience to the United States, though, was not as drastic as his overall outlook after the Civil War. "I confess a change from early convictions," Chandler admitted, "I can now see, that the slavery of human

beings, except as a punishment for crime, was wrong and indefensible, despite the pulpit

and its interpretation of the Bible"; this coming from a man, who, before the war,

declared that "the condition of the African, in the slavery in which I found him, was far

better for him than the barbarism from which it rescued him." Chandler had also openly

advocated months before the 1860 presidential election for the state's militias to mobilize

and prepare for war to repel the "northern fanatics" who threatened southern property

rights. Yet, once the war concluded, Chandler quickly aligned himself with the

Republican Party, denied any active involvement in helping the state secede from the

Union, and would eventually campaign for universal male suffrage among Mississippi's

citizenry after Reconstruction ended. Many throughout the state went through a process

of rediscovery after the termination of hostilities and tried to make sense of the past four

years. Some Confederates clung bitterly to the past, while others took the politically

expedient course and supported the new Republican regime. Meanwhile former slaves

tried to adjust to their new status as citizens despite intense opposition. Mississippians

underwent an identity crisis, regardless of former social, political, or economic status.[110]

Emmett Ross's poem, "The Dying Soldier" recounts a mortally wounded soldier's

last moments while defending Atlanta and his love for the "Mother Southland." Once the

war ended southerners no longer recognized the South they had fought to preserve. The

"holy cause" for which hundreds of thousands of southerners died was completely lost—

for the next several years new elements would emerge that would wrest control away

from the planter class and elevate former slaves to prominent offices of government. The

economic prosperity which had convinced southern planters of their invincibility would

not return and the southern states, Mississippi in particular, would remain in perpetual poverty for decades. In trying to cope with military defeat and occupation throughout Reconstruction, Mississippians once again underwent the process of collective identity formation with several groups vying for social legitimacy and by extension social dominance. As Erik Erikson argued, "We are thus most aware of our identity when we are just about to gain it [and] when we are just about to enter a crisis." While Mississippians went to task developing a new group identity they changed the social structure that had characterized the antebellum and Confederate South; planters were no longer planters, elite white women were no longer genteel belles, the yeomanry were no longer planters in waiting, blacks were no longer slaves, and Democrats were no longer the political elites—the Old South was dead.[111]

White Mississippians began a process of reinvention, with a desire to cling to their Confederate identity yet somehow appease their northern occupiers. After the war, as white Mississippians proceeded to try and maintain the status quo, they encountered immediate opposition from northern transplants (carpetbaggers) and southern men who adhered to Republican ideals (scalawags) as well as from the freedmen. The war brought about change in the social structure of the state: planters had lost their laborers and their land, freedmen would have the right to vote, and the Republican Party had taken control of the state's government. White Mississippians faced an identity crisis, the outcome of which had the potential to eradicate their control over the state's political, economic, and social systems. Some chose to abandon their Confederate identity and join the Republican Party, while others decided to hold the course and weather the storm in the

hope that Reconstruction would fail. The elevation of the freedmen to social and political equality threatened the status quo, leaving whites embittered toward their former slaves and their northern compatriots. As freedmen gained the right to vote, to participate in government, and to exercise their freedom, they began the process of developing their own social identity that competed with the old regime. White Mississippians struggled to make sense of the new changes taking place during the early years of Reconstruction, and in the process of shaping a new identity for themselves they became more backward-looking. Yearning for the days of the antebellum South, white Mississippians preserved their identity by trying to preserve the memory of the war and the old social order during the first half of Reconstruction.[112]

Albert Morgan, originally from Wisconsin, had served for the Union during the Civil War and after the conclusion of hostilities decided with his brother Charles to move south, rent land, and operate a plantation. Mississippi seemed like as good a place as any and so Morgan and his brother contracted with a family in Yazoo County to lease their cotton plantation. Colonel Black, the owner of the plantation, tried to help the brothers assimilate into southern society and had planned to help the two northerners find good black laborers for the plantation. Shortly after arriving in Yazoo, Morgan and Colonel Black decided to visit Tokeba, the plantation the brothers had leased, which required crossing a stream. Bristol, the ferryman and former slave, greeted Colonel Black and his companion enthusiastically. "'This gentleman is Captain Morgan's brother, Bristol,'" Colonel Black said, "'We're going over to take a look at Tokeba this morning.'" Suddenly, though, Colonel Black stopped and began shouting at Bristol, "'Hi, you black

rascal! Don't go putting on the airs of a gentleman about me. D'ye-y'hear? Mind that!'"

The ferryman scurried onto the flat and began pushing the travelers out into the water. Initially, Morgan had no idea why the Colonel had snapped so suddenly and ferociously at the ferryman but soon learned the reason. "'These Yankees have come down, y'here, to make mony, G—d d—n you,'" the foul-mouthed Colonel began, "'You'll have to quit yo' d—d free nigger notions around them, d'ye-y'hear? and me too, or by G—d I'll see ye all in hell befoah I'll give ye a recommend to them.'" Morgan recalled that the ferryman had bowed and took off his hat after the colonel had made his introduction, an "attempt at dignity" that did not sit well with the colonel. "'[I know] the whole damned nigro tribe,'" Colonel Black continued unrelenting, "'Give them an inch and they'll take an ell […] They are by nature a lazy, thieving, treacherous people. I wouldn't trust one of them.'" Upon arriving in Mississippi, Morgan had no idea that whites expected a certain code of etiquette from freedmen that in some way demonstrated submissiveness. Colonel Black expected all freedmen to act in a similar manner as they did when they were slaves, while freedmen believed they had earned the right to conduct themselves as they pleased. The freedman was quick to recognize Morgan (a northerner) as an instant friend, while the colonel believed all Yankees, motivated by greed, wanted nothing but money. The collision between opposing social groups happened so quickly and with such force that each group had to scramble to understand their social role and that of others. These social encounters helped each group make sense of their own place within the postbellum world, as whites coped with defeat and occupation, and freedmen,

sometimes manipulated and sometimes supported by northern transplants and southern Republicans, tried to carve out their niche in the social fabric.[113]

Support for the Confederacy had waned significantly after the fall of Vicksburg and many of the state's white residents waited for the inevitable. The closing years of the war saw increased frustration on the part of the white population as the crippled Confederate economy forced many farmers and planters to trade cotton illegally with northerners in exchange for gold or federal notes. Military-aged men avoided conscription by finding maroon communities of deserters, and increased hostility on the part of the white citizenry typically undermined the commission of conscription officers as they searched towns for able-bodied individuals. In early 1864, William Sherman launched a campaign to capture Meridian during which he left a trail of fire and destruction in his wake across the center of the state. The only glimmer of hope for Confederate Mississippians resided in the bold cavalry raids conducted under the leadership of Nathan Bedford Forrest. A successful cotton and slave trader prior to the war, Forrest, a native Tennessean, had purchased land in Mississippi on which he built a plantation. Forrest gained notoriety throughout the war as he escaped death and led his men on daring charges. Forrest quickly became a hero in Mississippi during 1864 when he harassed Sherman and other Union forces that still roamed the area. Forrest's most accomplished and heralded victory in the state came at Brice's Cross Roads in the northeastern portion of the state when his men clashed with a Union detachment (twice the size of Forrest's cavalry) that resulted in Forrest chasing the stunned federals nearly

to Memphis. Despite Forrest's rising reputation, the fact remained that Mississippi had sustained significant loses in both property and human life.[114]

By early 1865 Confederate defeat appeared certain as the Confederate government scrambled to save their dying nation. Although the idea had circulated for some time, Ethelbert Barksdale, editor of a Jackson newspaper and member of the Confederate House of Representatives, proposed a piece of legislation in February 1864 that would organize companies of black troops to assist the Confederate war effort. Barksdale, an outspoken critic of "submissionists" during 1850 and a staunch supporter of fire-eater John Pettus for the gubernatorial chair in 1859, introduced the bill on 10 February 1865 but it would not become law until March 13 when Davis signed the legislation after gaining support from Robert E. Lee. The law allowed for the conscription of slaves and promised pay and equipment but did not guarantee the freedom of the slave after they risked their life to perform a national duty. Lamed and limping, the Confederate government instituted measures that would force slaves to fight to preserve their bondage. While some black regiments mustered, the fall of Richmond during the first few days of April followed by Lee's surrender to Ulysses Grant on April 9 at Appomattox marked the end of the Confederacy. Jefferson Davis spent the next few months on the run, eventually captured in Georgia when two Union regiments stumbled upon his camp and arrested the former president before he fled into the woods. Davis's wife had wrapped her black shawl around her husband to help conceal his identity as they left their tent and headed into the forest, providing endless fodder for the northern press that Davis had dressed in women's clothes to evade capture.[115]

For white Mississippians the close of the war brought intense fear and uncertainty as they waited to hear the terms of peace and how the federal government would assimilate them back into the Union. In the early months of 1865, most Mississippians recognized that defeat was looming and that soon they would have to lay down their arms and re-enter the Union. Many retained their belief in the justness of their cause but prepared to accept that perhaps God had different plans for His chosen people. "Every day I feel more and more what a waste of life this is," Charles Roberts wrote to his wife in the spring of 1865, "I know our Cause is just and this is the only thing that at all reconciles me to the great sacrifice I am making." What bothered most, though, was the thought that the victors would completely displace all that was southern, all that they had become over the past four years. William Chambers, a school teacher before the war, imagined the transformation likely to come to the South after hostilities had ended. "It is an unpleasant thought," Chambers mused, "but one that often suggests itself, that when the contest is ended in our defeat, hundreds—nay thousands—of the Northern soldiers will find homes in the South and make wives of our sisters and our daughters." What brought more sorrow to Chambers was that "where one [southerner] would remain true to principle and be faithful to a memory, many will be ready to forget it all." Edward Fontaine, a planter from Hinds County, shuddered to think that with the fall of the Confederacy "no monuments will be erected by this generation for the graves of the hundreds of thousands of our heroes who have fallen in the defence of our native land." Many feared the North would control the memory of the war as they forced the South into submission.[116]

With the inevitability of defeat, many white Mississippians had to choose their next course of action: remain a Confederate or adopt an identity that would please northerners so they could quickly reenter the Union and reassert the status quo antebellum. Several throughout the state had opposed secession and the formation of the Confederacy, while others had become disillusioned with the southern government over the course of the war. Many more, however, deliberately chose to change their identity entirely once the war concluded. Greene Chandler immediately joined the Republican Party after the war because the Democratic Party "had outlived all the principles it ever possessed." Feeling betrayed by the Democrats, Chandler questioned why "self-respecting Southern men" united with the party since it was "utterly out of keeping with the chivalric character of the people." For Chandler, southern men had a lapse in judgment prior to the war and could only see their blunder after four years of bloodshed. Others chose to adopt a more uniform American identity to ease the transition back into the Union. Speaking at the University of Mississippi in 1866, Oscar Bledsoe declared, "The primary object of desire with the South at the present time *is restoration to coequal rights in the union of the States.*" Bledsoe still heralded the South's crusade for independence and the "bravery and obstinate heroism displayed by the South," but affirmed that "She has always been devoted to Constitutional American Liberty [and] she never aimed a blow in wrath at the Constitution." Bledsoe argued that "The South now stands, in common with all Americans, who are not blinded by prejudice and party hate, upon the platform of the great general principles which underlie our governmental polity." According to Bledsoe, southerners had always retained their American identity

and principles and suggested that future historians, not the present generation, would make sense of what divided the nation in 1861 and why the war commenced.[117]

While some Mississippians disavowed the Confederate identity wholesale, others assumed a more broadly conceived American identity based on reconciliation and penitence when circumstances necessitated the switch. Russell Conwell, a Union veteran and Boston newspaper correspondent, travelled throughout the South shortly after the war to report on the conditions there. Stopping below Vicksburg, Conwell stayed with a family and referred to the patriarch of the home simply as "our host." In conversation, the host defended the South's course of action but also claimed that no animosity existed on the part of southerners toward those in the North. "'The people of the great and noble North are our friends,'" the host commented, "'and we have nothing but the purest love for them.'" The host reassured Conwell that he would not object to his daughters marrying northerners or if northerners decided to settle in Mississippi. "'We love our Northern brethren,'" he exclaimed. Later that day, though, after Conwell had left the family and prepared to resume his travels he noticed the host and his neighbor in town talking to each other. The neighbor scolded the host for welcoming a northern man into his home, stating, "'I love the South too much to fraternize with her enemies.'" The host redounded quickly, "'I want him to say a good word for me in the radical papers. That's just what I want. I may need them to use in Washington.'" The host had aspirations to run for office as a revenue collector and hoped good press would help him achieve his goal. He proceeded to tell his neighbor what he actually thought of northerners: "'As for the d—d fool of a Yankee himself, to tell the truth, I felt like cutting his throat every time

I looked at him. I would just like to hang up every cussed Yankee that comes down here. For they only stir up the niggers to insolence and deviltry.'" White Mississippians recognized the right time to suppress their southern identity if it proved beneficial or necessary, and they also continued to reinforce their Confederate identity in the presence of other like-minded individuals.[118]

Most white Mississippians clung to their Confederate identity immediately following the war and hoped to reenter the Union with that identity still intact. Speaking to a friend about the events of the past four years, James Neilson revealed that he "hoped yet to see a Southern Confederacy, and hoped to see the Yankees humbled." Neilson's friend scolded him that such attitudes would prevent feelings of unity replacing those of old sectional hostilities. Neilson responded that he could not trust or unite with those who had opposed and fought against the South. Kate Foster of Natchez also could not see herself reconciling with the North after losing her brothers during the war. Foster, reflecting on her continued support of the Confederacy, grieved, "Not ever our loved Confederacy shall wave the banner under which so many braves have fought and so many fallen to protect." Commenting on the Fourth of July, Edward Fontaine noted in his journal in 1866, "I think of the heroes of the South the descendants of the heroes of 76 who died in a vain defence of the liberty they bequeathed to us. How can we, or the people of any [of] the States which were independent a few years ago, rejoice on this memorable day?" Fontaine defended his decision to not celebrate the Fourth since "A corrupt oligarchy rule the United States, who look upon Virginia and her sisters of the South as conquered provinces, which the [avarice] and bloodthirsty fanatics who sway

the Federal Congress delight to plunder, insult and enslave!" Instead, Fontaine wished to indulge in "painful memories of the past, and gloomy anticipations of the future." White Mississippians still embraced an identity apart from the rest of the nation and they hoped to preserve that identity regardless of the price.[119]

White Mississippians fought desperately in the early years of Reconstruction to maintain the status quo antebellum and quickly sought to define the social identities and roles of those in the state, the freedmen in particular. White Mississippians still believed the same social interaction between whites and blacks that had existed for decades would continue unabated. For white Mississippians the end of slavery only meant the end of a labor system, the freedmen would still occupy the lowest rung of the social structure. By the fall of 1865, the state legislature had convened to write a new constitution and in the process enacted the Black Codes, a series of laws that defined the freedmen's place within southern society. Heavily mimicking the former slave codes, the Black Codes limited the movements of freedmen, instituted a form of forced apprenticeship, prohibited miscegenation, and disallowed freedmen from terminating any contracts they entered upon. Proposed changes to the constitution also placed restrictions on who could vote and stipulated that qualified persons had to own land valued at $250, they also had to read the Constitution of the United States and write their own name at the polling station. The Mississippi legislature also initially refused to recognize the abolishment of slavery which resulted in heated debates regarding the state's stance on the subject. Eventually the delegates concluded to accept the demise of slavery, not as a voluntary act, but out of coercion in an attempt to leave "the question of abolition and black freedom in doubt."

With the relative flexibility offered by Presidential Reconstruction, white Mississippians attempted to retain the status quo, with minor alterations, hoping to meet the demands of the North while fortifying the social structure that had existed prior to the war.[120]

White Mississippians soon found, however, that two other social groups threatened the retention and existence of the dominant white identity and also possessed enough control to completely overturn the state's social fabric. Following the war several thousand northerners decided to move into the South in an effort to lease or purchase abandoned lands in hopes of enriching themselves. Many of these men were war veterans with little prospects at home and believed that investing in the South's future would prove profitable. The end of Presidential Reconstruction in 1866 brought intense political squabbling in Mississippi as a new constitutional convention met in 1868 (which included freedmen) and resulted in the creation of a document that would guarantee voting rights to all males and citizenship to all state inhabitants. The Republican Party, led by northerners and Unionist Mississippians, would control the state's highest political offices until 1875. Most white Mississippians had little influence over the political process during Reconstruction (except for a few successes) and even when acting in concert could not bring about much change at the polls. Political partisanship in the state prior to the war had heavily favored the Democratic Party even when splinters and factions within the party had created a pseudo two-party system. During Reconstruction, however, most white Mississippians firmly supported the Democratic Party. W. H. McRaven, a resident of Jackson, noted that "'Democracy' means, just now—all opposed to the Republican National Administration—viz. old line Whigs—Secessionists—States

Rights & the old Democrats." Peter Bailey, a Republican, also noted that "Whatever a man in the South may have been before the war, whether Whig or Democrat, if he became a rebel he is a Democrat to-day, for all rebels seem to be Democrats now; all secessionists are Democrats; all State sovereignty men are Democrats." Whites united together under the banner of the Democratic Party not necessarily out of conviction for the party's platforms or principles, but as a means of opposing those who controlled the state's government and as a way to retain their rebel identity.[121]

For most white Mississippians, control of the state (and the state's identity) meant opposing those northerners and sympathizers who had seized power from out of the hands of the old regime and supplanted it with Republican ideals. White Mississippians shuddered at the remarks of men like Peter Bailey, a candidate for the United States Senate, who boldly declared that the Republican Party maintained a "faith that will not sanction an attack on the public morals, but seeks to keep the controlling power of the country in the hands of men who never sought by open rebellion, or in aid of it, secretly or otherwise, to destroy the government." James Alcorn, famous scalawag and candidate for governor in 1870, ran on a platform that promised to "make rich and poor equal in fact before the law." Alcorn openly advocated to include freedmen in the political process and hoped to "build up in accordance with the spirit of the age, in accordance with the will of the Nation, a party, new to the history of Mississippi—a party, determined, while raising the State from her prostrate position under the foot of power, to erect it, not upon its point, but upon its base—the masses of its citizens!" Rhetoric from the Republican Party that sought the political and social equality of all Mississippians

threatened the identity of those whites who believed that blacks were naturally inferior.
Efforts to change the social structure by elevating blacks on an equal plane with whites
would destroy the social order. W. B. Jones of Natchez explained that "The object of the
Radical party who are the white as well as the black negroes of the land endeavour only
to bring about social equality, and the plan they are pursuing is to bring down the whites
of the south to a level with themselves, by making us as poor as they are."[122]

The pressing issue that completely threatened the white social identity of
Mississippians was the equality granted to the freedmen by the federal government
following the war. In March 1865, only months after ratifying the Thirteenth
Amendment that abolished slavery, the United States Congress approved a bill that
established the Freedmen's Bureau, an organization that would assist the newly
emancipated slaves and help them transition into society and become self-reliant. The
Bureau would also have authority to decide the fate of abandoned and confiscated lands
and would provide food and clothing to those in need. By February of the following year
a new piece of legislation proposed to extend the life of the Bureau, provide it with
funding, and give Bureau agents the authority to censure and take jurisdiction away from
any state authority who failed to afford the same rights to a freedman as he would a white
person. In addition to the new Freedmen's Bureau bill, Senator Lyman Trumbull of
Illinois presented the Civil Rights Bill which aimed to displace the Black Codes in
Mississippi and South Carolina by giving citizenship to all freedmen and secure their
rights as citizens within the United States. Although Andrew Johnson vetoed both bills,
the Freedmen's Bureau continued to function and the proposed Civil Rights Bill paved

the way for the passage of the Fourteenth Amendment which guaranteed freedmen's rights to citizenship and gave the federal government authority (although vague in detail) to prevent any state from passing laws that impeded on these rights. Johnson's vetoes led to the Republican-controlled Congress wresting authority away from president in terms of Reconstruction which rendered him nearly insignificant until the end of his term. With Republicans determined to control the course of Reconstruction, Congress passed the Reconstruction Act of 1867 which outlined the process whereby seceding states could re-enter the Union. The act divided the seceding states into five military districts (and placed each state under military rule), required congressional approval for any new state constitution, declared that new state constitutions had to guarantee universal male suffrage, and mandated that each state had to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment. Congress would continue to ensure the rights of the freedmen by eventually passing the Fifteenth Amendment in 1870 that guaranteed universal male suffrage.[123]

For most white Mississippians, the elevation of the freedmen meant an abandonment of all the principles on which they had based their identity over the first half of the nineteenth century. Mississippians had fought during the Civil War to preserve their social structure based on slave labor and a belief that God had ordained that institution for the benefit of both races. The advancement of one to that of a planter and gentleman within southern society depended on embracing the role of a paternalistic caretaker for those subordinate persons under his care (meaning wife, children, and slaves)—slave ownership had defined social status in the South. Scrambling after the war to retain the status quo, many white Mississippians believed they had the right to

determine the freedmen's place within the state's social structure. One Mississippian explained to a northern transplant, "'Yo' have had no experience with the nigro, and, by G—d, sir, yo' can't be expected to know the nature of the beast.'" He continued, "The nigro is an animal, by G—d; and by G—d sir, he must be kept in his place; and who knows better how to manage a horse or a steer than one who is familiar with his raising?'" A group of former planters echoed the same sentiments to a northern traveler: "'We are the only ones that understand the nigger.'" In the minds of white Mississippians, Republicans, ignorant and unassuming, had annihilated the South's social order by actively campaigning for racial equality.[124]

Freedmen took the initiative to challenge the old social order through the creation of a new social identity and in so doing borrowed liberally from what they had observed in their former masters. William Bayley, a regional representative for the Freedmen's Bureau in Bolivar County, reported to the assistant commissioner in Vicksburg what the former slaves expected of their freedom: "Their idea of freedom is: that they are under no control; can work when they please, and go where they wish." Lucy Thurston, a former slave, commented that after learning of their freedom "Some niggahs got in their haids de' wuz' equal like the white folks an' they spect they wuz gwine hev' fine homes' an' lib like dere Marsters." Lewis Jefferson explained that the "slaves wanted to be free so dey could come an' go places like de white folks an' de Patroller wud not git dem. Den dey wanted some money to buy deir own clothes." Of course rumors of receiving forty acres and a mule from the government spread throughout the southern states after William Sherman issued Field Order 15 in January 1865 which divided the Georgia Sea

Islands into forty acre lots for the settlement of the freedmen in the area. Initially designed to find a place of residence and a means of subsistence for the seemingly countless number of freedmen who had followed Sherman across Georgia and into South Carolina, the idea caught hold across the South and most freedmen expected their due allotment. Many freedmen even went so far as to refuse to sign contracts after the 1865 harvest thinking that the government would give them their forty acres for the 1866 planting season. The freedmen believed that they would become landowners and could eventually reach the same level of success as their former masters—after all, in the words of former slave Joanna Isom, "Dere aint no diffrunce twixt niggers an' white folks, 'cept dey color; white folks stays out of de sun, but ef you cuts dey finger, dey both bleeds alike." Former slaves believed their new freedom would allow them the opportunity to enter southern society as landowners, to perform their own labor, and to travel where and when they pleased.[125]

Once they had obtained their freedom, many blacks desired to test the limits of their newly acquired autonomy. Edward Fontaine of Hinds County related an incident that occurred when two freedmen, Ben and Silvia, returned to the plantation home after a "morning in idleness." The two freedmen were supposed to return promptly to the house at noon to start dinner and set the table, but instead they decided to go into the woods to crack hickory nuts. When they finally showed up at the house, Fontaine's children, Mollie and Jimmy had started cooking the meal. Ben refused to set the table, and according to Fontaine, Silvia shouted insolently at Mollie, "'I want my dinner!'" Jimmy started yelling at Ben for picking up hickory nuts which infuriated the boy who called

Jimmy a liar to which Jimmy took immediate exception. Ben retaliated by grabbing an axe and started for Jimmy—Mollie called for her father to intervene. Fontaine rushed to the kitchen and chased Ben off the plantation. Fontaine approached Rosetta, Ben's mother, and demanded that she punish her son to which she refused "in the most positive and insulting manner." Left with little options, Fontaine threatened to end the contracts of the boy and his mother. Rosetta traveled to Jackson to inquire of a lawyer if she could file a legal complaint against Fontaine for breech of contract. The incident never went any further, but the episode reveals a change in the social structure and how each party believed the other should act. Fontaine and his children still treated the freedmen like they were slaves while the freedmen exercised their newly acquired rights to spend their time as they desired. The freedmen also declined to bow unconditionally to the demands of their employer as they had done as slaves—they were no longer chattel.[126]

White Mississippians despised the new social identity of the freedmen and commented frequently on how the attitudes of blacks had changed since their emancipation claiming they had become insolent, lazy, and ungovernable. Flavellus Nicholson stated flatly that freedmen "are a lazy set as a general thing—some are inclined to be insolent." In reference to the inherent laziness of the freedmen, W. B. Jones stated "'The Leopard cannot change his spots,' and the nigger will continue to remain as he is, until the Angel Gabriel blows his horn." Many whites reacted very harshly towards freedmen in an attempt to show their social dominance. R. Donaldson, acting assistant commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau, commented in a letter to his superior on the interaction between whites and freedmen in the area. Donaldson noted

that the whites would "look with indifference on the killing of a 'nigger,' [but] let a negro brush against one of the 'chivalry' on the side walk, or fail to give him a wide berth on the street, and they at once call on both civil and military authorities to punish the 'insolent intolerant nigger.'" Donaldson continued, "Their policy is to condemn the Negro for everything that is bad, but give him no credit for any good qualities." In another letter written during the summer of 1865 recorded by the Freedmen's Bureau, Lieutenant Colonel H. R. Brinkerhoff reported that several planters believed the freedmen would return to bondage shortly, either through a Supreme Court ruling or constitutional amendment. One planter said, "'These niggers will all be slaves again in twelve months. You have nothing but Lincoln's proclamation to make them free.'" Brinkerhoff stated that many of the whites in the area labored "assiduously for a restoration of the old system of slavery, or a system of apprenticeship or some manner of involuntary servitude." Yet, despite the attempts of a few planters, freedmen explored the boundaries and possibilities of their freedom.[127]

As freedmen took the opportunity to exercise their agency, white Mississippians placed most of the blame for the freedmen's behavior on carpetbaggers and scalawags. Noting several fines imposed on white persons for striking freedmen, Samuel Agnes sarcastically declared, "The negroe is a sacred animal. The Yankees are about negroes like the Egyptians were about cats. Negrophilism is the passion with them." Most white Mississippians continued to despise northerners, even after they moved into the state and became their neighbors. Visiting with a family in Corinth shortly after the war, John Trowbridge wrote of a "delicate" lady who spoke very bitterly against northerners. With

a smile Trowbridge revealed that he lived in the North to which the lady queried, "'From what State are you, Sir?'" Trowbridge replied that he resided in Massachusetts prompting the lady to respond with a shudder, "'Oh! […] they're bad Yankees!'" Another traveler, Whitelaw Reid, noted that white Mississippians' "old prejudices against Northern public men seemed unchanged by the war. [Charles] Sumner they spoke of with loathing. [William] Chandler was a beast and a blackguard in a breath. [William] Seward had the ability but not the courage to be a first-class devil." Albert Morgan recounted similar reviling against northern leaders often hearing Abraham Lincoln called a "baboon," William Seward a "traitor," Charles Sumner a "miscegenationist," and Edwin Stanton the "bloody tyrant."[128]

While intense feelings continued to exist among southerners against their northern brethren, what constantly infuriated white Mississippians was the relationship freedmen shared with the radicals. Many of the freedmen considered northerners their friends and often took opportunities to interact openly with them. Henry Warren, a New York carpetbagger, recalled that "Negroes seemed to know a Yankee intuitively." He remembered several occasions in which freedmen stopped to ask him if he was a Yankee. Warren could not fathom how the freedmen knew he was a northerner, thinking facetiously it must have been "from the way [he] rode [his] mule," but completely at a loss for a real explanation. Albert Morgan found himself in serious jeopardy when rumors spread shortly after his arrival that the freedmen considered him their friend. Colonel Black approached Morgan on the subject and gently told the northerner that he should make greater efforts to become more popular with "'our people.'" Colonel Black

condemned Morgan's treatment of "'the nigros on the street'" and also his "'manner of speech while among them.'" Mrs. Black defended Morgan (briefly believing him innocent of the accusations) and concluded that such actions to which the colonel accused the carpetbagger were "'unbecoming in a gentleman.'" The colonel's chastisement had little effect on Morgan and he continued to work on the plantation and interact with the freedmen as he had previously. After a few weeks the colonel approached Morgan again, this time with fire in his belly. "'Well, sir, by G—d, sir, yo' may not understand the effect of youah own example,'" Colonel Black began, "'It was only a few days ago that I saw you as I passed by Tokeba at work with some nigros repairing a fence. And Mistress Black says that the other day she drove on to Tokeba to see how things wor' going, and, by G—d sir, yo' brother was working at the mill with the nigros.'" In a huff the colonel continued, "'I took yo' for a *gentleman*; yo' are only a *scalawag*.'" Morgan had interacted openly with the freedmen and treated them as social equals, not as slaves or inferiors, which seriously challenged the established social order to which white Mississippians adhered.[129]

As Reconstruction progressed, white Mississippians began to preserve their Confederate/southern identity by attempting to control the past. Many longed for the antebellum days of prosperity and plenty but also the days in which whites had firm control over the social order of the state. "'We were prosperous and happy, and at peace with ouah nigros and all the world, before a lot of d—d fanatics took it into their heads— got an *idee*, by G—d, sir—that slavery was wrong,'" commented Colonel Black to Albert Morgan, "'Wrong hell! The nigros wor' never so well off in Timbuctoo or any of the

wilds of their native jungles as with us, by G—d, sir-r-r-r.'" Slavery had never harmed the slaves, it elevated them, lifted them to a higher plane of existence, all because of the benevolence and kindness of southern planters. One former planter, speaking with Edward King, a traveler to the South, pointed out a freedmen riding a mule and said, "'Thar's a d—d nigger a-ridin' a mule, as comfortable like as ye please. Not much like the old times, when they were all working quiet-like in the fields. Sundays yo'd seen 'em in their clean white clothes, singin' and shoutin' or may be doin' a bit of fishin', and at night, when the plantation bell rung, agoin' peaceful as lambs to quarters. Now it's all frolic.'" The former planter painted a picture of a serene South, peaceful, with content slaves working quietly in the fields without complaint, idling their time on the Sabbath, willing to respond to the sound of a bell. The war, caused by northern fanatics and zealots, had changed the social construct of the state from one of contentment and peace to one of chaos and ruin.[130]

Memorial Day marked one occasion in which Mississippians celebrated their fallen dead and worked to preserve the memory of the Civil War and their antebellum southern identity. Emmett Ross, a newspaper editor in Madison County, wrote and published several popular poems on Memorial Day to commemorate those slain in battle. In one of his published poems, Ross wrote of the North's desire to prevent the South from remembering the killed Confederate soldiers. He quipped,

Then why will men the sentence pass
And write the stern decree
That holds it a disloyal act
To raise, in memory
Some marble shaft or granite pile,
Whose towering grandeur will

>   Commemorate the resting-spot
>   Of Jackson, Polk and Hill?

Ross boldly replied,

>   The sordid wretches who proclaim
>   The South an outlawed set—
>   With Ku-Klux laws, enforcement acts,
>   The sword and bayonet—
>   Were not the men who bravely fought,
>   And, when the fight was won,
>   Laid down their arms, and said: 'Brave boys,
>   Your fighting was well done!'

Implicit in Ross's poem is that northerners had more to be ashamed of from the war than southerners who fought bravely and honorably. The South should not hide from its past or from the Civil War but embrace it as a lasting, honorable vestige of antebellum southern honor and pride. Ross believed that the women of the South had a duty to maintain the memory of the fallen and also of the war:

>   As long as Southern women live,
>   Their self-appointed trust
>   Will be this special, hallowed task;
>   To guard our soldiers' dust.
>   No Spartan mother ever met
>   Her son upon the shield—
>   No Thracian maiden ever wept
>   Her lover on the field
>   With greater pride and greater pain,
>   And true, heroic zeal;
>   For human hearts have never felt
>   As Southern women feel!

Southern women would be vanguards of the Old South and they would help in preserving the southern identity that many white Mississippians yearned to recapture.[131]

Speaking to the graduating class at Franklin Female College at Holly Springs, J. W. Clapp also charged women to uphold the memory of the Old South and pass it along

to future generations. In preserving the memory of the antebellum South, women would "lead the way in this great work of social and domestic reform." Clapp declared, "There is, however, one department or sphere of literary labor to which woman is by nature and circumstances peculiarly adapted, and that is, in ministering to the intellectual wants and appetites of the young." "Situated as we of the South are at this time," he continued, "we are bound by every consideration of honor for the dead and of respect for the living to see to it that our children shall not, at school or at home, shape their ideas or acquire their information and impressions from books or other sources of a character calculated to poison their minds and their hearts and teach them lessons of humiliation and shame, and of this there is much danger, unless these books are made to represent facts as they appear from a Southern stand-point." Clapp persisted in explaining that northerners had the desire for southern children to learn that their ancestors had fought a dishonorable war and "thereby incurred the guilt of treason or rebellion." Rather, the women of the South must teach their children "to think and to feel that they are descended from an illustrious line of ancestry, and that the noblest blood that has ever coursed through American veins has been that that was warmed by Southern suns and throbbed in the hearts of Washington's and Henry's and Jefferson's and Madison's and Marshall's and Lee's and other heroes and statesmen and orators, who shed an undying luster upon American annals." Not only that, but "they must be further taught that this blood has not deteriorated, but that the living and the dead of this generation have shown themselves worthy of their exalted lineage." Women needed to preserve a southern identity that revered the past, honored southern pioneers as Americans and patriots, and ensure that

northerners would not stain the memory of the South or her reputation. If southerners could not control the social and political circumstances brought about by Reconstruction, they could control the memory of the past, something that would grow over time and become a defining feature of southern identity.[132]

The Civil War had left Mississippi completely desolate and overturned the decades-old social structure of the state. Most white Mississippians clung to the past as a means of preserving their social identity, changing it at times according to circumstance. The newly freed slaves took the opportunity to forge a new social identity that they largely based on what they had seen in their former masters: desiring the ability to own their own land and homes, travel unmolested, and ascend the social and economic ladder. Fearing (and realizing) the complete collapse of the social structure that they had based on slave labor, white Mississippians began to devise a new way to retain social control over the freedmen. While they successfully controlled their labor through sharecropping and tenancy, it took a while before whites could fully relegate the freedmen to complete social and political subjugation. White Mississippians would begin to devise radical means to ensure they would succeed in maintaining a group identity that made them legitimate inheritors of the past and leaders of the state's social, political and economic realms.

CHAPTER VI

"THY BRIGHT SUN WILL RISE AGAIN"

[Dixie]! thy bright sun will rise again,
Though hidden now beneath the pall of night:
Thy struggles and thy throes are not in vain;
Thy banner still is proud, unstain'd and bright.
Thou hast thy cherished names, all glory crowned,
That bid thee still look upward undismayed;
Thou art to Fame by golden fetters bound,
Which never can be cut by hatred's blade:
Though naked, thou art yet in her bright beams arrayed.[133]

"Nine years ago, in a misguided moment, under the mad excitement and blind passion of the hour," Reverend A. C. McDonald proclaimed, "the people of our own and other States resolved to break away from the Federal Union, and enter upon the untried paths of separation. For four years they stumbled upon the dark mountains of rebellion. For near five years more they have wandered in the mazy labyrinths of a reluctant reconstruction." McDonald continued his sermonizing, "At length the long agony is over, the suspense ended; the blackened ruins of war have been left behind, the uncertainties of reconstruction are passed, and our people are once more treading in the broad paths of our glorious Union." Standing before the state legislature in 1870, McDonald insinuated that Reconstruction in Mississippi was over and the new order of the state ("universal liberty" and a new sense of nationality) would proceed unabated since "the merging of the provincial pride of each section of the Union into one national sentiment" was nearing completion. In stark contrast, James Lynch's poem *Redpath*,

written in 1877 in response to the congressional investigation into the 1875 state elections, extolled the virtuous southerners who fought against the imposed and corrupt social order brought about by radicals (Republicans) who threatened to destroy the South. Instead of heralding the new social order of "universal liberty," Lynch, in reference to the South and the antebellum social order, proclaimed "thy bright sun will rise again." Championing the South's course of action over the past several decades, Lynch proudly declared, "Thy struggles and thy throes are not in vain; / Thy banner still is proud, unstain'd and bright." Unashamed of the Civil War and actions taken by white Mississippians throughout Reconstruction, Lynch lauded the state's attempts to repel the evil influences of Republicanism and desire to reestablish "home rule" during 1875.[134]

The 1875 political revolution in Mississippi marked the return of Democratic control of the state and ultimately the end of "radical" rule. Uncertain after the war how to proceed, white Mississippians focused their efforts on trying to regain social and political control of their state while Republicans and freedmen rebuffed most of those attempts. Defeated militarily, disheveled socially and politically, conservative Mississippians who had wholeheartedly embraced a Confederate identity during the Civil War became ostracized, unable to fully express the identity that they still cherished since doing so would appear treasonous. Instead, conservative Mississippians began to refocus their identity on who they were prior to the war and created an idyllic identity that venerated the antebellum South as a peaceful and prosperous time in which harmony existed between the races and benevolent, paternal planters cared for and oversaw the affairs of the state. While this shift in group identity helped conservative Mississippians

cope through the first few years of Reconstruction, most longed to regain that idealized vision of the South by reestablishing the social order that had existed before the war. Overturning Republican rule, though, would prove difficult, but conservative Mississippians developed a strategy that several other southern states would follow: the Mississippi Plan. Through intimidation and force, conservative Mississippians would create such a hostile environment as to prevent freedmen from voting in the 1875 state election. The plan worked, but its success went beyond Democrats regaining political control of the state: it forged a social identity that began to herald the Confederate cause as noble, Republican rule of the state as evil and corrupt, and re-solidify the place of blacks as economically, socially, and politically inferior.

Conservative Mississippians had to justify their radical actions during the last half of Reconstruction and did so by negatively branding Republicans and freedmen as un-American, corrupt, and totalitarian. More so during the last half of Reconstruction than in the previous years, each group tried to define the other group's identity rather than defend their own in an effort to delegitimize their opponents and acquire social control. While a war of words raged, how these groups interacted reveals what they considered the other group's social position and roles to entail. The process of identity formation led directly to creating a new social order (and by extension social structure) that tried to determine who could vote and participate in government, who could own land, and who controlled labor, while questions of how social groupings should conduct themselves in relation to others (i.e. the appropriate way for whites and blacks to interact, or white southerners and radicals, etc.) also contributed to the process. For the participants the

outcome was unforeseeable and nebulous leading to more intense efforts to secure victory. While several social groupings existed throughout postbellum Mississippi three main groups competed bitterly for control (categorized as such for simplicity): conservatives (a majority of whites, Democrats, former Confederates, white-liners), radicals (carpetbaggers, scalawags, northerners, Union sympathizers, Republicans), and freedmen (blacks—male and female). Examining these three groups through the second half of Reconstruction reveals how they composed a collective identity that would directly influence how they competed for social control and, in turn, reshape the social structure in postbellum Mississippi.[135]

Testifying before a congressional committee assembled to investigate alleged fraud in the 1875 state election in Mississippi, Thomas Walton of Leflore County commented, "I am, myself, very well acquainted with negroes; I have always been in the habit of dealing with them a great deal; I have always worked a good many of them; and I must say that my intercourse with them has been of a character to make me believe it impossible for anything like mutual confidence on political questions to arise between the white people and the negroes." Walton continued to elaborate, "I don't see how it ever can arise, and I do not believe, myself, that it ever will. I think this is due to the enormous gulf between the races in all social relations—that confidence which springs from personal friendships and an unrestrained social intercourse being, in my judgment, an essential cement to a political party, and being absolutely out of the question between the white and black races." Walton, a devote Republican, claimed in his testimony that the freedmen did not fully accept him as part of their political party and that he had no

influence over how any blacks voted in any election. He believed that the social demarcation between whites and blacks would always prevent cohesion in political sentiment that would transcend race. Many whites refused to accept blacks as proper members of the social structure, and, according to Walton, the freedmen also held stigmas against fully aligning themselves politically with whites. Conservative Mississippians held a strict view of the social order that excluded blacks, and as they nostalgically embraced and longed to recreate the antebellum past (which many revered as the height of southern culture and society), they first focused their efforts on regaining control over the freedmen by placing them in inferior positions economically, socially and politically.[136]

The conclusion of the war and the demise of the peculiar institution rattled the social structure of the South and resulted in planters scrambling to find a way to secure laborers and ensure they had complete control over them. John Trowbridge, a traveler to the South just after the war, noted that "It seemed impossible for the people of Mississippi—and the same may be said of the Southern people generally—to understand the first principle of the free-labor system." Slavery had "rendered labor disreputable" and white Mississippians "could not conceive of a man devoting himself voluntarily to hard manual toil" since they had only seen it done under the compulsion of a whip. Even after several months since the war's conclusion, some planters and former slaveholders refused to believe slavery had ended. Reporting to his superior on the affairs of the state in the fall of 1865, R. S. Donaldson, agent of the Freedmen's Bureau, stated "the freedom of the negro has not until recently been fully realized." Several planters believed the

Supreme Court would overturn the Emancipation Proclamation and declare it "null and void" resulting in many of them unwilling to enter into labor agreements with the freedmen "thinking that to do so would be to admit their freedom." Others decided to enter into labor contracts with the freedmen but also declared that the president had no constitutional right to issue a proclamation that emancipated property. Reality, though, would blunt the contentions of many planters by the end of the year as the Republican-controlled Congress secured the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment which abolished slavery. Whites had long maintained the belief that identified blacks physiologically as natural laborers, especially in the blistering southern sun, and continued to believe that blacks would form the foundation of the South's labor pool.[137]

In Louisiana and Mississippi federal officials during the Civil War implemented a labor system that would eventually transform into sharecropping during Reconstruction. As northern troops advanced up the Mississippi River during the war, Union officers had to deal with how to keep plantations running. They developed a labor system which required planters to enter into contracts with their laborers and to provide the necessities of life (housing, food, and clothing) as well as a wage or share of the crop to those under contract once the season ended. The laborers had to remain on the plantation to which they had contracted and any action that appeared to violate the contract terms (such as purposefully breaking tools, running away for extended periods of time, feigning illness) would void the agreement. The contract system prohibited physical punishment for the failure to perform labor or as a compulsory method to increase production. While the program appeared to work and gained momentum following the conclusion of the war,

planters hated the fact that they had minimal control over the actions of their laborers while freedmen despised the system because they had little means by which they could save for the long-term and become landowners. The sharecropping system, which would emerge during the first few years of Reconstruction and spread across the South, promised freedmen a percentage of the crop, typically one-third at the time of sale, yet kept many of the freedmen in perpetual debt to their employers. Due to the lack of capital which hindered a wage-based labor system from materializing, most freedmen relied on their employer for the necessities of life throughout the year which the owner deducted from the freedmen's share of the crop at the end of the harvest. Many employers also required that their laborers sell their crops back to the plantation owner for a significantly reduced price than what buyers paid on the market, allowing the owner to make more money. Although plantation owners did not have complete control over their laborers they did have control over the labor system which ensured that freedmen would continue to perform the same menial labor that they did as slaves. The sharecropping system also made it difficult for freedmen to purchase land or surpass white landowners in the state's socio-economic class structure.[138]

The freedmen had held out hopes that the government would provide them with land and the opportunity to scale the economic ladder, however after only a few years (in many cases just months) they realized their expectations would not come to fruition. James Cornelius recalled that "some of dem [white men] promised me land but I niver got it," and Julia Stubbs complained that "After de war wuz over we wont give no land nor nothing dat dey promised fo' de war." Blaming the carpetbaggers, Henri Necaise

bitterly declared, "Dey was acres an' acres o' lan' not in use, an' lots o' timber in dis country. Dey should-a give each one o' us a little farm an' let us git out timber an' build houses." Isaac Stier remembered that "De slaves spected a heap from freedom dey didn' git. Dey was led to b'lieve dey would have a easy time—go places widout passes—an have plenty o' spendin' money […] Mos' of 'em didn' fin' deyse'ves no better off." Steir blamed the Yankees, who "made big promises" but failed to deliver. Several former slaves would later comment that their lives as freedmen were more difficult than as slaves since they had to procure their own clothing, shelter, and food. Stier confessed, "Pussonally I had a harder time after de war dan I did enduring slav'ry." Temple Wilson of Hinds County believed "it seemed lak freedom wuz de worse thing dat could happen to us, 'specially to some." Dejected, many freedmen reasoned that they "might as well be slaves" if they "had nothing to go on" and reluctantly realized whites had defined their place within the economic structure. Forced to work in a labor system controlled by whites, most freedmen remained in perpetual poverty and composed one of the lowest rungs of the postbellum economic order.[139]

Successfully creating an identity of freedmen as wage-earners, sharecroppers, and laborers, conservative Mississippians initially found it much more difficult to impose a specific social identity onto blacks. In the immediate months and years after the war, conservative Mississippians continued to treat the freedmen as if they had remained in bondage. Several planters physically punished their employees but quickly learned that some form of retribution might follow such an act. Edward Fontaine and his wife found themselves in legal jeopardy after their young son and the son of one of the freedmen

working for the family became entangled in a fight. Hearing the screams of her boy, Mrs. Fontaine rushed outside and separated the two children, grabbed John (the freedman's son), and dragged him to his mother Fanny for disciplinary action. Fanny blatantly refused to punish her child, prompting Mrs. Fontaine to march hastily to a nearby cedar tree (with John in tow), break off a branch, and whip him a dozen times around his legs. Infuriated, Fanny took her family and headed to Jackson to make a formal complaint with the local office of the Freedmen's Bureau. The next day Edward traveled to Jackson to take care of some business and happened by the Freedmen's Bureau office to make complaints against some of his laborers. Lieutenant Myers, acting Provost Marshal of the office, welcomed Fontaine and calmly wrote his grievances but stopped when Fontaine began to mention the whipping of the previous day. Myers interrupted Fontaine and informed him that Fanny and her husband had already relayed the incident to him and that charges were pending against Fontaine and his wife. "'You ought to know that negros will often tell any sort of lie to accomplish an object,'" Fontaine stammered, "'This complaint is an infamous lie told by Fanny to justify her coming to Jackson without leave and to prevent you from sending her home.'" Myers looked up at Fontaine and replied, "'Yours sir is a very common accusation made against the colored people: but permit me to say, as far as my experience and observation enable me to judge I have found as much, or even more honor among them, than I have ever found <u>among the white people of the South</u>.'" The conversation continued in which Myers promised a heavy fine and a period of imprisonment, to which Fontaine "only smiled" and left the office. Although a judge would later dismiss the charges against

Fontaine, the fact that any white person had to account for any act of violence against a black person marked a radical departure for conservative Mississippians who still believed blacks inferior and not members of the general citizenry. While several crimes perpetrated against blacks went unnoticed or unpunished, the fact that in several instances investigations or charges followed in cases of abuse, punishment, and violence demonstrates the changing social structure of the state.[140]

Try as they may, conservative Mississippians, through punishment or force, could not completely control the social position that freedmen held as citizens and equals. Instead, many conservatives embraced, participated in, or supported clandestine organizations and groups, especially the Ku Klux Klan, that visited blacks in secret to subjugate them to a specifically prescribed social station. Hiding behind hoods and masks, participants and members of the Klan could avoid positive identification and often escaped legal ramifications in connection with their terrorism and heartless brutality. Many conservative Mississippians supported the Klan as it came to prominence in the state beginning in the late 1860s which also greatly contributed to their identity formation during Reconstruction. The Klan represented a group of men intent on preserving white social superiority and eliminating any threats to that identity. Founded in 1866 by six Tennessee ex-Confederates, the Klan boasted Nathan Bedford Forrest as their Grand Wizard, a Confederate war-hero (especially in Tennessee and Mississippi) who spent the last few years of the war evading Union forces and inflicting havoc on Union positions and strongholds throughout Mississippi. Composed largely of ex-Confederates, the Klan, and other similar organizations, allowed these "defeated heroes" the opportunity to

redeem themselves by restoring the social structure of the South to the status quo antebellum. Most conservatives sympathized with the Klan and passively endorsed their methods. Robert Somers, a newspaper reporter from Scotland, commented while touring the state in 1870 that "the power with which the 'Ku-Klux' moved in many parts of the South, the knowledge it displayed of all that was going on, the fidelity with which its secret was kept, and the complacency with which it was regarded by the general community, gave this mysterious body a prominence and importance seldom attained by such illegal and deplorable associations." Mostly targeting blacks, the Klan focused their efforts on intimidating and terrorizing anyone who supported or advocated any measures that threatened the existence and maintenance of a Democratic, white-dominated social order.[141]

Klan activities began in Mississippi around 1868 and culminated in several intense episodes in 1870 and 1871. The Klan had the strongest presence in the eastern counties of Mississippi (probably due to the Klan's popularity in Alabama), but several secret societies sprang up all across the state. The tactics of these groups (sometimes referred to as night-riders, white-cappers, and Ku Kluxers) was to intimidate and terrorize blacks and white Republicans under the cover of darkness and to administer lynch-law or physical brutality. The Klan chose to dress their members in white robes and caps so as to appear like ghosts as they galloped across the countryside and often pretended they were the spirits of ex-slaveowners who had died defending the Confederacy and were returning to discipline or exact some revenge on their former slaves. Although conservatives spoke little of the Klan's activities (especially those who participated in the

night-riding) several freedmen described frightening scenes of visitations during the middle of the night. Sylvia Floyd of Simpson County illustrated the common behavior of the Klan in her area: "Mos' o' de time in de woods, dey would ride through dressed in long white hainty looking robes wid white masks all over deir head an' faces, dey even went up in a [point] at de top ob de head. Dey had big holes cut out fer de eyes." She continued, "Now dey sho' wuz scary looking an' mo' so to de colored folks for dey never did know what dey might do next. What dey wuz fer, wuz to keep de colored folks scared up, an to make 'em do what dey wanted 'em too." Sam McAllum remembered one night while at a party several members of the Klan rode up asking for one man in particular. "I don't know'm what he done," McAllum recalled, "dey say he done some'pen bad." The Klan found the man, carried him off into the woods, and "killed him dat very night." Several murders, performed in vicious and animalistic fashion, occurred throughout the state that went uninvestigated or unsolved, and, for the most part, the Klan had unimpeded reign to enact their own brand of social control over the freedmen.[142]

Many conservative Mississippians had a hard time accepting that freedmen were beginning to receive education, something that threatened white social control since the argument for black inferiority often rested on their uneducated nature. The Klan in Mississippi specifically and heavily targeted educators and blacks attending schools in hopes of preventing freedmen from elevating themselves to an equal or higher intellectual plane than whites. Major Klan offenses in Monroe and Pontotoc Counties centered on stopping the operation of black schools which resulted in the death of several blacks and the near-death of several whites. In a letter addressed to her sister, Jennie Shaw wrote of

the Klan's recent activities in Monroe County: "[The Ku Klux] have whipt several white men whipt and killed several negroes they whipt colonel Hugins the superintendent of the free schools nearly to death and every body rejoiced when they heard it for every body hated him he squandered the public money buying organs sofas and fine furniture for the negro schoolhouse in Aberdeen." Shaw ended her letter intrepidly stating that regardless of the consequences she was openly "in favor of the KKK." J. Robuck, a white citizen of Lafayette County, related an incident in which a lady from "the Northern slums" had opened a school for the freedmen in which she used "high pressure efforts to convince the negroes that they were not only equal to, but far superior to the Southern white people." According to Robuck's account, after a short period of time, the lady "received a written notice to vacate and abscond, otherwise she would positively be 'tarred and feathered.'" The teacher of the schoolhouse left immediately "for parts unknown." George Washington Albright, a freedman, related some of his "narrow escapes from the Klan" after he began teaching school to other freedmen. Someone in the community warned him that the Klan had targeted him and to stay away from his home. "I took the hint," Albright said, "Sure enough, that night the Klan came to the house and asked for me."[143]

Violence and intimidation proved the most effective means of control over the black population and the enforcement of a submissive social identity for the freedmen. The sharecropping system may have bound freedmen to a specific plantation and prevented them from accumulating much capital, but the freedmen could still travel where they wanted, work when they wanted, and act as they pleased. The use of

violence, though, by masked men who had plausible deniability meant that legal actions against known culprits would more than likely prove futile. The clandestine nature of the Klan and other groups also meant that freedmen did not know when they might receive a visit or for what reasons. The best way, then, to avoid a nighttime rendezvous was to act in such a fashion in public as to not bring attention to oneself. Freedmen also took seriously the threats and warnings from the Klan because they had experienced harsh brutality as slaves and knew that white men would not hesitate to inflict inhumane bodily harm on any black person. As Reconstruction progressed, conservative Mississippians found excuses to disarm freedmen by producing false reports of "'nigro risings'" and setting up military companies and patrols for the purpose of "disarming colored men whenever they were found with any kind of weapon." White Republican leaders also urged freedmen to not carry arms or buy them for fear of a race war; the freedmen had little protection and much to lose if they did not act in accordance with the desires of conservative Mississippians.[144]

The tactics of the Klan and other similar organizations proved successful resulting in many freedmen to act publicly in a socially acceptable manner to appease conservatives—failure to do so often resulted in a visit from night-riders. Charlie Davenport of Natchez related a story when several freedmen decided to attend an "entertainment" at Memorial Hall in the city. "Dey dressed deysef's fit to kill," Davenport recalled, "an' walked down de aisle an' took seats in de very front." The whites in the audience (including the performers) took offense, stood up, and walked out of the hall leaving the freedmen alone in the empty building. Davenport remembered

"Dat night after de breakin' up o' dat 'tainment, de Kloo Kluxes rid th'ough de lan'."
According to Davenport, "dey grabbed ever' Nigger what walked down dat aisle, but I
aint hear'd yet what dey done wid 'em." In relating the incident, Davenport referred to
the freedmen who entered the hall as "uppity Niggers" and that the visits from the Klan
happened "ever' time a Nigger tried to git too uppity" or "ever' time a Nigger tried to act
lak he was white." Fearing such reprisals, many freedmen relented and assumed the
socially inferior identity in public that conservatives had created for them. James Lucas
of Natchez claimed that he "never got in no trouble wid 'em, 'cause I tended my business
an' kep' out o' dey way." Isaac Stier, also of Natchez, said that the Klan only visited
freedmen who "hunted trouble" and "mixed into white folks bu'ness." Several freedmen
who reminisced about the Reconstruction years would comment that they had heard of
the Klan but that the Klan left them alone because they minded their own business. Such
comments refer to freedmen assuming the social roles prescribed by conservatives.[145]

By 1871 Klan activity diminished significantly in the state due to federal
involvement but the Klan's attempts at creating and enforcing an inferior social identity
for freedmen proved successful and the same tactics would continue. The Ku Klux Klan
Act of 1871 and the subsequent Enforcement Acts resulted in the prosecution of
Klansmen throughout the South for behavior that limited the rights of others to vote or
exercise their freedoms. The attorney general filed over 700 indictments in Mississippi
alone but most of these men escaped any significant punishment, yet it became very clear
that the federal government would use force to end the violence. Despite the
Enforcement Acts, many conservative Mississippians decided to implement some of the

Klan's tactics in their efforts to retake political control of the state and thereby defining who could participate in politics. In 1868, conservative Mississippians had won a political victory through an intense campaign of intimidation and successfully rejected the state's new constitution which disfranchised many former Confederates. Losing to Republican candidates in future local and state elections, conservatives devised a means to wrest control away from the freedmen and ensure the election of a preponderance of Democratic leaders. Known as the Mississippi Plan, white Democrats had a simple two-fold strategy that centered on color-line voting for the Democratic ticket and preventing blacks from casting their ballots for Republicans. Effectively implemented during Vicksburg's elections in 1874, white Democrats decided to execute their plan during the 1875 state-wide election for state treasurer, state legislature and other county offices. Conservative Mississippians not only wanted to end Republican rule throughout the state but also to define who among the citizenry could participate in politics.[146]

Since blacks composed nearly fifty-four percent of the population in 1870 Republicans held most of the political offices in the state, several of whom were black. Although the freedmen never had a majority of delegates in any state legislature (in 1871 there were thirty-eight black representatives out of the one hundred and fifteen member body) their sizable voting bloc helped place white Republicans into office since most desired to stay loyal to the party who secured their emancipation and advocated their infusion into white society. Freedmen had enthusiastically embraced their ability to vote shortly after the end of the Civil War and expressed their evolving identity through politics. Freedmen formed political clubs (some of which were exclusively for blacks)

that often met secretly and included drumming and other rituals strongly linked to African and slave culture. Usually headed and encouraged by white Republican leaders, most male freedmen participated regularly in politics, whether at the polls or in clubs or organizations. Freedmen had carved out their political identity with extreme precision which took conservatives the longest to break.[147]

Once given the opportunity to participate in politics, freedmen flocked to the polls on voting day, formed political organizations and clubs, and held political office in their counties and in the state legislature. William Francis Fitzgerald, a white farmer in Warren County, commented that "in matters of politics the negroes are more enthusiastic than any other race of people, I presume, on the face of the earth; they will stop anything in the world to go to a political meeting or to hear political speeches." Many freedmen took the opportunity to exercise their political rights; recalling their political participation during Reconstruction, many former slaves remembered going to the polls and voting the Republican ticket. Squire Irvin of Coahoma County explained that all the blacks "voted the republic ticket" because to do otherwise meant to go "against our profession." Louis Davis claimed to have voted "heaps of times" and Henry Gibbs commented that the "County Court house was full of niggers," also noting that many of them could not read or write. Freedmen served in several political offices throughout the state, many of them on the county level, but some won election to the state legislature. Mississippi also had two men serve as senators to the United States Congress: Hiram Revels, who finished Jefferson Davis's unexpired term (which, according to one former slave, "was enough to make all the dead slaveowners turn over in their graves") and Blanche Bruce. John R.

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Lynch of Adams County served several terms in the House of Representatives, one of which came after the end of Reconstruction.   Actively involved in politics, several freedmen also formed political clubs in which they would gather to discuss issues, rally behind candidates, and deftly strategize their next political moves. In Yazoo County the Republicans wore badges to promote their candidates in the 1868 presidential election and decided in their meetings when to wear them. Many freedmen formed or joined Loyal Leagues which spread throughout the state and the South. On the eve of elections these clubs would often parade in processions, banging drums, walking by torch light, and conclude in frivolous rallies. Black political participation rivaled that of whites and became an important aspect of the freedmen's identity during Reconstruction. Republicans dominated the political offices throughout Mississippi, leaving most conservatives bewildered, disillusioned, and frustrated, but by 1874 the Democrats had a plan.[148]

On the eve of the 1875 state elections, Charles Nordhoff, noted in his travels that two political factions, aimed "to create and maintain excitement, bitterness, suspicions, fears, and hatred" stood poised to annihilate the other. "On the one side stands an unscrupulous and determined band of Democratic politicians of the worst kind," Nordhoff commented "who, in newspapers and by their daily conversation, excite the white Democrats who listen to them to unreasoning and unreasonable fury, and at the same time alarm the timid negroes and bind them together." Uniformly critical, Nordhoff described the "equally unscrupulous band of Republican politicians, with Governor Ames at their head, who have 'captured' the colored vote, and mean to hold power and plunder

by its means." As the state election approached, most in Mississippi could tell that the election would be different from past contests as rumors spread of the Democratic plan to secure victory. The Warren County election in 1874 resulted in Democratic victory through systematic intimidation and force. In Washington, D.C., President Ulysses Grant refused to intervene having grown weary of Reconstruction and due to the political fall-out such actions might produce. Emboldened by their success and the lack of a federal response, Democrats believed they had a chance to reclaim control of the state legislature in the 1875 state-wide election. Conservatives had devised a way not only to end Republican control of the state but also to disfranchise blacks and relegate them to a subordinate political role as non-participants.[149]

Conservative Mississippians used various tactics to "persuade" carpetbaggers, scalawags, and freedmen to not go to the polls on the day of the election (unless they wanted to vote for Democratic candidates). Nordhoff asked one "white-liner" how they intended to align all the whites into one voting bloc and the response came without hesitation, "'We'll make it too damned hot for them to stay out.'" Through intimidation, conservatives hoped to persuade other whites to vote the Democratic ticket and to prevent freedmen from voting at all. Aurelius Parker of Amite County claimed that several freedmen in the county had received nighttime visits from whites who threatened to kill them if they registered to vote. J. L. Edmonds of Clay County, a freedman, had an active role in campaigning during the fall of 1875 until five white men with pistols surrounded him while in West Point. One of the white men, who Edmonds recognized, told Edmonds to "stop and have no more to do with it" or he would need to put on his

"burying clothes." In Grenada County on the day before the election white Democrats organized a procession through the streets in which they dressed like devils and carried empty coffins. On one wagon they had built a large platform on which stood a tar-filled cauldron above a bonfire. Clothed as demons, several white men danced around the cauldron stirring it up as a restrained black man laid next to the platform. In many counties Democrats seized the printed Republican tickets before they could arrive at the polling stations while others threatened those charged with their care. Several other such incidents occurred during the fall of 1875 including some riots in which white men disbanded Republican meetings and gatherings. J. W. Lee attended several Republican meetings during the campaign and later testified that Democrats often infiltrated the gatherings and induced the participants to stop. The freedmen would use drums to applaud the speakers and Lee recalled that in such instances a white man in the front would stand up with a pistol in his hand leveled at the head of a drummer and yell out, "'Stop that; you cannot beat that drum here. This is a white man's country, and we don't allow it.'" Two major riots occurred in Yazoo and Hinds County in which Republican gatherings ended in gunfire and dispersion at the hands of armed whites who had purposefully aroused tempers; both of the riots resulted in the deaths of many freedmen and whites on both sides of the political spectrum. By the day of the election, 2 November 1875, many of the freedmen who would have normally voted remained at home, while those who ventured to cast their ballot met stiff resistance at the polling station.[150]

The effectively executed Mississippi Plan resulted in Democratic control of the state legislature and eventually the governorship. The election results for the state treasurer reveal startling irregularities from two years earlier when Mississippians had voted for that office. In 1873 the citizens of Claiborne County had voted for the Republican candidate for treasurer with ninety-seven percent of the vote, but in 1875 the majority went to the Democratic candidate with sixty-eight percent. In 1873 Kemper County pledged sixty-one percent of their vote to the Republican candidate while in the next election the Democrat received seventy-six percent. The most dramatic example comes from Yazoo County, a Republican stronghold, which polled eighty-six percent with 2,427 votes for the Republican candidate in 1873 yet impossibly drew only seven votes in 1875. The Democrats had seized the day and they quickly worked to oust the carpetbag governor, Adelbert Ames, by presenting impeachment articles against him for fraud and political abuse by the spring of 1876. Instead of dragging the state through intense in-fighting and turmoil (and failing to garner support from the federal government), Ames agreed to retire if the Democrats stopped the impeachment process, opening the way for the legislature to appoint a governor who would bend to the wishes of the white majority. The election of 1875 also signaled an end to full black participation in politics and voting. Although technically allowed to vote, black voter-turnout decreased significantly after 1875, reaching only sixteen percent in the 1882 election, down from a high of eighty percent in 1868. White Mississippians had successfully nullified black political influence and had assumed complete control over the social identity of freedmen in the state.[151]

Conservative Mississippians had one final task to complete after the election of 1875: mask their brutal and fraudulent tactics and restore their outward social image and perception in the eyes of the nation. A federal congressional investigation launched in 1876 at the behest of Adelbert Ames sought to verify the validity of the previous year's election in Mississippi. Conducting several interviews and visits to the state, the committee heard testimony from participants in the campaign and eye-witnesses to particular events. Although the majority voice for the committee would deem the election in Mississippi completely fraudulent, Grant's unwillingness to intervene and the turbulent presidential election of 1876 halted any federal involvement beyond the investigation. During the interrogations, conservative Mississippians did not admit their guilt in intimidating, beating, and killing black voters, but took the opportunity to defend their actions (and bolster their image) in trying to restore the state from radical rule. Hints of Mississippi's Lost Cause emerge in many of the testimonies provided by conservatives who took the opportunity to reinforce their newly acquired social identity as honorable defenders of decent civility and rightful heirs to the highest stratum of the state's economic, social, and political spheres. Conservative Mississippians also reinforced the social identity they imposed on freedmen as inferior, dishonorable, and unable to function as full members in civil society.

Several of those who testified before the committee derided the carpetbaggers and Republican leaders who had defiled the state's political offices and political process. In his testimony, Lex Brame of Clay County charged most of the white Republican leaders in the state as corrupt and desiring to control Mississippi through depraved machination.

Brame claimed that several of the leaders had indictments against them (with their trials pending) for abuse of office, bribery, and thievery. Ethelbert Barksdale, a newspaper editor in Jackson, testified that many of the freedmen had grown weary of the unending promises of Republican leaders because they had failed to deliver on their claims. Reuben Davis of Monroe County accused Republican leaders of controlling the vote of the freedmen through intimidation by telling them that if Democrats came to power they would reinstitute slavery, disfranchise blacks, and would no longer allow freedmen to sit on juries. Not only that, but according to Davis, Republicans purportedly told freedmen that electing Democrats into office would result in Democrats casting spells and charms on the freedmen that "would fill them with lizards and scorpions and snakes, and bring diseases upon them, so that they would die." Many of those who testified reviled against scalawags who had come to power through their involvement in the Republican Party. Davis commented that he "never really thought that the carpet-bagger was as bad a man as the scalawags" because the carpetbagger was generally honest while the scalawag had "universally sold himself to the party for the sake of plunder." In most cases white Mississippians spoke of white Republican leaders in unflattering terms and leveled accusations against them as corrupt and manipulative.[152]

While several conservatives negatively branded Republicans and testified that Republican leaders had taken control of the state through intimidation and corruption, many more attacked the freedmen as the real problem. While conservatives would have had an easy time blaming carpetbaggers and scalawags who made up a majority of the Republican leadership and officeholders, conservatives repeatedly struck blows against

the freedmen and branded them as the real problem for the state's condition. Still continuing to subvert the freedmen, conservative Mississippians emphasized the social identity that they had created for the freedmen as inferior, uneducated, and unable to participate in politics. Reuben Davis summarized the feelings of many conservative Mississippians in his testimony. "I think that the negro is by nature dishonest," Davis reasoned, "I think the negro by nature destitute of all ideas of virtue, and I think the negro is capable of being induced to commit any crime whatever, however violent, especially if he was encouraged by bad white men." He concluded, "I think all efforts at the civilization of the negro, and in putting him on an equality in point of civilization and culture with the white man, will be as great a failure in this country as they have been in other parts of the world." Thomas Walton relayed the sentiments of many of the white people in Leflore County when asked by the committee why whites did not want freedmen to control the political affairs of the state. "One reason is because the negroes are negroes, and another is because the negroes are ignorant and the white people are more intelligent," Walton stated, "and another reason is that nearly all the property down there is in the hands of the white people; and still another reason is that the negroes, when they get the power in their hands, are disposed to monopolize everything themselves." Walton failed to mention that the whites who owned most of the land in the state also monopolized and controlled the labor system that produced the crops; instead, he oriented his comments to reflect negatively on the black population and their supposed inherent desire to control everything.[153]

Throughout their testimonies conservatives often rebuffed questions of voter intimidation by accusing the freedmen of fraudulent activity, thereby further branding blacks with a negative social identity that deflected attention away from whites. Joseph Billups of Lowndes County claimed that three of the freedmen on his plantation "did not vote because they were intimidated from voting." When asked by whom, Billups replied that Republican freedmen had told some of his laborers that "if they voted the democratic ticket they would be killed […] that their lives would be in danger if they did vote." William Montgomery of Hinds County testified that many of the freedmen believed "they will receive bodily harm from their own race" if they attempted to vote for a Democrat. Montgomery proved his claim by stating that several freedmen voted the Democratic ticket when they were able to do so outside the presence of Republican freedmen. John Ellis of Copiah County said he witnessed "some of the leading freedmen, republican freedmen, taking tickets out of the hands of the negroes that wanted to vote the democratic ticket and tearing their tickets up, right before their faces—taking them right out of their hands and tearing them up and giving them other tickets—republican tickets." The freedmen, not conservative Mississippians, had committed voter fraud and led a campaign of intimidation against their own people. Socially inferior, freedmen, when given the opportunity to participate in politics, would do so in a dishonorable fashion, bringing corruption upon the rest of the state.[154]

Branding freedmen with unflattering characteristics, conservatives did what they could in their testimonies to elevate their own identity in the eyes of the rest of the nation. Near the end of his testimony, in an effort to deflect attention away from questions about

color-line voting, Reuben Davis stated "I have not to-day one iota of prejudice for any man in this Union […] I am to-day as devoted to this entire country as any man in it, and I would make as many sacrifices to-day for the good of the whole country as anybody to bring about harmony between the North and the South." Davis further expounded, "We thought we were right in the South during the war, and maintained the conflict just as long as we could, and when the war was over we gave up." Since then, Mississippians "saw no reason why there should ever be any quarrel afterward between the different sections of the Union" and were dedicated to make the United States the "greatest and grandest Government upon the face of the earth." When the opportunity seemed right, Davis assumed an American identity, one that connected the North and the South as members of the same general citizenry, one that had long disfranchised blacks socially and politically. J. A. P. Campbell of Madison County, who was fairly sympathetic toward the plight of the freedmen, used the same tactic. Campbell stated that "after the flag of the Confederate government was struck the mass of the white people of the South felt that they had no other government than the Government of the United States, and transferred cheerfully their allegiance, I think, (certainly I did myself, after that flag was furled forever,) to the United States." After the war the people of the South had hoped "to govern themselves according to American ideas, as they had always done," but quickly found themselves "lorded over by little military men with shoulder straps and epaulettes […] and through parties that sprang out of that state of things, composed mainly of negroes." The freedmen had prevented healing to occur between the two

sections after the war because under military rule they found a way to seize power and subvert the process of reconciliation and harmony.[155]

The congressional investigation into the fraudulent activity committed during the 1875 state election concluded without sanctions or enforceable measures that would nullify the results, leaving conservatives emboldened and in power where they could eventually enact laws that would codify black inferiority. Convening a constitutional convention in the fall of 1890, conservative Mississippians succeeded in legally subjugating blacks socially and politically. The constitution required the maintenance of both black and white schools but remained silent on equal funding for each. With regard to political participation, the constitution limited the ability of blacks to cast ballots by the imposition of a two dollar poll tax and a requirement that each elector had "to read any section of the Constitution of this state; or he shall be able to understand the same when read to him, or give a reasonable interpretation thereof." While not specifically targeting blacks in its language, the constitutional provisions made it possible for whites to deny blacks voting privileges by taking advantage of the economic disparity and limited reading skills of most blacks. Those who could meet the qualifying provisions still had to provide a "reasonable interpretation" of the state constitution that whites could easily declare unsatisfactory and thereby deny the individual the right to vote. Although it took several years to fully incorporate, conservatives had successfully reestablished a social order that retained several components of antebellum days, specifically one that denigrated blacks and elevated whites to a superior social station.[156]

As conservative Mississippians chose to adopt a group identity that borrowed from the antebellum social structure, they formed a social identity for freedmen that relegated them to the deepest depths of the social order. Conservative Mississippians controlled and fashioned an identity of freedmen by preventing them from acquiring land and retaining them in a status as laborers for white employers. In terms of social conduct whites refused to allow freedmen the ability to act as equals and continually reinforced a strict code of conduct that forced freedmen to adopt a role as socially inferior. Through a campaign of intimidation and fear in the 1875 state election, conservatives stripped the freedmen of their cherished political identity by disbanding political meetings and creating a hostile environment that dissuaded many blacks from voting. Desiring a continuation of the antebellum social structure, conservative Mississippians had finally retaken economic, social, and political control over the state, but one last task remained— to cement their Confederate identity in the minds of posterity as noble, honorable and glorious.

CHAPTER VII

"LONG AS LIFE SHALL LAST"

The sordid wretches who proclaim
The South an outlawed set—
With Ku-Klux laws, enforcement acts,
The sword and bayonet—
Were not the men who bravely fought,
And, when the fight was won,
Laid down their arms, and said: 'Brave boys,
Your fighting was well done!' […]
Thanks be to God! they cannot still
The throbbings of the heart;
They cannot blot from out our souls,
Or tear from memory's chart
The monuments we've builded there,
Which, long as life shall last,
Will rise above the towering stones,
Mementos of the past.[157]

"Sometimes I wonder what posterity will think of this war after the last spark of

Southern resistance is extinguished in blood," William Pitt Chambers ruminated in 1864.

Having survived the harrowing siege of Vicksburg and recently learning that William

Sherman had mobilized his troops and devastated the Mississippi countryside on his way

toward Meridian, Chambers pondered the legacy the war would have and rhetorically

wondered what sparked the conflict. "Why such wholesale destruction of life and

property? Why such rivers of undying hatred?" Chambers asked, "What induced thirty

millions of the human race living under the same government, all speaking the same

language and having a common origin, to engage in such an unholy strife?" Reflecting

on the destruction and loss of life the war had already produced, Chambers thought specifically about his homeland, "With us in the South, the wheels of social progress are stopped, religion is retarded and the arts and sciences are laid away and covered with dust; forgotten are the amenities and all that elevates, ennobles and adorns." "And for what?" Chambers asked, "Nominal freedom will come to some four or five millions of an inferior race, who will probably be invested with the right of suffrage without intelligence to use it, thus affording to the world the most conspicuous example in all its history—that republican governments are a failure." Clinging to his faith, Chambers reassured himself that God had the power to turn the tide of the war, to make the South prosperous once again, but he reverted to his pessimism and queried whether God willed the South to succeed. Crumbling and in ruins, the South would emerge from the war under the control of former slaves without any hope for restoring the social resplendence the state had enjoyed years earlier. Posterity would surely frown on their southern forbearers for bringing ignominy upon future generations.[158]

As conservative Mississippians reclaimed control over the economic, social and political realms of the state they entered a process of identity solidification that would not only preserve their new-found Confederate/Old South (or southern) identity but also project a positive and controlled identity to posterity. Several southerners wrote about their experiences during the war and Reconstruction at the turn of the century composing one aspect of the Lost Cause paradigm. How southerners thought about themselves through their own history writing reflects the identity they had forged during the previous decades. Much of the writing and memory of past events focused on reconciliation with

the rest of the country but also served to defend an honorable southern identity and pass it on to future generations. Describing the Civil War as a just and magnanimous episode, the Reconstruction-era as a time of corruption and greed (on the part of radicals and freedmen), and the actions of whites throughout the whole ordeal as admirable, allowed white southerners to solidify their group identity through the use of legend-making and selective memory. By preserving the past in a very conscious manner, white southerners also preserved their future by giving their children an identity that was positive and easily assumed as primarily southern and American. The creation of the Lost Cause legend would define southern identity well into the twentieth century with elements remaining intact long after the Civil Rights movement.[159]

Although the Lost Cause legend comprises many aspects that range from organizing to celebrations, rituals, and architecture, history writing and memory provide the unique ability to grasp how southerners thought of themselves and wanted their posterity to remember them. History writing allowed white southerners to control the story of the Civil War, its causes and reasons for southern defeat, as well as the "honorable" way in which they "redeemed" the state from outsiders and radicals. Examining memoirs, reminiscences and interviews written during the twilight of the nineteenth and dawn of the twentieth centuries offers valuable insight into the process of Lost Cause legend-making and identity preservation. Many who lived through the Civil War and Reconstruction as adults perhaps felt the need to leave a positive legacy before they died for their children and grandchildren of what it meant to be a southerner. History writing also allowed white southerners the ability to solidify the social structure

that they had shaped during the closing years of Reconstruction. White southerners had forged a social identity for blacks that relegated them once again to the lowest levels of society, and, by reminding their posterity of the repugnant conditions during Reconstruction brought about by giving blacks the franchise, hoped to convince future generations to prevent the elevation of blacks onto an equal social plane. History writing allowed white southerners to preserve their identity by controlling the past and how future generations would remember their forefathers.

In their historical writing and memory, many white southerners venerated the Old South as the pinnacle of southern (and even American) greatness. "From 1817 to 1861 Mississippi was a garden for the cultivation of all that was grand in oratory, true in science, sublime and beautiful in poetry and sentiment and enlightened and profound in law and statesmanship," Dunbar Rowland wrote for the Mississippi Historical Society in 1900, "It was a land of brave men, fair women and eloquent statesmen." Rowland, the director of Mississippi's Department of Archives and History, eulogized the Old South as an idyllic land settled and peopled by the most respectable persons of the country. "The South was in its glory," Belle Kearney, daughter of a plantation owner, explained, "It was rich and very proud. Its wealth consisted of slaves and plantations. Its pride was masterful from a consciousness of power." Horace Fulkerson, author and mercantilist of Warren County, wrote that those who settled the South during colonial days had come from the "descendants of the very flower of the chivalry of Europe; of men and women who had braved every danger in the defence of their religious scruples and political liberties." These men and women had flowing in their veins the "blood of the English

cavaliers of Maryland and Virginia, of the Scotch Irish of North and South Carolina, of the Hugenots of South Carolina, and of a mixture of all in Georgia." They had sacrificed all they had in their native land, "had quitted their pleasant homes in the most highly civilized portions of Europe to dwell in the wilderness solitudes of the New World." The southern people came from noble European families who conquered the vast "solitudes" and wilderness of the American South and played an instrumental role in the creation of the United States of America.[160]

The key to the glory of the South was due in large part to the "simple" and "homogenous" social structure composed of great planters as the gentry, the merchant-class, and the yeomanry. Describing the antebellum social order, white Mississippians extolled the role of the planter class as purveyors of civility, genteel society, and progression. "The life of the great landowners and slaveholders resembled that of the old feudal lords," Belle Kearney commented, "those of this class served in the legislatures, studied law, medicine, theology; conducted extensive mercantile enterprises and controlled their private finances,—seeking recreation in hunting, traveling, entertaining, and in the cultivation of the elegant pursuits that most pleased their particular turn of mind." Dunbar Rowland depicted the planter as scholarly with a "passionate fondness for statecraft, oratory and politics." "The highest ambition of all men in the south at that time," explained Frank Montgomery of Adams County, "so far as occupation was concerned, was to be a planter, and to spend the most if not all his time on his plantation." Montgomery illustrated the typical Old South planter as "a proud man, proud of his wife and children, proud of his plantation and slaves, proud of his stainless

honor, and ready to exact or give satisfaction for wrongs fancied or real, suffered or done." Equally virtuous were the plantation women who "were surrounded by refinements and luxury" and participated in "a time-honored social routine from which they seldom varied; a decorous exchange of visits, elaborate dinings and other interchanges of dignified courtesies." Kearney lamented that she was "just two months and six days too late for me to be a Constitutional slaveholder." And so was the South, according to the memory of several white Mississippians, until northerners started a war of aggression that annihilated the most refined civilization to grace the earth.[161]

White Mississippians accused northerners for the demise of the Old South social structure by waging a war that satisfied the North's aggressive, unconstitutional, and selfish agenda. As the sectional conflict flared in 1850, most Mississippians abhorred the term "secessionist" or "disunionist" and did their best to avoid others labeling themselves as such. In their later writings, white Mississippians did the same because to call oneself a secessionist would be to admit that the South had started the Civil War based on a controversial ideology pronounced by a few fire-eaters and that southerners shouldered the burden for the collapse of their society. Several Mississippians declared their allegiance to the United States on the eve of secession to deflect any culpability for the war and assumed a role as aggrieved victims of northern machinations. Referring to the right of secession, Reuben Davis, a lawyer from Aberdeen, wrote, "From the first, I doubted the correctness of this theory, and universally maintained that secession would prove to be only another name for bloody revolution." He continued, "I was proud of my citizenship of this grand Republic, and sorrowed over the possibility of disruption."

Writing specifically to her young daughter immediately at the close of Reconstruction, Annie Harper of Adams County stated that on the eve of the Civil War she continued to maintain a "Reverence for the United States government [which] was instilled into my being with the Westminster catechism and when my individuality asserted itself, I found my self as thoroughly orthodox in matters of church & state, as tho' I had been reared on Plymouth Rock." Such commentary suggests that white Mississippians had felt happy and content in the United States and that they had done nothing to aggravate the conditions that brought about war.[162]

In order to maintain a positive identity many of those who wrote about secession usually devoted an inordinate amount of time justifying the act and portraying it as both a last resort and a noble pursuit. Most did not speak specifically about the actual steps toward secession, again, since doing so would admit the state's culpability in causing the resulting war. Most of the emphasis placed on secession centered on how the North had already separated the South from their inherent rights in the Union. "Until the John Brown raid I had never for a moment lost my loyalty to the union," Frank Montgomery recalled, "but after that I became a secessionist [because of] the manner in which his death was received in the north, for he was looked upon as a martyr to the cause of freedom and was almost deified by many." With northerners sharing the same zeal as John Brown towards the abolition of slavery, David Holt, son of a wealthy planter, leveled that "Under a false idea of Christianity, and with envy, hatred, and malice, [the North] shook the red flag of war in the face of the Southerner." The presidential election of the following year would push many Mississippians towards secession since Lincoln

represented "the extreme abolition sentiment of the north." Explaining the reasons why Mississippi embarked on the path towards separation, Annie Harper wrote, "The election of a purely sectional President opposed to her vital interests, meant to her national disgrace, no longer equal participants in a government which they had had a full share in forming, but cowardly submission to a ruler elected for no purpose but to oppress them."[163]

Those writing long after the transpiration of events still recalled and emphasized their feeling of disconnect with the long-standing American identity that they had cherished. Harper maintained that with the election of Abraham Lincoln to the presidency "The government had failed its original purpose of affording equal rights to all, and we were no longer the *United* states." According to Reuben Davis, the North's desire to abolish slavery through the guise of the federal government violated the "voluntary compact which alone held the States together, and therefore the Southern States were released from bonds already broken on the other side, and had the right to withdraw peacefully from the Union." Yet, the North would not allow the South to secede without bloodshed: with northerners bent on "a war of invasion and conquest" the South reluctantly (but honorably) responded with "a war for the defense of our homes and the maintenance of our constitutional rights." In closing his memoir, J. Robuck, resident of Lafayette County, was confident that "the impartial pen of the historian will not let principles and patriotism of those who exerted themselves for the independence of the South suffer in contrast with those who took the opposite side. And then it will be written that SECESSION WAS NOT REBELLION." The South had not set out to leave

the Union during the tumultuous years of the sectional conflict, rather, the aggressive North had denied southerners the opportunity to remain in the United States unmolested. Deflecting attention away from the actual act of secession, southerners maintained their innocence in the wake of northern hostility and domination.[164]

Perhaps fearing that future posterity might blame them for shirking their duty to defend their homeland and preserve the greatness of the Old South, southerners had to find a way to glorify themselves during the war but also account for their ultimate failure. Ill-equipped, many southern soldiers found themselves wanting for food and many families throughout the South had similar problems since most planters refused to grow food-stuffs rather than cotton. Yet Susan Smedes maintained that "It was considered unpatriotic to plant cotton" and that her father (a planter in Raymond who had four thousand acres of land and over five hundred slaves) "urged his neighbors to turn all their energies towards sustaining the Southern soldiers." According to her account, Smedes' father planted corn on every acre so that "the army should not lack food for man and beast," while the rest in the community planted half acres. According to several written accounts Mississippians at home did their part in sustaining the war effort and, in the meantime, their soldiers fought admirably to fend off the attacking northern mobs.[165]

Years later, Mississippians still maintained the belief that their soldiers were superior to those of the North but supplemented that belief by claiming that the sheer vastness of numbers on the northern side (not the complete devastation of the Confederate army, lack of support among the planters toward the war effort, the failings of Confederate leadership, and the problem of desertion) had resulted in their defeat.

"We deemed them invincible," Annie Harper wrote referring to the Confederate soldiers. "The Creator never made men equal to the Confederate soldier," former infantryman Samuel Hankins declared, "For many months none of us had the least hope of success, yet we would stand and be shot at for our country." Their defeat, though, came not on the field of battle but due to a lack of resources which the North had in abundance. Horace Fulkerson, who lauded the bravery and superiority of the southern soldier, decried that the brave men in the field lacked the necessary resources to sustain the fight as long as their enemies. He admitted that "there were occasional desertions" but only "of obscure soldiers" none of whom served as an officer of rank. Fulkerson believed that this fact alone should lift "our common country far above the civilized nations of ancient or modern times, and deserves to be regarded by both parties to the quarrel as a mark of the sincere conviction of each to the righteousness of his cause." James Dinkins, a private in the 18th Mississippi Infantry, blamed southern defeat on the ignobility of northern generals who "could not whip the Southern soldier in battle, but could destroy their homes and starve their families." The Confederate Army, composed of "half-starved, but heroic, soldiers […] stood for four years against the mighty hosts of men, resources, power, and money." In the end, despite defeat, "the Confederate army had made a name for bravery and daring for the rank and file, and genius for the leaders, that will challenge the admiration of future generations, and establish a standard for emulation never to be excelled."[166]

No other writing would define how white Mississippians would remember the Civil War better than Jefferson Davis's magnum opus *The Rise and Fall of the*

Confederate Government (1881). Following his capture, the federal government detained Davis at Fortress Monroe while Congress and Andrew Johnson fought over Reconstruction and whether to pursue a criminal or civil trial against the former president of the Confederacy. While incarcerated Davis received an out-pouring of support among the citizens of the South especially after word spread that the prison officials had placed Davis in chains (which they did for a few days). During his incarceration the mistakes the Davis administration had made throughout the war that alienated the yeomanry and plain folk quickly disappeared as assuaged southerners embraced Davis as the symbol of the Confederacy. Eventually indicted on treason, the court allowed Davis to post bail (paid for by some of Davis's supporters) and permitted Davis to travel to Canada with the expectation he would return for his court date. By December 1868, Andrew Johnson had issued amnesty to all participants in the rebellion, which included Jefferson Davis, preventing the Confederacy's only president from standing trial. With no land and minimal sources of income, Davis tried his hand in business and failed. By 1877, Davis relocated to Beauvoir, a home owned by Sarah Ellis Dorsey on the Mississippi gulf coast, where he established residency until his death in 1889. While at Beauvoir Davis embarked on the task of writing a history of the Confederacy and found a publisher in New York willing to pay an advance and allow for a two-volume edition.[167]

Much to the chagrin of the publisher, Davis spent an inordinate amount of space devoted to the sectional conflict and causes of the war as well as the Constitutional legality of secession. Davis adamantly and repeatedly declared throughout his work that "no moral nor sentimental considerations were really involved" in the rupture between

the northern and southern states but that they "were struggles between different sections, with diverse institutions and interests." Davis wanted his readers to understand the causes behind the conflict but more importantly he wanted them to realize and accept that slavery had not caused a rift between the North and the South. The southern states had not fought for the perpetuation of slavery but to protect the South's Constitutional rights. Davis lambasted the early historians of the Civil War who had "sedulously represented" the "Southern States and Southern people" as "'propagandists' of slavery, and the Northern as the defenders and champions of universal freedom." "Whatever extent the question of slavery may have served as an *occasion*," Davis explained, "it was far from being the *cause* of the conflict." Davis did not want generations to view the Civil War as a struggle fought over the issue of slavery—such an interpretation would dishonor the South and mean that southern boys and men died to preserve an institution which forced individuals into bondage and denied them fundamental freedoms. By admitting the war had started as a fight to preserve slavery would make the southern states culpable for the devastation and loss of life that followed and make heroes of northerners who fought for the freedom and emancipation of the enslaved. Davis provided examples that the majority of northerners accepted the peculiar institution (which he described as "the mildest and most humane of all institutions to which the name 'slavery' has ever been applied") and argued that "climatic, industrial, and economical—not moral or sentimental—reasons" had ended slavery in the North. According to Davis only a few fanatical northerners called for the abolition of slavery which meant that the issue of

slavery had not divided the nation and that northerners had not fought an ideological war to end human suffering at the hands of southerners.[168]

Explaining the cause of the Civil War, Davis expounded upon the formation of the United States (which he repeatedly referred to as a confederation of independent States), the compact each state entered into upon admission to the confederation, and the machinations of the northern region which lusted after money and power. Beginning with the close of the Revolutionary War, Davis explained that after securing independence "the confederation of those States embraced an area so extensive, with climate and products so various, that rivalries and conflicts of interest soon began to be manifested." Episode by episode, Davis traced the history of the United States and all the attempts of the northern states to "appropriate to itself an unequal share of the public disbursements" as the country gobbled up land in the west. Davis argued that as the United States acquired more land, the greed of the men of the northern states grew. The Louisiana Purchase had substantially increased the size of the United States, but northerners limited the amount of land southerners could claim from the transaction by establishing the Missouri Compromise line. The tariff issues of the 1830s favored northern manufacturing and imposed upon the South a "double tax" by increasing the price of imported goods and decreasing the value of exported items from the southern region. The Mexican cession once again demonstrated the thirsting of northerners for more land and money as they salivated over the prospects of increasing their fortune through expansion and proposed limiting southern access to the acquired territories. In describing the motives and flared tempers of southerners during 1850, Davis wrote that

southerners did not promote the expansion of slavery rather they questioned the legality of northerners trying to prevent the "distribution" and "dispersion" of property into the territories. This issue—and this alone—caused the Civil War. "It was not the passage of the 'personal liberty laws,'" Davis declared, "it was not the raid of John Brown, it was not the operation of unjust and unequal tariff laws, nor all combined, that constituted the intolerable grievance." "It was the systematic and persistent struggle to deprive the Southern States of equality in the Union," Davis charged, "to discriminate in legislation against the interests of [the southern] people; culminating in their exclusion from the Territories, the common property of the States, as well as by the infraction of their compact to promote domestic tranquillity."[169]

The South had acted honorably and with zeal in deflecting the "invasion of the natural and unalienable rights of man" propounded by the North. "[The Confederate States] drew their swords for the sovereignty of the people," Davis proudly stated, "and they fought for the maintenance of their State governments in all their reserved rights and powers, as the only true and natural guardians of the unalienable rights of their citizens, among which the most sacred is, that only the consent of the governed can give vitality and existence to any civil or political institution." Spending over a hundred pages expounding on the rights of secession and providing examples in American history where other states had asserted their rights to separation, Davis did concede that the Civil War "showed [secession] to be impracticable, but this did not prove it to be wrong." The South had not erred in their logic or really in their decision to separate from the Union, in fact, they had defended and died for the same principles their forbearers had during the

American Revolution. The South had not fought for their interests alone, instead they had fought for "the cause of constitutional government, of the supremacy of law, of the natural rights of man," and in this the Confederacy ultimately succeeded. For Davis, the Confederate cause would live on, because it was not about slavery, it was about defending and preserving the inherent and natural rights of man, the same cause which had led to the creation of the United States and which would sustain the Union in the future.[170]

In writing about the close of the war and the beginning of Reconstruction, white Mississippians emphasized the major shift in the social and political structure of the state—if the Old South marked the days of posterity and wealth, defeat and Reconstruction brought despair and the darkest days of the state's history. In describing the horrendous social and political changes during Reconstruction, whites wrote about the elevation of the freedmen onto equal terms with the rest of society and the devastating consequences that followed. Most accounts reflect the social and political ruin of the state at the hands of the freedmen and their white cronies who advocated equality. By giving the franchise to the freedmen, carpetbaggers and scalawags allowed an ignorant and physiologically inferior being the ability to control the fortunes of the state. This predictably led to corruption in state politics and social stratification between the races that had not existed previously. Freedmen turned against their former masters who had cared for them and provided for their needs, and began to feel superior to those who were intellectually expert and experienced in the political process.   If blacks were ungovernable as slaves then they were incorrigible as freedmen and unwilling to receive

assistance from their only true "friends." The elevation of blacks to social and political equality was a demoralizing and disastrous experiment that ruined the state and would destroy it again if pursued in the future. To make their case more concrete that black social inferiority was both prudent and necessary, white historical descriptions often elucidated the condition of slaves during antebellum days to reflect the proper social role of blacks.

Many historical writings expounded the myth that masters treated their slaves with great care and that the slaves were content and happy field-hands prior to the war. "Throughout the nation outside the 'Deep South,'" J. M. Gibson of Warren County explained, "there was a common belief that the owners treated their slaves with great cruelty, drove them in their work through long hours in all kinds of weather, provided few clothes and seldom shoes to wear, and forced them to occupy unsanitary huts." Setting the record straight, Gibson countered, "Our Negroes were well-fed and comfortably clothed and given good shoes and boots […] The women were not compelled to do heavy work, and no child under twelve years was made to work in the fields or elsewhere other than to carry water or milk to field hands." Dunbar Rowland, in describing the process of cotton planting and picking, commented that "the black toilers were happy in their labor. Their humble and simple lives were free from care. All their wants were supplied, and they were contented and satisfied." Annie Harper believed that "Of all the races ever held in bondage […] the negro was the happiest and best treated." Not only that, but slaves, because of their natural disposition, "never felt any degradation in his position" and "was absolutely content."[171]

Satisfied in their treatment and situation, slaves remained loyal to their masters during the war. James Dinkins argued that the slave loved his master and the few instances of slave unrest resulted from a few fanatics and the influence of northern abolitionists who poisoned the minds of others with their impure doctrines. Dinkins pointed to the actions of the slaves during the Civil War and their loyalty to their masters as proof that they preferred their enslavement to freedom. "From the beginning to the end of the war," Dinkins reported, "no such thing as an insurrectionary movement was known or heard of, nor the use of any incendiary or insulting language whatever charged, reported, or hinted against the negroes." Dinkins admitted the fact that some slaves left the plantation (most of those out of coercion by Yankee troops) but contended that "a large majority of the negroes remain[ed] at their homes" and cared for their master's family. In a treatise dedicated to understanding the "Negro problem," Horace Fulkerson remarked that "the conduct of the slaves of the South during the war has been the subject of much comment and all of it, it may be said, with approval and highest commendation." Setting out several possible reasons why the slaves remained loyal (which ranged from innate cowardice to lack of understanding of the conflict), Fulkerson believed that "the respect […] in which the master was held by the slave, and the mild rule at home during the war, had much to do with it, but above these was the good sense, the dignity, and the self respect of the noble women of the South, whose conduct was an ever-present inspiration of good conduct on the part of the slave." Slaves found comfort and contentment in their enslavement, desired to serve and care for their masters, and

remained loyal despite the attempts of northerners during the Civil War to pry them loose from their home.[172]

The end of the Civil War not only brought perilous times upon white Mississippians but introduced complete ruin to the black population. Belle Kearney described the day her father went to the slave quarters to tell the slaves that they were free. "There was no wild shout of joy or other demonstrations of gladness," Kearney said, "The deepest gloom prevailed in their ranks and an expression of mournful bewilderment settled upon their dusky faces […] they were stunned. What were they to do? Where should they go? What would become of them?" Kearney illustrated the immediate effects of black emancipation. "Crime swept like a prairie fire over communities," she described apocalyptically, "Anarchy triumphed, grinning, red-handed. Desperadoes infested the land. Women were afraid to leave their front doors without being armed or accompanied by a male escort." Desperate, ignorant of how to exercise their new liberties, freedmen turned to crime to provide for their needs, preying on their former masters. "I have said that the negro of that day was a happy and child-like creature," Frank Montgomery further explained, "Crime was literally unknown to him […] Now, what is his condition?" He answered, "Ask the jails, the penitentiaries, the lunatic asylums, which are filled not from the ranks of the old slaves, but their sons and daughters." Freedom had corrupted the minds of the younger generations in the black community which reared its ugly head in the form of crime and debauchery.[173]

Susceptible, ignorant, and easily persuaded, the freedmen soon came into contact with an evil element which swept the land shortly after the conclusion of the war—that of

the nefarious carpetbagger. "After the war had ended, the South was overrun by a class called 'Carpet Baggers,'" James Dinkins explained in an appendix after his narrative of the war, "They were as a general and almost universal thing the scum of the earth. Men who, except in a few instances, had no idea of right, honesty, gentility, or decency, and knew no such law or motto." Dinkins elucidated their primary desire: "They came South to fire the heart of the newly-emancipated negro, and organize a political party, by which they could obtain official control of the different states." He concluded that the carpetbaggers, the "pretended friends" of the freedmen, had "grossly deceived" blacks after the war to attain their own selfish goals. According to Horace Fulkerson, the carpetbaggers infested the land "like the frogs of Egypt" and came "with their divinations and enchantments, and loyal league charters, and their promise of 'a mule and forty acres' to work upon the imaginations and fire the hearts of the lately enfranchised." J. Robuck of Marshall County lamented, "it is a horrid reflection to think what a change the bestowing of the ballot, citizenship, and the diabolical influence of the carpet-bagger and the scalawag had wrought in the disposition of the negro in such a short time." Prior to the war the slave had worked peacefully and without complaint but carpetbaggers had changed the mindset of the freedmen in an effort "to place the negro permanently above the white population, and thus Africanize the South." Everything worsened after the passage of the fourteenth amendment, which Robuck reasoned destroyed the "friendly relations between the white and black races of the South." After that moment "hordes of carpet-baggers of a low class were scattered throughout the Southern States organizing among the negroes what they called the Loyal League. This was for the purpose of

keeping the white race under foot and an effort to give the negro the ascendency."
Writing for the Mississippi Historical Society in 1901, W. H. Hardy described
Reconstruction as a time when "designing carpet baggers and scalawags" indoctrinated
freedmen with concepts of social and political equality with whites, which resulted in the
freedmen becoming "exceedingly arrogant and insolent" causing violence and a
disdainful relationship between whites and blacks.[174]

Acting upon their distorted sense of freedom instilled by carpetbaggers, the
freedmen made conditions in the South unbearable and the complete opposite of the
halcyon antebellum days. While relatively unspecific about the exact nature of the
horrors encountered by whites during Reconstruction, many commented that the
freedmen flocked to the polls and voted the Republican ticket without understanding the
issues or the candidate's platform. This resulted in the election of inexperienced and
corrupt men who abused the power which they now possessed. Generalizing, Annie
Harper condescendingly wrote of how blacks often went to the polls in complete
ignorance: "Every old man who could totter to the polls, hastened to perform the act, of
which they comprehend nothing. Whom did you vote for Uncle Granville? I dunno sir,
dunno nuthin bout dat, but I got de right color, & put it in de hole. Why did you take
your hoe and ax to town. Dunno sir. I never done nuthin but what I needed one or tother
of em, and I thought mebbe I'd need em in voting." J. Robuck believed that the freedmen
had sinister motives, inspired by carpetbaggers, to completely disfranchise white
Mississippians. "The negro now had literal and practical control of the country under
radical carpet-bag rule," Robuck wrote, "and regarded his disfranchised democratic

former master as being his worst and bitter enemy, and by the promptings and under the guidance of his political bosses he sought to rush both him and his family out of at least political existence forever, in order to hold his recently acquired ascendency." Frustrated that their candidates no longer had control of the state government white Mississippians believed that blacks had purposefully disfranchised them and placed them on a lower rung of the social ladder. By disfranchising the white citizens and electing men of questionable character the freedmen had caused the white citizens "more suffering than our slaves ever endured, mental suffering being so much worse than bodily suffering."[175]

Defeated, subjugated, and forced to endure the corrupt political climate brought about by uneducated freedmen who credulously stamped the Republican ticket in all circumstances, white Mississippians had to find a way to redeem their social and political standing—it came in the form of the Ku Klux Klan. In their writings, white Mississippians described the activities of the Klan as both a way to restore the state to the Old South social order and a way to protect whites and old plantation blacks from the calculated measures imposed by carpetbaggers and their freedmen followers. Targeting mostly whites, the Klan helped reclaim the countryside by striking fear into the hearts of "obstreperous young Negroes" and carpetbaggers. "The Ku Klux, I think, killed only one man—that is, one white man," J. Gibson explained, "He had defied them, and his conduct had been so ignoble and perversive of peace between the races that it was deemed imperative to make an example of him." Gibson believed "The effect of the Ku Klux Klan, as a whole, was for good order and peace of the country." J. Robuck related several instances when the Klan helped protect unsuspecting blacks from the treacheries

and false doctrines of carpetbaggers. Robuck and three others decided one evening to infiltrate a meeting held at the Price School House, a black school in Marshall County. Dressed as freedmen, with coal-smeared faces and wooly wigs, the four men attended a Loyal League meeting presided over by a northern white man, Reverend Hanks. Standing at the pulpit, Hanks read passages out of the Bible, and, according to Robuck, argued that blacks were superior to whites. Hanks continued by telling his congregation that they should not give the street to whites and that they should think of themselves on equal terms with the rest of the citizenry. Robuck wrote that the Klan later captured Hanks during the middle of the night, hanged him, and attached a note to his ankle that read: "Such is the reward a Carpet-bagger gets for teaching Negroes that they are superior to the White People of the South, and that they have a right to marry our White Women. K.K.K." Robuck considered this action prudent and lauded the efforts of the Klan to protect both blacks and whites from the influences of carpetbaggers.[176]

Klan efforts proved successful for a time but white Mississippians would finally redeem their state through a glorious revolution that would end the political corruption and restore the proper social order. "The plan was to operate on the fears of the negroes," Annie Harper explained, "and to compel their leaders, these were told that their day was ended, and that if they persevered in organizing the negroes they would be driven from the state." In addition, whites would canvass their communities to persuade blacks to vote the Democratic ticket. Washington Clayton claimed that in Lee County "many [blacks] agreed to vote with us" and that "no violence was offered." The final outcome had once and for all eliminated carpetbag rule and restored white supremacy, a struggle

which "had lasted ten years." Despite the tactics that white Mississippians had to adopt, the end justified the means since "in the enfranchisement of the negro the Federal government laid a heavy curse on the black race." Encouraged by degraded white men from the North, blacks had believed themselves equal with whites which led to their own corruption and demise as a political entity. Blacks had acted insolently toward their former masters and had forgotten their proper place within the social order. "How would Ohio, Massachusetts, or New York act were the Chinese suddenly poured in overwhelming numbers upon them," Annie Harper asked, "and they the property holders, allowed no rights but to exist—Do you think they would bear it quietly for twelve years. Think you they would effect as bloodless a revolution as did the South?" No, white Mississippians had handled Reconstruction with magnanimity and reestablished the appropriate social roles for those that lived within the state. "It is a noteworthy fact," Harper declared, "that [blacks have] been more contented in mind, and more comfortable in body and estate [since the revolution of 1875]." James Dinkins echoed the same sentiment when he stated that after 1875 "the negroes and the whites got along without trouble, and they are getting along harmoniously to this day."[177]

In an address to the Alumni Association of the University of Mississippi in 1902, Dunbar Rowland justified the Jim Crow laws of the South by expounding on the events of Reconstruction. Describing the election of 1875, Dunbar Rowland explained that after suffering "the bitter humiliation of negro domination" for seven years "every man swore a solemn oath before high Heaven that he would free himself and his posterity from the disgrace of negro rule or die in the attempt." Rowland, born during the last year of the

Civil War, declared that the "people felt that they were struggling against infamy and dishonor." Rowland claimed that the white citizenry had decided upon intimidation tactics after they had concluded that "Negro rule is ruinous to a State," that "Negro suffrage had been given a fair trial with terrible results," and that "the negro has proven himself unworthy of suffrage, and it should be taken from him." In his address Rowland did not attempt to hide the fact that white Mississippians sought to disfranchise the freedmen but extolled the decision based on the natural inferiority of the African race. "Out of the mass of conflicting opinions there have come two great ideas about which there is no difference of opinion in the South," Rowland explained, "first is the necessity for the absolute social separation and isolation of the negro, [and the second] is that the negro will never again be allowed to control the public affairs of a single southern state." The conditions of Reconstruction had been so terrible, so devastating to the white inhabitants of the state that future generations needed to understand and learn of those conditions so that they would avoid making the same mistakes as their forbearers by giving blacks the franchise.[178]

The troubles of Reconstruction, caused by black enfranchisement, had not only brought a shadow of corruption over the state, but it also disrupted the natural social order. White Mississippians wanted to make sure that the "horrors" of black suffrage did not repeat itself in the future. In his book dedicated to explaining the condition and place of blacks within southern society, Horace Fulkerson, in porous diplomatic fashion, described the character of the African race prior to slavery, their enslavement in America, and their probable station in future society. Literarily illustrated with scenes of barbarity,

cannibalism, and Satanism, Fulkerson declared that the people of western Africa belonged to a loathsome and unprogressive society and culture that wallowed in idleness and heathen worship. While sometimes questioning the moral implications of slavery, Fulkerson believed that the peculiar institution in the South helped elevate these fallen individuals and at the very least brought them to a knowledge of the Christian religion. Freedom had stopped their progression since blacks could not comprehend or understand the principles upon which liberty had formed and flourished. Citing works by scholars and professionals, Fulkerson provided figures that demonstrated the inability of blacks to amalgamate themselves into civil society by showing high crime rates as well as high rates of communicable diseases among members of the black community. Freedom and suffrage did more, though, than hurt blacks—it threatened the ideals and character of all that was American. "There is an Ideal American founded upon the homogeneity and assimilating qualities of the people who laid the foundation of and built up our system," Fulkerson explained, "[and] the *oneness* of these people in their origin, (diverse as they were in nationalities,) in their mental training, in their historical prestige, and in their religion, *fitted them* for the task of founding on the shores of the New World a great State whose power should be felt among all nations, and whose institutions should bless the whole human family." The homogeneity of the American founders, based on race, had brought the colonists together to form the greatest nation on earth, but Reconstruction and "Negro Suffrage [had] shattered this ideal, [and had] broken the unity." "Who shall be surprised if there be evolved from these opposing currents the desolating tempest?" Fulkerson asked, "There has been an unequal yoking; a yoking forbidden of reason,

forbidden of instinct, forbidden of Heaven!"   The North, through their carpetbagger progeny, had reaped destruction to the fundamental principles of American identity by giving blacks the right to vote. Warning future generations, Fulkerson reasoned that the restoration of that divinely inspired American ideal required denying blacks the franchise and disallowing their emersion into American society.[179]

Through their writings, white Mississippians solidified their social identity and that of African Americans who lived in their state. Justifying their actions during the Civil War and Reconstruction as chivalrous and praiseworthy, white Mississippians left future generations with a positive and assumable regional identity that they could proudly embrace. Their writings also defended white supremacy as reasonable, elemental, and in the best interest of both whites and blacks. White Mississippians had succeeding in building and rebuilding their identity throughout the course of the sectional conflict, Civil War and Reconstruction during which they maintained positive, self-sustaining characteristics. In this process, white Mississippians labeled blacks with undesirable traits that would relegate them to the lowest spheres of the social structure and define their place within society. Successful in their attempts, white Mississippians demonstrated the power of identity formation which is most painfully evident in the identity they created for blacks. Over time, some black men and women in the South began to perform in public the social identity whites had created for them. While privately they might have thought differently, blacks staged the identity imposed upon them as socially inferior when in the presence of whites. While many blacks did not write of their experiences as slaves or as freedmen following the war, several acquiesced

to interviews in the 1930s performed by members of Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal program the Federal Writers' Project. Interviewed mostly by white working-class men and women, some blacks performed their imposed inferior social identity in their asides and remarks. While this does not mean they accepted their white-prescribed social identity or even suggest that all (or even a majority) portrayed this identity, several adopted it when in the presence of whites. The reasons for assuming this identity in the presence of whites probably varied from person to person and depended on circumstance, but the fact that most resorted to the same fundamental identity archetype speaks to the power of identity formation. The social identity whites composed for blacks during Reconstruction lasted to some degree well into the twentieth century.

In their interviews, some former slaves made comments that suggested their proper place in society was either in slavery or an inferior position. Many blacks suffered tremendously during the Great Depression when the interviews took place and perhaps some temporarily wished for the days when the basic necessities of life came from their masters. Yet many of the remarks extended beyond a simple desire for food, clothing, and shelter—several believed that only their former masters understood and knew how to care for them. Louis Davis of Coahoma County declared that "The colored folks […] needs teaching and caring for [and the] Slave holders cared more for their slaves than the slaves cared for theirself." Isaac Stier of Natchez suggested that northerners (more specifically Abraham Lincoln) did not understand the relationship between whites and blacks prior to the war. Stier remarked that because of his uneducated nature Lincoln "never did un'erstan' how us felt 'bout us white folks. It takes de quality to un'erstan'

such things." Reminiscing about Reconstruction, Jim Polk Hightower explained that once the carpetbagger entered the state relations between the whites and blacks soured. "The Nigers went off with that class of men," Hightower remembered, "that made the old slave owner mad because they wanted the old slave to do well, for they love him, and it made them mad for the officer seeker to come in and steal the hearts of the slaves from them. They wanted the nigger to have confidence in him because they wanted him to do well." Prior to the war a filial relationship existed between slave and master and each understood their role and acted accordingly. "Where I was brought up de white man knowed his place an' de Nigger Knowed his'n," proclaimed Prince Johnson of Clarksdale, "Both of 'em stayed in dey place." Nettie Henry of Meridian said that "things got so unnatchel after de Surrender. Niggers got to bein all kin' o' things what de Lawd didn' inten' 'em for, lak bein' policemen an' all lak dat. It was scan'lous!" Similar to the Lost Cause legend expounded by white Mississippians, some blacks portrayed the Old South as a time of peace and cohesion between the races until the carpetbaggers infested the land and uprooted the social order.[180]

Many former slaves commented on their disdain for the carpetbagger and the treacherous days of Reconstruction caused by their ability to vote. Manipulated and given empty promises, many freedmen had a different reason than whites to loathe the unscrupulous and unwelcome northern immigrants, and in their interviews many blacks claimed that they ultimately learned the designs of the carpetbagger and ended their relationships immediately. Jim Allen of West Point said that one man in the area, "a two faced Yankee or carpetbagger," had organized a club for blacks in which he tried "to get

Negroes to go 'gainst our white people." After receiving counsel from a local white man to "'Stop your foolishness—go live among your white folks an' behave,'" the freedmen in the area discontinued attending the meetings. The carpetbagger had wanted the freedmen to vote the Republican ticket in an effort to disfranchise white Mississippians, but in several interviews, freedmen saw through the plan and supported the Democrats. "After de war de Yankees […] come down here an' wanted all de Niggers to vote de 'Publican ticket," Pet Franks of Aberdeen recalled, "On 'lection day I brung in 1500 Niggers to vote de Democrat' ticket." Clara Young of Monroe County remembered that the "Yankees tried to get some of de men to vote, too, but not many did […] We ddin' lak de Yankees." Jim Hightower remarked, "Now the worst thing that could have been done for the colored people was to put the ballot in their hands jest after the war." He continued, "The thing that ought to have been done was to have put in the Constitution a claus requiring a Education qualification to become an elector then he would not have come in politics like a rushin mighty wind but as he became qualified he would have come in like a young white man, he had to have twenty-one years of training before he can vote." Hightower even stated that "It is a fact admitted by the leading men of our Race that as a mass we were not competent to have the ballot put in our hands." The Yankees had ended the peaceful relationship between the races by taking advantage and manipulating the freedmen into voting northerners into office. "It was dem Carpetbaggers dat 'stroyed de country," Henri Necaise declared.[181]

The Jim Crow era, in which strict racial controls defined the appropriate actions of blacks in white society, shortly followed the end of Reconstruction and compelled

blacks to preserve their white-imposed social identity to their posterity. With segregation and Jim Crow laws firmly entrenched in Mississippi by the turn of the century, and in an effort to protect their children, black parents had to teach their offspring how to act in public and around whites. From being forced to enter public buildings through a specified door, required to sit in designated areas on streetcars and trains (usually the smoking car), or expected to give the sidewalk to passing whites, black children learned how to conduct themselves in a white supremacist world. When one son queried his father as to why they could not do certain things the father declared, "Well, son, that's the way it is. I don't know what we can do about it. There ain't nothin' we can do about it. Because if we do anything about it, they kill you." Children quickly found that failure to conform, whether through ignorance or intention, might (and often did) result in violence. Whites continued to use violence to repress blacks, with Mississippi among the national leaders in the number of lynching deaths during the last two decades of the nineteenth century. Between 1882 and 1899 white mobs in Mississippi had lynched at least 452 blacks, averaging just over two deaths per month during the period in question. Although legally free, blacks continued to endure oppressive conditions that relegated them to socially inferior roles, and the failure to maintain those roles often ended in tragedy.[182]

Many blacks emigrated away from the state to escape the treacherous conditions of Mississippi's strict, white supremacist social order throughout the first half of the twentieth century. With little options for economic, political or social equality in the state, those who could afford to leave moved northward to areas such as Ohio, Michigan, and Illinois. In 1910 African Americans accounted for fifty-six percent of Mississippi's

population, with the black population falling to fifty percent by 1930, forty-five percent by 1950, and thirty-seven percent by 1970. While not everyone had the means to relocate, the fact that so many did reveals that most black Mississippians refused to succumb to the white supremacist social order and accept the inferior social identity branded upon them.[183]

With the envisioned promises of freedom dashed, black Mississippians struggled to maintain a positive group image that did not incorporate the white-imposed identity of subjugation. Economic hardships increased significantly during the waning years of the nineteenth century as cotton prices had fallen to a low of six cents per pound (in 1865 cotton sold for eighty-three cents per pound). The sharecropping system still ensnared black workers and many had little opportunity to break free from agricultural production. In the wake of crippling social and economic hardships came a peculiar musical style ascribed to the Mississippi Delta (a swath of land along the Mississippi River stretching from Vicksburg to Tennessee) that would summarize and even symbolize the effects of the Jim Crow era on black Americans. In 1903 while at a railroad station in Tutwiler, Mississippi, musician W. C. Handy witnessed a man who was playing a guitar by sliding a knife along the neck and singing in a somber tone. Handy continued to hear more of this music as he played in locations throughout Mississippi which he helped popularize as the blues. The blues had evolved from field hollers and work songs and took on a particular style with repeated lines and gloomy, dirge-filled lyrics. Often bemoaning the loss of a lover, many of the songs contained commentary on life in the Mississippi Delta

during the early twentieth century, with somewhat veiled references to the plight of black southerners.[184]

Unlike the slave spirituals that contained glimmers of hope for freedom and redemption, most of the blues songs had few optimistic moments with temporary happiness coming from the bottom of a bottle or narcotic drugs. One of the themes that circulated in many of the blues songs dealt with escape, whether leaving the Delta or a lover and finding a life elsewhere. Charley Patton, one of the first well-known Delta blues singers, sang of departing the Delta to "a world unknown" since "every day seem like murder here." In one song Robert Johnson wailed "I got ramblin' on my mind" and that he would run "down to the station / catch that old first mail train I see." In another song, after a lover "mistreated" him, Johnson declared, "Lord I feel like blowin my / old lonesome home." Son House, a contemporary of Patton, makes an ultimatum to his lover, "I say look here, baby, you ought not to dog me around / If I had my belongings I would leave this old bad-luck town." The desire to escape, whether to leave an abusive relationship or one's poor circumstances, perhaps symbolized the longing to flee the harsh and brutal conditions imposed upon blacks. Patton, House and Johnson had grown up working in the fields with their families, either as tenants or sharecroppers, and had first-hand experience of the economic and social plight of blacks in Mississippi. Many of their songs refer to ecological disasters that plagued the Delta such as boll weevil infestations and flooding from the Mississippi River which made hard times even harder. Each artist also made frequent reference to entanglements with law enforcement officials (whether a sheriff or a revenue collector) as well as imprisonment at Parchman Farm, a

penitentiary in Sunflower County that operated as a working farm using convict labor. The longing to escape the crushing oppressive conditions of the Jim Crow South would have been insatiable, but, as Johnson bemoaned, "I got stones in my passway / and all my roads seem dark at night."[185]

Largely secular in nature blues songs occasionally included religious themes and the way the artist employed their usage demonstrates a marked shift from the spiritual paradigm of the previous generations. Slave spirituals and field songs often spoke of endurance and the promise of freedom and redemption, but some of the blues songs focused more on the sinful nature of the narrator and the inescapable bonds of the devil. Famous for allegedly selling his soul to the devil one night at a crossroad in exchange for mastery of the guitar, Robert Johnson sang frequently about trying to shake the influence of Satan. In one of his more famous songs Johnson decried, "I gotta keep movin' / there's a hellhound on my trail," while in another Johnson recognized that his desire "to beat my woman until I get satisfied" was because "me and the devil was walkin' side by side." Charley Patton glorified cocaine use and stated that it was "all I want in this creation" and was worth killing a man to obtain. Patton did sing of redemption in his ballad "Lord I'm Discouraged" but left little hope for gaining any happiness before death. The blues singers from Mississippi had little reason to believe their condition would improve due to the incorrigibility of the white citizenry in their efforts to maintain hegemonic control over the state. Black Mississippians would have to wait several decades before they would completely break the crushing conditions of the Jim Crow era

and transcend the white-imposed social identity crafted during the final years of Reconstruction and solidified in Lost Cause writings.[186]

The lasting effects of identity formation would not only resonate through the black community but continue to infiltrate generations of white Mississippians who openly embraced their southern identity. The dying generation of Old South planters and Civil War veterans did what they could to ensure their memory and identity never died and that an alternative black southern identity would not supplant it. "The old Southern gentleman is passing rapidly away," Annie Harper lamented, "That courtly chivalrous dignity which began with the nation with our Washington, and continued to Lee—where shall we find it in a few more years?" Dunbar Rowland had the answer, "The grand and noble men and women of the 'Old South' are rapidly passing away. Their memories, deeds and virtues must be preserved by theirs sons and daughters." He continued, "They must be preserved on the living pages of history as a priceless heritage to their descendants. They must be preserved in story, poetry and song, in sculpted marble, and in the glorious beauty of painted canvas so that they will endure forever and forever." The southern identity which began to take shape during the sectional conflict and extended through Lost Cause legend-making would endure—it would result in the erection of monuments throughout the state honoring the Confederate dead, it would result in white Mississippians' adamant desires to prevent civil rights and integration in public schools during the 1950s and 60s, and it would result in retaining the stars and bars on the state flag after a 2001 referendum. White Mississippians had successfully retained their southern identity and had taken measures to ensure black inferiority would

remain central to that identity. Although the civil rights movement allowed for greater social equality, many white Mississippians still clung to their southern identity by venerating the days of the Old South and marking the Civil War as a period of triumph rather than defeat.[187]

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION: "THOU ART NOT DEAD"

A vestal shrine thou art beloved mother,
A loyal son uncovers at thy bier;
Thou art not dead, but sleepest—yet another,
Thyself transformed, in beauty shalt appear.
Thy naked, bleeding feet shall sandaled be—
Thy golden tresses, all disheveled now—
Again shall crown thy head of majesty,
And richest diadem adorn thy brow.[188]

On 21 November 2009 the Ku Klux Klan held a protest before a football game near the student union building at the University of Mississippi. Upset over a ban issued by the school's chancellor that prohibited the band from playing a medley titled "From Dixie with Love" at football games, the Klansmen gathered fully robed and in traditional garb. The university chancellor had prohibited the song because several of the fans in attendance would often chant "The South shall rise again" during portions of the performance. The Klan had issued a statement regarding their decision to assemble claiming that the chancellor's decision attacked "our Southern Heritage and Culture." "This is a direct violation of the right to freedom of speech," the proclamation read, "and will only continue because a hand full [sic] of people at Ole Miss want to force change on the University of Mississippi that will destroy the Culture and Heritage on the Ole Miss Campus. Ole Miss should embrace its Southern Heritage and Culture." In an interview before the protest, the Great Titan for the Mississippi White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

stated, "we are coming to Ole Miss to say enough is enough on attacking our Christian, southern heritage and culture." Members of the local Klan had decided to gather in what they considered an effort to preserve their southern heritage and what they perceived as defending crucial components of their southern identity. They manifested a desire to retain the image of the South their forefathers had created during Reconstruction and the waning years of the nineteenth century that heralded the Old South social structure as pristine and ideal and southerners' actions during the sectional conflict, Civil War, and Reconstruction as noble, patriotic, and laudable. The dozen Klansmen who arrived protested for nearly twenty minutes before leaving after hundreds of students and supporters who opposed the Klan rallied near the union building chanting the university's creed and wearing shirts that read "turn your back on hate." For those who gathered in opposition, the southern identity, heritage, and culture the Klan wanted to preserve was full of hate and represented segregation, slavery, and white supremacy. The Civil War had killed the Old South and the Civil Rights Movement had disintegrated the white supremacist social order—the South now represented something different.[189]

It would take decades for black Mississippians to break the repressive white-imposed identity of subjugation and inferiority that whites placed upon them. The emergence of the blues encapsulated the frustrations of black Mississippians and formed from the repressive conditions caused by a strict white supremacist social order. This aspect of African American expressive culture constituted one of the contributing factors that aided in the coming of the Civil Rights Movement in the 1950s and 60s. The blues reached a mainstream white audience in the 1930s as many, regardless of race, could

relate to the woeful condition of the singer due to the effects of the Great Depression. The blues influenced the development of a number of other musical genres, including rock 'n' roll, which composed one component of an emerging "low" culture. By the 1950s a working-class culture surfaced in the South among former farmers and agriculturalists who had moved to the city to find employment. The low culture blurred racial lines as popular music among whites and blacks fused to create new styles such as rhythm and blues and rock 'n' roll. Performers such as Elvis Presley unabashedly borrowed from black entertainers, not just in the sound of his voice or style of his music, but also in the way he dressed and danced. The low culture of the 1950s was anti-elitist and employed themes of rebellion which questioned and challenged the status quo. Teenagers of working-class families, black and white, embraced the rebelliousness and many would eventually participate in the Civil Rights Movement as the decade progressed.[190]

Middle-class, white Mississippians resisted the current of change, however, with a fervency paralleling the Revolution of 1875 and bordering on complete madness. The court ruling of *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954 which opened the door to end segregation met with a firestorm of criticism throughout the South. White Mississippians formed Citizens' Councils throughout the state and implemented means to intimidate any blacks who advocated integration, attempted to register to vote, or claimed membership to any organization that promoted the advancement of equal rights. The state even created an organization, the Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission (an in-state intelligence agency modeled after the Federal Bureau of Investigation) which sent spies

to infiltrate black organizations, collected intelligence on local civil rights leaders, and promoted means to undermine the movement for equality. Violence and intimidation reigned once again in Mississippi as blacks in the state tried to reassert their rights to equality. One appalling episode occurred in 1955 when at least two men brutally murdered a teenage boy from Chicago, Emmett Till, who had traveled to the Mississippi Delta to visit some relatives. After supposedly whistling at the wife of a convenience storeowner (accounts vary but at some point Till had allegedly broken racial etiquette), the owner and his half-brother kidnapped Till while he slept, brutally beat and shot him, then tied a cotton gin fan around his neck with barbed wire and threw him in the Tallahatchie River. Three days later a young boy discovered Till's swollen and bloated body—an image that circulated in numerous newspapers and magazines across the nation. An all-white jury acquitted the two men after a short trial despite a positive identification of the abductors by the owner of the home (who risked his own life to testify) where Till had resided the night of his disappearance.[191]

Other episodes of violence occurred as black Mississippians demanded social equality and whites resisted the change. In 1951, T. R. M. Howard, a prominent black Mississippian, founded the Regional Council of Negro Leadership which provided an organized body for black Mississippians to pursue their goal of racial equality. One of the members, Medgar Evers, eventually served as the first field secretary in Mississippi for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Evers played crucial roles in organizing boycotts aimed at white merchants as well as the admission of James Meredith, a black student, at the University of Mississippi in 1962. The attempted

integration at the University of Mississippi resulted in a riot on the university's campus as segregationists clashed with military and law enforcement personnel. Evers's enormous influence in Mississippi's civil rights movement led to his assassination in 1963 when a gunman shot him in the back just after Evers had arrived home. White Mississippians continued to resist the confluence of change and violence erupted once again in 1964 when volunteers flocked to Mississippi to assist in helping blacks in the state register to vote. Known as Freedom Summer, the episode gained national attention especially after the shooting deaths of three volunteers and the beatings of several others. Despite Supreme Court rulings and federal laws that prohibited racial discrimination, white Mississippians refused to submit, taking over a decade before African Americans could fully participate as members of society.[192]

While the changes wrought by the Civil Rights Movement may have significantly altered the social structure of the state, the southern identity forged in Lost Cause writings still persist in degrees with Mississippians trying to keep that identity alive. In 2001 voters in Mississippi went to the polls to determine whether they would follow several other southern states and remove the Confederate Battle Flag from the official state flag. Many whites argued that the emblem represented their southern culture and heritage and when the polls closed a large majority had voted in favor of retaining the old state flag. Mississippi also continues to celebrate Confederate Memorial Day, designated as an official state holiday, on the last Monday in April. In December 2009 a groundbreaking ceremony at Beauvoir (Jefferson Davis's retirement home) signaled the beginning of an expansive project to build the Jefferson Davis Presidential Library.

"Every American president as you know has their presidential library," the director of Beauvoir stated in an interview, "So we thought that Jefferson Davis is an American president, and he deserved his library. That was the idea to have a library that had the history of him and his family and the confederate soldier to tell their story and that period in history." Although not federally recognized as a presidential library, referring to Davis's as such gives legitimacy to the Confederacy and the actions taken by Mississippians more than a century ago to secede from the Union and form a new nation. In addition to attracting more visitors to Beauvoir, the director as well as one of Davis's descendents hopes the new library and museum would help educate the public that Davis's legacy "shouldn't be limited to a fight to preserve slavery."[193]

Time has altered the identity conservative Mississippians fashioned during the last half of the nineteenth century but elements of it still remain in the twenty-first century demonstrating the power of social identity formation. Some Mississippians still maintain the belief that the Civil War had little or nothing to do with the issue of slavery, that their forefathers had acted heroically and were of a higher caliber than their opponents in the War of Northern Aggression, and that the halcyon days of the Old South still represented an idealized period of peace and posterity in the state's history. The southern identity formed during the sectional conflict, Civil War and Reconstruction played a central role in shaping Mississippi society and culture during the twentieth century and went beyond the establishment of organizations and the erection of monuments and flags to honor progenitors. The identity conservatives maintained not only informed their conceptualization of who they were but imposed a social order and identity on African

Americans that relegated them to positions of inferiority. The determination to maintain a social identity of blacks as inferior prevented white Mississippians from modernizing farm equipment and abandoning the sharecropping labor system (which continued into the second-half of the twentieth century and wreaked havoc on the economic progress of the state); not only that but it resulted in white political dominion, lynchings, segregation, and the cowardly and gruesome murders of individuals such as Medgar Evers and Emmett Till while allowing the perpetrators to escape the consequences of their crimes.[194]

The perpetuation of an inferior black identity still lingers to some degree among some whites of the state. While not necessarily representative of all of Mississippi, the documentary *Prom Night in Mississippi* exposes the racial divide that still exists in some places. In 2007 a film crew descended upon the small town of Charleston, Mississippi, located in Tallahatchie County, to document the effects of a proposal by Morgan Freeman (a Charleston resident and award-winning actor) to pay for the local high school prom. Although the high school accepted black students in 1970, the school still held two separate proms: one white, one black. Freeman offered to pay for the prom but only if it was integrated. The school and the senior class accepted Morgan's offer (although the school board rejected him in 1997 when he first proposed the idea) yet the parents of some of the white students (who compose roughly thirty percent of the student body) organized a separate, white-only prom. The parents who opposed the integrated prom refused to speak to the filmmakers but some of their children spoke about lingering racism and the determination of the older generations to keep blacks and whites socially

separated as much as possible. One of the arguments many of the parents used to rationalize separate proms was that God had created whites and blacks differently and that each race served a different role—an idea that originated as a justification for slavery which southerners continued to advance in Lost Cause writings regarding the proper roles of whites and blacks in society.[195]

While much has changed in Mississippi since the Civil War, much has remained the same, primarily certain aspects of the southern identity conservative Mississippians forged during a series of crises that rocked the state in the last-half of the nineteenth century. In 1876 when Annie Harper wrote the history of the Civil War and Reconstruction for her daughter, she closed in poetical adoration for the Old South and wept over the irretrievability of the old social order. "Beautiful past with its weakness even its sins," Harper wrote, "the world will look in vain for anything that can compare socially with thee." Despite the weaknesses, despite the sins, some Mississippians still cling to that past and identity.[196]

NOTES

[1] Daryl Cumber Dance, ed., *From My People: 400 Years of African American Folklore* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 2002), 104

[2] Thaddeus McRae, *The Autobiography of Thaddeus McRae*, Special Collections, Mitchell Memorial Library, Mississippi State University, 19, 20.

[3] For a sampling of southern environment, climate, and agriculture see Jack Temple Kirby, *Mockingbird Song: Ecological Landscapes of the South* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006); Philip D. Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1998); Mart A. Stewart, *"What Nature Suffers to Groe": Life, Labor, and Landscape on the Georgia Coast, 1680-1920* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1996); A. Cash Koeniger, "Climate and Southern Distinctiveness," *The Journal of Southern History* 54 (February 1988), 21-44; Albert E. Cowdrey, *This Land, This South: An Environmental History* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1983); Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, *Life and Labor in the Old South* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1929). Some of the main works on slavery's impact on southern society and culture include Anthony S. Parent, *Foul Means: The Formation of a Slave Society in Virginia, 1660-1740* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003); Kathleen M. Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996); Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, *Within the Plantation Household: Black and White Women of the Old South* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988); William J. Cooper, Jr., *The South and the Politics of Slavery, 1828-1856* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978; Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1975); Eugene D. Genovese, *The Political Economy of Slavery: Studies in the Economy and Society of the Slave South* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1965). For works on southern culture and honor see Kenneth Greenberg, Honor and Slavery (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996); Christopher Morris, *Becoming Southern: The Evolution of a Way of Life, Warren County and Vicksburg, Mississippi, 1770-1860* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Yankee Saints and Southern Sinners* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1985); Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982.

[4] Erik H. Erikson, *Identity and the Life Cycle* (New York: International Universities Press, Inc., 1959), 102; Philip Gleason, "Identifying Identity: A Semantic History," *The Journal of American History* 69 (March 1983), 910-28; Sheldon Stryker and Peter J. Burke, "The Past, Present, and Future of an Identity Theory," *Social Psychology Quarterly* 63:4 (2000), 284-97.

[5] C. Vann Woodward, *The Burden of Southern History*, updated third edition (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1960; 2008). See also James C. Cobb, *Away Down South: A History of Southern Identity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005); David R. Jansson, "Internal Orientalism in America: W. J. Cash's *The Mind of the South* and the Spatial Construction of American Identity," *Political Geography* 22 (2003), 293-316; Joyce Appleby, *Inheriting the Revolution: The First Generation of Americans* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2000); Susan-Mary Grant, *North over South: Northern Nationalism and American Identity in the Antebellum Era* (Lawrence: University

Press of Kansas, 2000); Carl N. Degler, "Thesis, Antithesis, Synthesis: The South, the North, and the Nation," *The Journal of Southern History* 53 (February 1987), 3-18.

[6] Henri Tajfel and John Turner, "An Integrative Theory of Intergroup Conflict," in William G. Austin and Stephen Worchel, eds., *The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations* (Monterey: Brooks/Cole Publishing Company, 1979), 40. In constructing the additional principles, the author has relied heavily on the following works: Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, revised edition (New York: Verso, 1983; 1991); Howard S. Becker and Michal M. McCalls, eds., *Symbolic Interactionism and Cultural Studies* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1990); Herbert Blumer, *Symbolic Interactionism: Perspective and Method* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969); James E. Cote and Charles G. Levine, *Identity Formation, Agency, and Culture: A Social Psychological Synthesis* (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, 2002); Erikson, *Identity and the Life Cycle*; Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1973); Gleason, "Identifying Identity"; Marshall Sahlins, *Islands of History* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1985); Stryker and Burke, "The Past, Present, and Future of an Identity Theory"; Richard C. Trexler, ed., *Persons in Groups: Social Behavior as Identity Formation in Medieval and Renaissance Europe* (Binghampton: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1985).

[7] J. V. Polisensky, *The Thirty Years War*, translated by Robert Evans (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), 5; Armstead L. Robinson, *Bitter Fruits of Bondage: The Demise of Slavery and the Collapse of the Confederacy, 1861-1865* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2005); Gilbert Fite, *Cotton Fields No More: Southern Agriculture, 1865-1980* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1984); W. Fitzhugh Brundage, *Lynching in the New South: Georgia and Virginia, 1880-1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993).

[8] David Goldfield, *Still Fighting the Civil War: The American South and Southern History* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2002), 1-2; For works on historical memory see David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2001); W. Fitzhugh Brundage, *The Southern Past: A Clash of Race and Memory* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005); Gaines M. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987); Gary W. Gallagher and Alan T. Nolan, eds., *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000); for recent works on how contemporary events provided a foundation for the Lost Cause see Robert E. Bonner, *Colors and Blood: Flag Passions of the Confederate South* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002); Gary W. Gallagher, *The Confederate War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997); Jason Phillips, *Diehard Rebels: The Confederate Culture of Invincibility* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2007); Anne Sarah Rubin, *A Shattered Nation: The Rise and Fall of the Confederacy, 1861-1868* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2005).

[9] The following list is not exhaustive and only represents a few of the works that historians tend to use as representative of the whole South but in which the work has a notable south Atlantic bias: McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds: Yeoman Households, Gender Relations, and the Political Culture of the Antebellum South Carolina Low Country* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom*; Parent, *Foul Means*; Charles Royster, *The Destructive War: William Tecumseh Sherman, Stonewall Jackson, and the Americans* (New York: Vintage Books, 1991); Blight, *Race and Reunion*; Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy*; Gallagher, *The Confederate War*.

[10] The process of social interaction proposed here borrows heavily from the symbolic interactionist school of thought first proposed by George Herbert Meade and expanded by other scholars. Blumer,

Symbolic Interactionism; Becker and McCall, *Symbolic Interactionism and Cultural Studies*; Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*; Sahlins, *Islands of History*; Trexler, ed., *Persons in Groups*.

[11] "The Southern Phalanx," *Mississippian* (Jackson), 24 May 1850.

[12] Walter Chandler, ed., *Journal and Speeches of Greene Callier Chandler* (Memphis: Private Printing, 1953), 50, 23.

[13] "The Southern Phalanx," *Mississippian* (Jackson), 24 May 1850; Eric H. Walther, *The Fire-Eaters* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992); John McCardell, *The Idea of a Southern Nation: Southern Nationalists and Southern Nationalism, 1830-1860* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1979); David M. Potter, *The South and the Sectional Conflict* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1968); William W. Freehling, *Prelude to the Civil War: The Nullification Controversy in South Carolina, 1816-1836* (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1965); Avery O. Craven, *The Growth of Southern Nationalism, 1848-1861* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1953).

[14] Washington Lafayette Clayton, *Olden Times Revisited: W. L. Clayton's Pen Pictures*, edited by Minrose Gwin (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1982), 150; James C. Cobb, *Away Down South: A History of Southern Identity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 21-26; Susan-Mary Grant, *North over South: Northern Nationalism and American Identity in the Antebellum Era* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2000); Joyce E. Chaplin, *An Anxious Pursuit: Agricultural Innovation and Modernity in the Lower South, 1730-1815* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1993); David Hackett Fischer, *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 207-32.

[15] Elizabeth Fox-Genovese and Eugene D. Genovese, *The Mind of the Master Class: History and Faith in the Southern Slaveholders' Worldview* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Sally E. Hadden, *Slave Patrols: Law and Violence in Virginia and the Carolinas* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001); J. Michael Crane, "Controlling the Night: Perceptions of the Slave Patrol System in Mississippi," *The Journal of Mississippi History* 61 (Summer 1999), 119-36; Stephanie McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds: Yeoman Households, Gender Relations, and the Political Culture of the Antebellum South Carolina Low Country* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982); Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1975).

[16] David J. Libby, *Slavery and Frontier Mississippi, 1720-1835* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2004); Charles Sackett Sydnor, *Slavery in Mississippi* (Gloucester: Peter Smith, 1935; 1965), ii, 164; Department of the Interior, *The Seventh Census of the United States: 1850* (Washington: Robert Armstrong, Public Printer, 1853), 449.

[17] Michael A. Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks: The Transformation of African Identities in the Colonial and Antebellum South* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1998); Philip D. Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1998); Michael Mullin, *Africa in America: Slave Acculturation and Resistance in the American South and the British Caribbean, 1736-1831* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992); George P. Rawick, ed., *The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography*, vol. 3 (Westport: Greenwood Publishing Company, 1972), 4:148.

[18] Shane White and Graham White, "Slave Clothing and African-American Culture in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," *Past and Present* 148 (August 1995), 154, 156, 160, 180, 184;

Shane White and Graham White, "Slave Hair and African American Culture in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," *The Journal of Southern History* 61 (February 1995), 54, 62

[19] Rawick, *The American Slave*, vol. 7, part 2, 4; George P. Rawick, Jan Hillegas, and Ken Lawrence, eds., *The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography, Supplement, Series I, Mississippi Narratives,* vol. 6 (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1977), 235.

[20] *Vicksburg Sentinel* (Vicksburg), 1 October 1850; 3 December 1850; *Woodville Republican* (Woodville), 4 September 1850. Works on gender in the Old South include Victoria E. Bynum, *Unruly Women: The Politics of Social and Sexual Control in the Old South* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992); Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, *Within the Plantation Household: Black and White Women of the Old South* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988); Cynthia A. Kierner, *Beyond the Household: Women's Place in the Early South, 1700-1835* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998); McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds*; Mary Beth Norton, *Founding Mothers and Fathers: Gendered Power and the Forming of American Society* (New York: Vintage Books, 1996); Christopher J. Olsen, *Political Culture and Secession in Mississippi: Masculinity, Honor, and the Antiparty Tradition, 1830-1860* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000); Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor*.

[21] Lynda Lasswell Crist, ed., *The Papers of Jefferson Davis*, vol. 4 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1983), 144-45.

[22] *Woodville Republican* (Woodville), 4 September 1850.

[23] *Flag of the Union* (Jackson), 6 December 1850.

[24] *Southron* (Jackson), 6 September 1850.

[25] *Mississippi Free Trader and Natchez Gazette* (Natchez), 16 March 1850.

[26] Lynette Boney Wrenn, ed., *A Bachelor's Life in Antebellum Mississippi: The Diary of Dr. Elijah Millington Walker, 1849-1852* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2004), 96-97, 111, 112, 112-13.

[27] *Flag of the Union* (Jackson), 22 November 1850; 27 December 1850; *Southron* (Jackson), 6 September 1850; *Woodville Republican* (Woodville), 6 August 1850.

[28] Samuel S. Boyd, *Speech of Hon. Samuel S. Boyd Delivered at the Great Union Festival, held at Jackson, Mississippi, on the 10th day of October, 1851* (Natchez: Book and Job Office of the Natchez Courier, 1851), 3, 16.

[29] M. W. Cluskey, ed., *Speeches, Messages, and Other Writings of the Hon. Albert G. Brown, a Senator in Congress from the State of Mississippi* (Philadelphia: Jas. B. Smith and Co., 1859), 163; Wrenn, *A Bachelor's Life in Antebellum Mississippi*, 75-76; Olsen, *Political Culture and Secession in Mississippi*; Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor*.

[30] Kathleen M. Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996); William J. Cooper, Jr., *The South and the Politics of Slavery, 1828-1856* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978); Fox-Genovese, *Within the Plantation Household*; Fox-Genovese and Eugene D. Genovese, *The Mind of the Master Class*; Eugene D. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York: Vintage Books, 1972); Greenberg, *Honor and Slavery*; McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds*; Morgan,

American Slavery, American Freedom; Anthony S. Parent, *Foul Means: The Formation of a Slave Society in Virginia, 1660-1740* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003); Ulrich B. Phillips, "The Central Theme of Southern History," *The American Historical Review* 34 (October 1928): 30-43; Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor*.

[31] *Port Gibson Herald, and Correspondent* (Port Gibson), 18 January 1850.

[32] Cluskey, *Speeches, Messages, and Other Writings of the Hon. Albert G. Brown, a Senator in Congress from the State of Mississippi*, 166.

[33] Robert E. May, *John A. Quitman: Old South Crusader* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1985), 236-252; Olsen, *Political Culture and Secession in Mississippi*, 45-47; Eric H. Walther, *The Fire-Eaters* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992), 102-06.

[34] Ibid.; Bradley G. Bond, *Political Culture in the Nineteenth-Century South: Mississippi, 1830-1900* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1995), 102-08; William J. Cooper, Jr., *Jefferson Davis, American* (New York: Vintage Books, 2000), 227-39; Jefferson Davis, *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, vol. 1 (New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1958; 1881), 18-22; Henry S. Foote, *War of the Rebellion; or, Scylla and Charybdis: Consisting of Observations upon the Causes, Course, and Consequences of the Late Civil War in the United States* (New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 1866), 172-73.

[35] Crist, ed., *The Papers of Jefferson Davis*, vol. 6, 139, 230.

[36] Most Mississippi newspapers in 1856 focused on the presidential campaign rather than the episodes occurring in Kansas. Samuel Agnew Agnes, Journal, vol. 1, Special Collections, Mitchell Memorial Library, Mississippi State University, 60.

[37] Betty B. Beaumont, *Twelve Years of My Life* (Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Brothers, 1887), 52, 57, 105-06.

[38] Adrienne Cole Phillips, "The Mississippi Press's Response to John Brown's Raid," *The Journal of Mississippi History* 48 (Summer 1986): 119-34; Donald Brooks Kelley, "Harper's Ferry: Prelude to Crisis in Mississippi," *The Journal of Mississippi History* 27 (Winter 1965): 351-72.

[39] Susan Sillers Darden, Susan Sillers Darden Diary, part 1, Mississippi Department of Archives and History, 253-54; *Natchez Daily Courier* (Natchez), 1 November 1859.

[40] *Mississippi Baptist* (Jackson), 17 November 1859.

[41] Phillips, "The Mississippi Press's Response to John Brown's Raid," 126-27; Eric Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party before the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); *Semi-Weekly Mississippian* (Jackson), 21 October 1859.

[42] Daryl Cumber Dance, ed., *From My People: 400 Years of African American Folklore* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 2002), 81.

[43] Walter Chandler, ed., *Journal and Speeches of Greene Callier Chandler* (Memphis: Private Printing, 1953), 198, 189-90, 197-98, 201-02

[44] Anthony S. Parent, *Foul Means: The Formation of a Slave Society in Virginia 1660-1740* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003); Joyce Appleby, *Inheriting the Revolution: The First Generation of Americans* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2000); Kathleen M. Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996); Eric Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party before the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); Stephanie McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds: Yeoman Households, Gender Relations, and the Political Culture of the Antebellum South Carolina Low Country* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); Eugene D. Genovese, *The Political Economy of Slavery: Studies in the Economy and Society of the Slave South* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1965); John McCardell, *The Idea of a Southern Nation: Southern Nationalists and Southern Nationalism, 1830-1860* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1979); Michael F. Holt, *The Political Crisis of the 1850s* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1978); Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1975).

[45] Henri Tajfel and John Turner, "An Integrative Theory of Intergroup Conflict," in William G. Austin and Stephen Worchel, eds., *The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations* (Monterey: Brooks/Cole Publishing Company, 1979), 41. Bertram Wyatt-Brown makes a similar argument in his essay "Honor and Secession" as found in Wyatt-Brown, *Yankee Saints and Southern Sinners* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1985). Wyatt-Brown contends that southerners' sense of honor resulted in their desire to avoid public humiliation which they felt during the sectional debates. Their sense of honor also fostered a desire to achieve a positive image in the eyes of themselves as well as the North.

[46] Drew Gilpin Faust, *The Creation of Confederate Nationalism: Ideology and Identity in the Civil War South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988); Anne Sarah Rubin, *A Shattered Nation: The Rise and Fall of the Confederacy, 1861-1868* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2005).

[47] Resolution as quoted in Jefferson Davis, *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, vol. 1 (New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1958), 43; Percy Lee Rainwater, *Mississippi: Storm Center of Secession, 1856-1861* (Baton Rouge: Otto Claitor, 1938), 114-15; James McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 214.

[48] Rainwater, *Mississippi*, 120-28; McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 215-16; *Mississippi Free Trader* (Natchez), 21 May 1860.

[49] *Mississippi Free Trader* (Natchez), 28 June 1860; *Semi-Weekly Mississippian* (Jackson), 10 July 1860.

[50] McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 221; Rainwater, *Mississippi*, 135-42, 198-99.

[51] Flavellus G. Nicholson, Diary-Journal, Mississippi Department of Archives and History, 15; *Mississippi Free Trader* (Natchez), 8 November 1860; *Semi-Weekly Mississippian* (Jackson), 9 November 1860.

[52] George P. Rawick, ed., *The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography*, vol. 7 (Westport: Greenwood Publishing Company, 1972), 2:52.

[53] Ibid., 2:25; 2:115; Charles Sackett Sydnor, *Slavery in Mississippi* (Gloucester: Peter Smith, 1933; 1965).

[54] Dance, ed., *From My People*, 78, 80, 82.

[55] Rawick, *The American Slave*, vol. 7, 2:58; Deborah Gray White, *Ar'n't I a Woman? Female Slaves in the Plantation South* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1985); Albert J. Raboteau, *Slave Religion: The "Invisible Institution" in the Antebellum South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978); John W. Blassingame, *The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972); Eugene D. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York: Vintage Books, 1972).

[56] *Weekly Vicksburg Whig* (Vicksburg), 21 November 1860; *American Citizen* (Canton), 24 November 1860.

[57] John H. Aughey, *The Iron Furnace: or, Slavery and Secession* (Philadelphia: William S. and Alfred Martien, 1863), 19-20.

[58] Ibid., 39, 44, 47.

[59] *Weekly Vicksburg Whig* (Vicksburg), 1 December 1860.

[60] William J. Cooper, Jr., *Jefferson Davis, American* (New York: Vintage Books, 2000), 342-43.

[61] *Semi-Weekly Mississippian* (Jackson), 9 November 1860; Henry Craft, Diary, Department of Archives and Special Collections, J. D. Williams Library, The University of Mississippi, 47; Susan Sillers Darden, Diary, part one, Mississippi Department of Archives and History, 310.

[62] *Mississippi Free Trader* (Natchez), 19 November 1860.

[63] Lynda Lasswell Crist, ed., *The Papers of Jefferson Davis*, vol. 6 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989), 369-70; Lucius Q. C. Lamar, *Letter of Lucius Q. C. Lamar, in reply to Hon. P. F. Liddell, of Carrolton, Mississippi* (Carrollton: Private Printing, 1860), 5, 8.

[64] Robert W. Dubay, *John Jones Pettus, Mississippi Fire-eater: His Life and Times, 1813-1867* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1975), 32, 62, 67-68; *Semi-Weekly Mississippian* (Jackson), 13 November 1860.

[65] *Mississippi Free Trader* (Natchez), 10 December 1860.

[66] Rainwater, *Mississippi*, 170-72, 177, 196, 198-99; Dubay, *John Jones Pettus*, 79. The percentages listed come from the compiled numbers in Rainwater's work. Some county returns are missing and the percentages serve only as a barometer in gauging secessionist support in Mississippi.

[67] David M. Potter, *The Impending Crisis* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1976), 491-93.

[68] Rainwater, *Mississippi*, 203-05; Mississippi State Convention, *Journal of the State Convention and Ordinances and Resolutions Adopted in January, 1861* (Jackson: E. Barksdale, State Printer, 1861), 5.

[69] Mississippi State Convention, *Journal*, 92, 93, 94.

[70] Quoted from the appendix of Charles B. Dew, *Apostles of Disunion: Southern Secession Commissioners and the Causes of the Civil War* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2001), 84, 85, 85-86.

[71] Fulton Anderson, Henry L. Benning, and John S. Preston, *Addresses Delivered before the Virginia State Convention* (Richmond: Wyatt M. Elliot, Printer, 1861), 6-7, 9, 11, 15.

[72] Darden, Diary, part one, 314; G. W. Bachman, *Sketches and Incidents of Life, Vol. 1: 1839-1885*, Special Collections, Mitchell Memorial Library, Mississippi State University, 10-11; Edward Fontaine, Diary, Special Collections, Mitchell Memorial Library, Mississippi State University, 189-90; *Weekly Vicksburg Whig* (Vicksburg), 23 January 1861.

[73] Cooper, Jr., *Jefferson Davis*, 350-53; McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 257-59; see also Emory M. Thomas, *The Confederacy as a Revolutionary Experience* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1971).

[74] Crist, ed., *The Papers of Jefferson Davis*, vol. 7, 46, 47, 49-50.

[75] Ezekiel Armstrong, Diary, Mississippi Department of Archives and History, 2; Sophia Boyd Hays, Diary, box 4, Special Collections, Mitchell Memorial Library, Mississippi State University; M. A. Ryan, *Experience of a Confederate Soldier in Camp and Prison in the Civil War, 1861-1865*, Special Collections, Mitchell Memorial Library, Mississippi State University, 1; Dubay, *John Jones Pettus*, 92-117; Betty B. Beaumont, *Twelve Years of My Life* (Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Brothers, 1887), 166-67; E. Grey Dimond and Herman Hattaway, eds., *Letters from Forest Place: A Plantation Family's Correspondence, 1846-1881* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1993), 233.

[76] Drew Gilpin Faust, *Mothers of Invention: Women of the Slaveholding South in the American Civil War* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996); Ben Wynne, *Mississippi's Civil War: A Narrative History* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 2006), 44-45; Dimond and Hattaway, eds., *Letters from Forest Place*, 240, 252; Annie Harper, *Annie Harper's Journal: A Southern Mother's Legacy* (Denton: Flower Mound Writing Company, 1983), 11, 12.

[77] Chandler, *Journal and Speeches*, 56-57.

[78] Rubin, *A Shattered Nation*, 11-43; Thomas, *The Confederacy as a Revolutionary Experience*.

[79] Harry Macarthy, *The Bonnie Blue Flag* (New Orleans: A. E. Blackmar & Bro., 1861).

[80] Ibid., Ben Wynne, *Mississippi's Civil War: A Narrative History* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 2006), 32.

[81] In an influential essay, David Potter contends that self-interest trumped broader nationalistic objectives: David M. Potter, "The Historian's Use of Nationalism and Vice Versa," in *The South and the Sectional Conflict* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1968). Several scholars have argued that Confederate nationalism failed, whether due to political blundering, war weariness, or a lack of a coherent understanding of the reasons for the conflict: Armstead L. Robinson, *Bitter Fruits of Bondage: The Demise of Slavery and the Collapse of the Confederacy, 1861-1865* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2005); George C. Rable, *The Confederate Republic: A Revolution against Politics* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1994); Richard E. Beringer, Herman Hattaway, Archer Jones, and William N. Still, Jr., *Why the South Lost the Civil War* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1986); Emory M. Thomas, *The Confederate Nation: 1861-1865* (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1979); Paul D. Escott, *After Secession: Jefferson Davis and the Failure of Confederate Nationalism* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978). Recent studies that explore the successes of Confederate nationalism contend that war weariness did not mean southerners' attachment to their Confederate identity

waned, and have pointed to the lasting zeal of Confederates and Confederate symbols beyond the war years. These studies tend to examine the creation of cultural symbols as a unifying force that white southerners rallied behind, such as Confederate leaders, the Rebel flag, a shared heritage, etc.: Anne Sarah Rubin, *A Shattered Nation: The Rise and Fall of the Confederacy, 1861-1868* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2005); Gary W. Gallagher, *The Confederate War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997); Drew Gilpin Faust, *The Creation of Confederate Nationalism: Ideology and Identity in the Civil War South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988).

[82] This argument relies heavily on group identity theory and the theoretical concepts of symbolic interactionism. For works on group identity theory see Henri Tajfel and John Turner, "An Integrative Theory of Intergroup Conflict," in William G. Austin and Stephen Worchel, eds., *The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations* (Monterey: Brooks/Cole Publishing Company, 1979); James E. Cote and Charles G. Levine, *Identity Formation, Agency, and Culture: A Social Psychological Synthesis* (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, 2002). The basic tenets of symbolic interactionism come from Herbert Blumer, *Symbolic Interactionism: Perspective and Method* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969). For works that incorporate social interaction and identity formation see Marshall Sahlins, *Islands of History* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1985); Richard C. Trexler, ed., *Persons in Groups: Social Behavior as Identity Formation in Medieval and Renaissance Europe* (Binghampton: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1985); Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1973).

[83] William M. Cash and Lucy Somerville Howorth, eds., *My Dear Nellie: The Civil War Letters of William L. Nugent to Eleanor Smith Nugent* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1977), 42; James W. Silver, ed., *A Life for The Confederacy: As Recorded in the Pocket Diaries of Pvt. Robert A. Moore, Co. G 17th Mississippi Regiment Confederate Guards, Holly Springs, Mississippi* (Jackson, TN: McCowat-Mercer Press, Inc., 1959), 39. Jason Phillips, *Diehard Rebels: The Confederate Culture of Invincibility* (Athens: The University Press of Georgia, 2007), 40-75; David R. Jansson, "Internal Orientalism in America: W. J. Cash's *The Mind of the South* and the Spatial Construction of American National Identity," *Political Geography* 22 (2003): 293-316.

[84] Edward Fontaine, Journal June 3, 1861 – February 1, 1864, Special Collections, Mitchell Memorial Library, Mississippi State University, 59-60; Flavellus G. Nicholson, Diary-Journal, Mississippi Department of Archives and History, 24; Jesse Roderick Sparkman, Civil War Diary, Special Collections, Mitchell Memorial Library, Mississippi State University, 10; Silver, ed., *A Life for the Confederacy*, 40.

[85] Phillips, *Diehard Rebels*, 9-39; Cash and Howorth, eds., *My Dear Nellie*, 43; David A. Welker, ed., *A Keystone Rebel: The Civil War Diary of Joseph Garey, Hudson's Battery, Mississippi Volunteers* (Gettysburg: Thomas Publications, 1996), 40; J. C. Neilson, Diary, Box 1, Folder 2, Special Collections, Mitchell Memorial Library, Mississippi State University, 3; Jennifer W. Ford, ed., *The Hour of Our Nation's Agony: The Civil War Letters of Lt. William Cowper Nelson of Mississippi* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2007), 102; G. W. Roberts, Diary, Mississippi Department of Archives and History, 117.

[86] Fontaine, Journal, November 3, 1864 – December 10, 1866, MSU, 8-9; Silver, ed., *A Life for the Confederacy*, 137; Cash, *My Dear Nellie*, 132; Richard A. Baumgartner, ed., *Blood and Sacrifice: The Civil War Journal of a Confederate Soldier* (Huntington, WV: Blue Acorn Press, 1994), 32.

[87] William Peel, Diary, Mississippi Department of Archives and History, 28; Silver, ed., *A Life for the Confederacy*, 103; Welker, *A Keystone Rebel*, 46; Paul Quigley, "Independence Day Dilemmas in the American South, 1848-1865," *The Journal of Southern History* 75 (May 2009), 235-66.

[88] Joyce L. Boussard, "Occupied Natchez, Elite Women, and the Feminization of the Civil War," *The Journal of Mississippi History* 70 (Summer 2008): 179-207; LeeAnn White, *Gender Matters: Civil War, Reconstruction, and the Making of the New South* (New York: Palgrave MacMillian, 2005); Sheila R. Phipps, *Genteel Rebel: The Life of Mary Greenhow Lee* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2004); Nancy Bercaw, *Gendered Freedoms: Race, Rights, and the Politics of Household in the Delta, 1861-1875* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003); Drew Gilpin Faust, *Mothers of Invention: Women of the Slaveholding South in the American Civil War* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996).

[89] Cordelia Scales to Loulie, 17 August 1861, Mississippi Department of Archives and History; Sophia Boyd Hays, Diary, Box 4, 14 June 1862, Special Collections, Mitchell Memorial Library, Mississippi State University; Richard Barksdale Harwell, ed., *Kate: The Journal of a Confederate Nurse by Kate Cumming* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1959), 38; Baumgartner, ed., *Blood and Sacrifice*, 13; Silver, ed., *A Life for the Confederacy*, 32; Cash and Howorth, eds., *My Dear Nellie*, 77.

[90] Gordon A. Cotton, ed., *From the Pen of a She-Rebel: The Civil War Diary of Emilie Riley McKinley* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2001), 42; Cordelia Scales to Loulie, 27 January 1863, MDAH.

[91] Cordelia Scales to Loulie, 29 October 1862, MDAH; Cotton, *From the Pen of a She-Rebel*, 45, 60-61; Emma Balfour, Civil War Diary, Mississippi Department of Archives and History, 21; Anne Shannon Martin, Diary, 25 February 1864, Mississippi Department of Archives and History; Faust, *Mothers of Invention*, 213.

[92] Wynne, *Mississippi's Civil War*, 95-146; Christopher Waldrep, *Vicksburg's Long Shadow: The Civil War Legacy of Race and Remembrance* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2005), 7-50; Michael B. Ballard, *Vicksburg: The Campaign that Opened the Mississippi* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004); Terry Whittington, "In the Shadow of Defeat: Tracking the Vicksburg Parolees," *The Journal of Mississippi History* 64 (Winter 2002), 307-30.

[93] Phillips, *Diehard Rebels*; Catherine (Kate) Olivia Foster, Diary, Mississippi Department of Archives and History, 3, 4; Elizabeth Christine Brown, Diary, Department of Archives and Special Collections, J. D. Williams Library, University of Mississippi, 32; Loretta and William Galbraith, eds., *A Lost Heroine of the Confederacy: The Diaries and Letters of Belle Edmondson* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1990), 19; Shepherd Spencer Neville Brown, Sr., ed., *War Years, C.S.A.: 12th Mississippi Regiment Major S. H. Giles, Q. M. Original Letters, 1860-1865* (Hillsboro: Hill College Press, 1998), 121.

[94] John Berryman Crawford to his wife, 16 July 1863, Mississippi Department of Archives and History; Cash and Howorth, eds., *My Dear Nellie*, 120.

[95] Escott, *After Secession*, see especially chapters three through five.

[96] For dissenters in Mississippi during the Civil War see: Sally Jenkins and John Stauffer, *The State of Jones* (New York: Doubleday, 2009); M. Shannon Mallard, "'I Had No Comfort to Give the People': Opposition to the Confederacy in Civil War Mississippi," *North & South* 6 (May 2003): 78-86; Whittington, "In the Shadow of Defeat"; Victoria E. Bynum, *The Free State of Jones: Mississippi's Longest Civil War* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001); David B. Chesebrough, "Dissenting Clergy in Confederate Mississippi," *The Journal of Mississippi History* 55 (May 1993): 115-31.

[97] John H. Aughey, *The Iron Furnace; or, Slavery and Secession* (Philadelphia: William S. and Alfred Martien, 1863), 231, 228, 232.

[98] John W. Wood, *Union and Secession in Mississippi* (Memphis: Saunders, Parrish, & Whitmore, Printers, 1863), 18, 47, 18, 55, 54.

[99] Jenkins, *The State of Jones*; Mallard, "'I Had No Comfort to Give the People'"; Bynum, *The Free State of Jones*; William Howell to his mother N. K. Howell, 19 March 1864, box 1, Department of Archives and Special Collections, J. D. Williams Library, University of Mississippi; E. Grey Dimond and Herman Hattaway, eds., *Letters from Forest Place: A Plantation Family's Correspondence, 1846-1881* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1993), 268.

[100] The 1860 census counted 436,631 slaves in the state of Mississippi: Department of the Interior, *Population of the United States in 1860* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1864), 269; Robinson, *Bitter Fruits of Bondage*; William W. Freehling, *The South vs. the South: How Anti-Confederate Southerners Shaped the Course of the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001); Michael A. Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks: The Transformation of African Identities in the Colonial and Antebellum South* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1998); Peter Kolchin, *American Slavery, 1619-1877* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1993), 200-08.

[101] George P. Rawick, ed., *The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography*, vol. 14 (Westport: Greenwood Publishing Company, 1973), 160-62.

[102] Winthrop D. Jordan, *Tumult and Silence at Second Creek: An Inquiry into a Civil War Slave Conspiracy*, revised edition (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1995), 310, 352.

[103] George P. Rawick, Jan Hillegas, and Ken Lawrence, eds., *The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography, Supplement, Series I, Mississippi Narratives,* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1977), 2280 (10:5); 12 (6:1); 249 (6:1); 899 (8:3); 1065 (8:3); 1119 (8:3); 1223 (8:3); 64 (6:1); 1650 (9:4).

[104] Fonsylvania Plantation Diary, May-June 1863, Mississippi Department of Archives and History; Samuel Andrew Agnes, Journal, vol. 2, Special Collections, Mitchell Memorial Library, Mississippi State University, 123, 191, 192, 193; Rawick, ed., *The American Slave*, vol. 7, 138.

[105] James M. McPherson, *The Negro's Civil War: How American Blacks Felt and Acted during the War for the Un*ion (New York: Vintage Books, 1965; 1993), 167, 190-91; Wynne, *Mississippi's Civil War*, 126-27.

[106] Waldrep, *Vicksburg's Long Shadow*, 62-63; Wynne, *Mississippi's Civil War*, 142-43; Lynda Lasswell Crist, ed., *The Papers of Jefferson Davis*, vol. 9 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1997), 300.

[107] Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982); Eugene D. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York: Vintage Books, 1972); Foster, Diary, MDAH, 11; Brown, Diary, UM, 36.

[108] Rawick, et al, eds., *The American Slave, Supplement*, 1141 (8:3); 1601 (9:4).

[109] Emmett Lloyd Ross, Supplementary Collection, "The Dying Soldier," Special Collections, Mitchell Memorial Library, Mississippi State University.

[110] Walter Chandler, ed., *Journal and Speeches of Greene Callier Chandler* (Memphis: Private Printing, 1953), 92, 95, 96, 97, 56.

[111] Erik H. Erikson, *Identity and the Life Cycle* (New York: International Press, Inc., 1959), 118. Several books discuss the transition period in the South from Civil War to Reconstruction: Anne Sarah Rubin, *A Shattered Nation: The Rise and Fall of the Confederacy, 1861-1868* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2005); LeeAnn White, *Gender Matters: Civil War, Reconstruction, and the Making of the New South* (New York: Palgrave MacMillian, 2005); Bradley G. Bond, *Political Culture in the Nineteenth-Century South: Mississippi, 1830-1900* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1995); Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877* (New York: Perennial Classics, 1988); James L. Roark, *Masters without Slaves: Southern Planters in the Civil War and Reconstruction* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1977).

[112] Henri Tajfel and John Turner, "An Integrative Theory of Intergroup Conflict," in William G. Austin and Stephen Worchel, eds., *The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations* (Monterey: Brooks/Cole Publishing Company, 1979), 40-41; David Goldfield also makes the argument that southerners looked to the antebellum South as a means to ease the bitterness of defeat and humiliation in *Still Fighting the Civil War: The American South and Southern History* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2002), 20.

[113] Albert T. Morgan, *Yazoo; or, On the Picket Line of Freedom in the South: A Personal Narrative* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2000), 31-32.

[114] Ben Wynne, *Mississippi's Civil War: A Narrative History* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 2006), 145-63; Paul Ashdown and Edward Caudill, *The Myth of Nathan Bedford Forrest* (Lantham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2005), 7-10, 39-42; Shelby Foote, *The Civil War, a Narrative: Red River to Appomattox* (New York: Random House, 1974), 368-74.

[115] Congress of the Confederate States of America, *Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States of America, 1861-1865*, vol. 7 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1905), 562, 779; Wynne, *Mississippi's Civil War*, 173; James M. McPherson, *The Negro's Civil War: How American Blacks Felt and Acted during the War for the Union* (New York: Vintage Books, 1965; 1993), 245-48; William J. Cooper, Jr., *Jefferson Davis, American* (New York: Vintage Books, 2000), 574-75.

[116] Charles Roberts to his wife, 1 March 1865, Department of Archives and Special Collections, J. D. Williams Library, University of Mississippi; Richard A. Baumgartner, ed., *Blood and Sacrifice: The Civil War Journal of a Confederate Soldier* (Huntington, WV: Blue Acorn Press, 1994), 194-95, 195; Edward Fontaine, Journal November 3, 1864 – December 10, 1866, Special Collections, Mitchell Memorial Library, Mississippi State University, 42.

[117] Chandler, ed., *Journal and Speeches of Greene Callier Chandler*, 97; Oscar F. Bledsoe, *"The Hopes and Duties of the Present Hour": Oration, before the Two Literary Societies of the University of Mississippi, June 27, 1866* (Memphis: Public Ledger Steam Book and Job Printing Office, 1866), 8, 9.

[118] Joseph C. Carter, ed., *Magnolia Journey: A Union Veteran Revisits the Former Confederate States. Arranged from Letters of Correspondent Russell H. Conwell to the Daily Evening Traveller (Boston, 1869)* (University, AL: The University of Alabama Press, 1974), 131, 132.

[119] James C. Neilson to Mary B. Barry, 4 February 1866, Special Collections, Mitchell Memorial Library, Mississippi State University; Catherine (Kate) Olivia Foster, Diary, Mississippi Department of Archives and History, 19-20; Fontaine, Journal November 3, 1864 – December 10, 1866, MSU, 97-98.

[120] Bradley G. Bond, *Political Culture in the Nineteenth-Century South: Mississippi, 1830-1900* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1995), 158, 156-61; Foner, *Reconstruction*, 199-200; William C. Harris, *Presidential Reconstruction in Mississippi* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1967).

[121] W. H. McRaven, folder 1, Mississippi Department of Archives and History, 7; Peter B. Bailey, *The Issues of 1868: An Address to the People of Mississippi* (Satartia: Published by author, 1868), 3. The following works examine Mississippi politics during Reconstruction: Bond, *Political Culture in the Nineteenth-Century South*; Warren A. Ellem, "The Overthrow of Reconstruction in Mississippi," *The Journal of Mississippi History* 54 (May 1992): 175-201; William C. Harris, *The Day of the Carpetbagger: Republican Reconstruction in Mississippi* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979); Harris, *Presidential Reconstruction in Mississippi*; James Wilford Garner, *Reconstruction in Mississippi* (New York: The MacMillian Company, 1901; Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1964).

[122] Bailey, *The Issues of 1868*, 7; J. L. *Alcorn, Address of J. L. Alcorn, (Republican Candidate for Governor,) to the People of Mississippi* (Friar's Point: Published by author, 1869), 13; Jones-Smith Plantation Journal, 11 January 1872, Mississippi Department of Archives and History.

[123] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 68-70, 243, 276.

[124] Morgan, *Yazoo*, 91, 91-92; Whitelaw Reid, *After the War: A Tour of the Southern States, 1865-1866*, edited by C. Vann Woodward (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1965), 291. Several scholars have written about the role of slavery and race in the creation of the South's social structure: Anthony S. Parent, *Foul Means: The Formation of a Slave Society in Virginia, 1660-1740* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003); Kathleen M. Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996); Stephanie McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds: Yeomen Households, Gender Relations, and the Political Culture of the Antebellum South Carolina Low Country* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982); Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1975); Eugene D. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York: Vintage Books, 1972).

[125] William E. Bayley to Colonel Samuel Thomas, 3 July 1865, reel 8, *Records of the Assistant Commissioner for the State of Mississippi, Bureau of Refuges, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865-1869* (Washington: National Archives Microfilm Publications, 1971); George P. Rawick, Jan Hillegas, and Ken Lawrence, eds., *The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography, Supplement, Series I, Mississippi Narratives,* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1977), 2119 (10:5); 1141 (8:3); 1101 (8:3); Foner, *Reconstruction*, 70-71.

[126] Fontaine, Journal November 3, 1864 – December 10, 1866, MSU, 118-19.

[127] Flavellus G. Nicholson, Diary-Journal, Mississippi Department of Archives and History, 33; Jones-Smith Plantation Journal, 11 January 1872, MDAH; R. S. Donaldson to Stuart Eldridge, 4 October 1865, reel 9; H. R. Brinkerhoff to Major General Howard, 8 July 1865, reel 10, *Records of the Assistant Commissioner*.

[128] Samuel Andrew Agnes, Diary, vol. 6, Special Collections, Mitchell Memorial Library, Mississippi State University, 165; J. T. Trowbridge, *The South: A Tour of its Battle-fields and Ruined Cities* (Hartford: L. Stebbins, 1866), 294; Reid, *After the War*, 394-95; Morgan, *Yazoo*, 77.

[129] Henry W. Warren, *Reminiscences of a Mississippi Carpet-Bagger* (Worcester: The Davis Press, 1914), 19; Morgan, *Yazoo*, 49, 94, 96.

[130] Morgan, *Yazoo*, 93; Edward King, *The Great South*, edited by W. Magruder Drake and Robert R. Jones (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1972), 291.

[131] Ross, Supplementary Collection, "Memorial Day, a Poem," MSU, 6-7, 9-10.

[132] J. W. Clapp, Address Given at Franklin Female College at Holly Springs, folder 10, Department of Archives and Special Collections, J. D. Williams Library, The University of Mississippi, 13, 14.

[133] James D. Lynch, *Redpath: or The Ku-Klux Tribunal, a Poem* (Columbus: Excelsior Book and Job Printing Establishment, 1877), 16.

[134] Reverend A. C. McDonald, Sermon, Department of Archives and Special Collections, J. D. Williams Library, The University of Mississippi, 3-4, 5, 12; Lynch, *Redpath*, 16.

[135] Henri Tajfel and John Turner, "An Integrative Theory of Intergroup Conflict," in William G. Austin and Stephen Worchel, eds., *The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations* (Monterey: Brooks/Cole Publishing Company, 1979), 40-41.

[136] United States Senate, *Mississippi in 1875: Report of the Select Committee to Inquire into the Mississippi Election of 1875, with the Testimony and Documentary Evidence*, vol. 1 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1876), 49-50.

[137] J. T. Trowbridge, *The South: A Tour of its Battle-fields and Ruined Cities* (Hartford: L. Stebbins, 1866), 369; R. S. Donaldson to Lieutenant Stuart Eldridge, 4 October 1865, *Records of the Assistant Commissioner for the State of Mississippi, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865-1869*, reel 9 (Washington: National Archives Microfilm Publications, 1971).

[138] Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877* (New York: Perennial Classics, 1988), 173-74; James L. Roark, *Masters without Slaves: Southern Planters in the Civil War and Reconstruction* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1977), 114, 115, 138-39.

[139] The evidence presented from former slaves regarding this matter is also very much informed by the conditions brought about by the Great Depression, the intervening years since the events occurred, and the socioeconomic climate of the 1930s. George P. Rawick, Jan Hillegas, and Ken Lawrence, eds., *The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography, Supplement, Series I, Mississippi Narratives* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1977), 505 (7:2, first quote); 2070 (10:5, second quote); 2053 (10:5, fourth and fifth quote); 2374 (10:5, sixth quote); George P. Rawick, ed., *The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography*, vol. 7 (Westport: Greenwood Publishing Company, 1972), 122 (third quote); Thomas Smith to Captain J. H. Weber, 3 November 1865, reel 12, *Records of the Assistant Commissioner*, (seventh quote).

[140] Edward Fontaine, Journal November 3, 1864 – December 10, 1866, Special Collections, Mitchell Memorial Library, Mississippi State University, 57-59.

[141] Robert Somers, *The Southern States since the War, 1870-71*, introduction by Malcolm C. McMillan (University, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1965), 153.

[142] Allen W. Trelease, *White Terror: The Ku Klux Klan Conspiracy and Southern Reconstruction* (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1971); William Dudley Bell, "The Ku Klux Klan in Mississippi, 1866-1872," (Master's thesis, Mississippi State University, 1963); Rawick, et al, eds., *The American Slave, Supplement*, 746 (7:2); 1355-56 (9:4). For analysis on the reasons behind clandestine group violence see W. Fitzhugh Brundage, *Lynching in the New South: Georgia and Virginia, 1880-1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 19-23

[143] Trelease, *White Terror*, 293-96; Jennie Shaw to Sister Anna, 30 March 1871, Special Collections, Mitchell Memorial Library, Mississippi State University; J. E. Robuck, *My Own Personal Experience and Observation as a Soldier in the Confederate Army during the Civil War, 1861-1865, also during the Period of Reconstruction*, reprint (Memphis: Burke's Book Store, 1978; 1911), 72; Rawick, et al, eds., *The American Slave, Supplement*, 18 (6:1). For the struggle to establish a public school system in Mississippi see Broadus B. Jackson, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Mississippi: Mirror of Democracy in America* (Jackson: Town Square Books, Inc., 1998).

[144] Albert T. Morgan, *Yazoo; or, On the Picket Line of Freedom in the South: A Personal Narrative* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2000), 437.

[145] Rawick, ed., *The American Slave*, 42, 96, 148.

[146] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 454-57.

[147] Population figure taken from Department of the Interior, *Statistic of the Population of the United States at the Tenth Census* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1883), 397; W. E. B. DuBois, *Black Reconstruction in America* (New York: Russell & Russell, Inc., 1935; 1962), 441.

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