1-1-2019

A balm for the times: the origins and evolution of the lost cause in the South Carolina low country, 1830-1876

Andrew Patrick Davis

A BALM FOR THE TIMES:
THE ORIGINS AND EVOLUTION OF THE LOST CAUSE IN THE SOUTH CAROLINA LOWCOUNTRY, 1830-1876

A Dissertation
presented in partial fulfillment of requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in the Arch Dalrymple III Department of History
The University of Mississippi

By

ANDREW PATRICK DAVIS

August 2019

ABSTRACT

This study uses the concept of civil religion as a framework through which to examine the origins and early development of the Lost Cause in the South Carolina Lowcountry. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, as American colonists severed their ties with Great Britain and established an independent republic, they likewise began forming a civil religion, or a set of beliefs regarding the relationship between God and their incipient polity. Prophetic in nature, the central tenets of this civil religion held that the Almighty proved actively involved in human history and that Americans represented an especially chosen people charged with carrying out the God's will on earth. Throughout the decades of the antebellum era, as sectional animosity surrounding the propagation of slavery escalated, white Carolinians effectively appropriated the ideologies associated with the American civil religion in an attempt to rebuke northern recriminations as well as develop a divergent sectional identity that would lend credence to a growing separatist movement. After the election of Abraham Lincoln, religious and secular leaders within South Carolina invoked the southern civil religion to justify and frame secession while simultaneously forging an ideological and cultural consensus. At the outbreak of the Civil War, Confederate leaders continually espoused and disseminated the civil religion an effort to imbue their burgeoning nation with secular and spiritual significance while also providing citizens a lens through which to view and comprehend the conflict's ever-changing course. As the war progressed and white Carolinians were forced to endure escalating levels of loss and privation, leaders within the state refined the Confederate civil religion in an attempt to

steel their citizens resolve and assuage a sense of malaise that grew increasingly more prevalent over time. In the wake of defeat, the civil religion that provided white residents of South Carolina with a degree of succor during the war would form the foundation of the Lost Cause and continue to supply ex-Confederates with a sense of solace as they navigated the tumultuous social, economic, and political conditions of the postwar world.

DEDICATION

For my parents,
Robert and Diane,
and my brother, Ryan.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My first encounter with the South Carolina Lowcountry occurred in the summer of 1992 when, at the age of six, I went on a vacation with my family to Kiawah Island. Aside from all the biking and beach-going, one of my fondest memories was driving the roughly thirty miles north from the barrier island to visit Charleston. As a young boy from Upstate New York, I was awestruck by the cobblestone streets, the lavish homes, and the impressive array of forts scattered throughout the city and its surrounding environs. The study that follows represents a modest attempt to understand a region and a state that captivated my imagination since that first visit so many years ago. Although this project's origins were deeply personal, its development and subsequent completion was only achieved thanks to the help and support of countless people and institutions.

First and foremost, I would like to thank my advisor, John Neff, for all of his guidance and encouragement over the past several years. His invaluable insights, thoughtful suggestions, and thorough revisions greatly strengthened the project and helped its author evolve tremendously as both a writer and a researcher. The other members of my committee likewise provided me with indispensable advice on how to expand and improve my work going forward. I cannot thank Charles Reagan Wilson, Ted Ownby, and Jodi Skipper enough for taking an active interest in my project and offering a variety of new perspectives and ideas. I would also like to thank the faculty and staff of the Arch Dalrymple III Department of History more broadly for all of their support and for fostering a nurturing yet challenging academic environment. Special

thanks go out to Nicolas Trépanier and Anne Twitty who, each in their own way, helped make me a more well-rounded scholar and teacher. Additionally, thanks must be given to Marc Lerner for continually advocating on my behalf and for repeatedly going out of his way to provide me with both the time and the resources necessary to complete the dissertation.

I would also like to take a moment to acknowledge and give thanks to Scott Poole at the College of Charleston. It was as a second semester graduate student taking his seminar class that I was first introduced to the world of southern religious history and, under his tutelage, I began my initial foray into the study of the Lost Cause soon thereafter. Without a doubt, Scott was one of the single most influential people in guiding my early development as a scholar. Not only did he help shape how I looked at history, but his work has long served as a model for how to write in a clear, creative, and engaging way.

Equally as critical to the completion of this project were the incredibly helpful and knowledgeable archivists and librarians who made the research process enjoyable and as stress-free as possible. Graham Duncan at the South Caroliniana Library in Columbia, Virginia Ellison and Molly I. Silliman at the South Carolina Historical Society in Charleston, and all the members of their respective staffs worked tirelessness to track down documents and suggest new avenues of research that indelibly added to the richness of my analysis. It is only with their insight and support that I was able to uncover the stories of so many South Carolinians and better understand the people and the questions that lay at the heart of my work.

A special thank you is due to all my friends and colleagues at the University of Mississippi for keeping me sane and providing untold amounts of emotional support as I worked through a

dissertation process that oftentimes felt overwhelming and isolating. Eli Baker, Thomas Robinson, Justin Rogers, Jillian McClure, Bryan Kessler, Will Little, Rachel McLemore, Boyd Harris, Amanda Williams, Amy Fluker, and Sarah Elliott offered their encouragement and were always there to listen as I aired my frustrations and attempted to talk through some of the most challenging parts of my project. I am also incredibly grateful for all the friends I've made outside of academia, whether in Oxford or beyond, whose companionship and conversation provided much-needed respites throughout the past few years. Sunny Young Baker, Hattie Ruth Baker, Andrew Bryant, Andy Douglass, Max Willis, Lauren Rogers, Andrew Delmastro, Kate Everitt, Krystle Kline, and Katie Mogilski are just a few of those who graciously reminded me that there is, in fact, a life outside the confines of the ivory tower.

There are far too many family members whose love and support has enabled me to finish this study and ultimately achieve my doctorate, so I will keep things brief by naming just few and begging the rest for their forgiveness. Firstly, my parents and brother, for whom this work is dedicated, were a constant source of encouragement and helped me get through the tough times when I doubted myself and my ability to complete a project I'd been working on for the better part of the last decade. I would also like to thank all my extended family for pushing me to finish and supporting me wholeheartedly even though they may not have fully understood what exactly I was doing with all my time over the past several years. Many thanks are also due to my in-laws, Mike Rizzi and Kimberly Higgins, and their respective families for likewise cheering me on throughout the dissertation process and for accepting me fully as one of their own.

Finally, I would not be where I am today without my best friend and wife, Christine Rizzi. Christine not only acted as a sounding board when I was working through some of the toughest parts of my dissertation, but she also gave me the will and the strength to complete the project at a stage when I had all but given up. She was and continues to be a source of inspiration and much of the study that follows exists thanks to her.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

In the early afternoon hours of Monday, May 10, 1875 white residents of Charleston, South Carolina began making their way to Magnolia Cemetery, located on the outskirts of the city near the bank of the Cooper River, for the yearly commemoration of Confederate Memorial Day. In order to accommodate the large crowds expected to gather for the day's events, both the Northeastern and the South Carolina Railroads offered special fares for roundtrip tickets, twenty-five cents for adults and fifteen cents for children, so all the city's white citizens would have the opportunity to take part in the annual observances.[1] Organized under the auspices of the local Ladies' Memorial Association (LMA), festivities at the cemetery followed a rather formulaic pattern painstakingly established over the preceding decade. After opening events with the reading of a prayer composed by Reverend William T. Capers and the collective singing of a Memorial Ode written by Reverend Charles S. Vedder, the program reached its climax when Colonel Benjamin H. Rutledge rose from his seat to deliver the keynote address to the nearly three thousand Charlestonians assembled on Magnolia's grounds.[2]

As Rutledge approached the speaker's stand, even the most casual of onlookers at the cemetery would have noticed the impressive, indeed powerful, aesthetic display taking place before them on that spring afternoon. Directly behind Rutledge there stood an unfinished granite shaft, which the ladies of the Memorial Association erected one year prior, whose base was surrounded by a bed of moss and roses with six long garlands extended from the top out to the

[1] *The News and Courier*, "Memorial Celebration," May 10, 1875.
[2] *The News and Courier*, "Decorating the Graves of the Confederate Dead," May 11, 1875.

surrounding shrubbery, producing what Charleston's *News and Courier* described as "a canopy of evergreen and flowers."[3] In adorning their city of the dead, the ladies of Charleston's Memorial Association, perhaps unknowingly, fulfilled the dreams of the cemetery's founders who, at the dedication of the grounds in November 1850, expressed their desire that Magnolia would represent a site wherein "the beauties of nature . . . will lend something of a soothing influence to the grave; where the mortal parts of those who were dear to each other in life, shall not be separated in death; and where pious affection may drop the unbidden tear . . . over the turf that hides from view some lost but cherished object."[4]

The scene set, Colonel Rutledge took his cue and opened his address in a rather somber manner by reminding his listeners, more as a matter of form, that they were gathered together to honor the brave men currently reposing beneath their feet. "The place whereon we stand is holy ground," Rutledge lamented, "recollections of pride and of sadness cluster thickly around us—visions of the brilliant but fatal past rise up before us, and point to the graves of the heroes who sleep their last sleep within a few yards of us, mutely but forcibly proclaiming the emptiness of

---

[3] *The News and Courier*, "Decorating the Graves of the Confederate Dead," May 11, 1875.

[4] The founding of Magnolia Cemetery was part of a wider movement occurring in the antebellum era known as the "rural cemetery movement." In the early decades of the nineteenth century, the churchyard, usually located right in the midst of large population centers, began to lose its association as the primary locus of death. A variety of factors ranging from public health and economic concerns to the rise of a bourgeois or middle-class culture bred the belief that "natural settings," typically found away from but adjoining urban centers, represented the appropriate spaces for death. Imitating pastoral landscapes, such settings would not only be close enough for family members to visit, but the cemetery would also provide an aesthetically resplendent place wherein antebellum Americans would find, in the words of scholar Stanley French, both succor and moral instruction. Created in Boston in 1831, Mount Auburn cemetery represented the first and most famous of the new rural burial grounds. Over the next two decades Mount Hope in Rochester, New York; Greenmount in Baltimore; Spring Grove in Cincinnati; and Cave Hill in Louisville, Kentucky would all follow the example set by Mount Auburn. The founders of Magnolia Cemetery drew inspiration from their northern counterparts, indeed the movement more generally, and explicitly argued the warmer climate of the South made it even more necessary to create facilities similar to those that could then be found "in the neighborhood of nearly all the considerable cities of the North." Stanley French, "The Cemetery as a Cultural Institution: The Establishment of Mount Auburn and the 'Rural Cemetery' Movement," in *Death in America*, ed. David E. Stannard (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1975), 69-81, 84-85, 88-91; Gary Laderman, *The Sacred Remains: American Attitudes Toward Death, 1799-1883* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 44-45, 69-71; and *Magnolia Cemetery. The Proceedings at the Dedication of the Grounds. To Which Are Appended the Rules, Regulations and Charter of the Company: With a List of Officers and Members of the Board* (Charleston: Walker and James, 1851), 1-4.

human hopes, the vanity of human efforts."[5] Moving on, Rutledge suggested the observances then taking place proved admirable and entirely appropriate because it had been a custom in all ages and among all nations "to commemorate in some honorable way the services and deeds of those who have borne themselves well in their day and generation."[6] After heaping yet more plaudits upon the Confederate dead, Rutledge felt it necessary to refute the argument that the southern soldier fought to perpetuate slavery and thus proved his cause both unjust and immoral. Convinced of the rectitude of the fight and maintaining an unwavering loyalty to both his community and his sovereign state, the Confederate soldier, in Rutledge's estimation, represented the quintessential patriot and to argue otherwise only distorted his motives, stained his honor, and, ultimately, perpetuated egregious falsities.[7]

Hitting his stride, Rutledge then honed in on the primary theme that would come to define the rest of the discourse. After acknowledging, rather bluntly, that the Confederate soldier ultimately failed because the cause, indeed the nation, for which he fought so tirelessly went down in disaster and ruin, Rutledge then posed a series of questions to his audience in attempt to get them to reconceptualize their understanding of victory and defeat. "Has all their valor been exerted in vain?" Rutledge asked; "Has all this blood and self-sacrifice and devotion been for naught? Have those brave men left behind them nothing but regrets and the memory of wasted effort?"[8] Surveying the crowd gathered before him, Rutledge emphatically and vehemently answered in the negative. If ex-Confederates safeguarded the legacy bequeathed by the fallen and perpetuated the values and traditions they laid down their lives to protect, then Rutledge asserted white southerners could yet experience a sense of deliverance and vindication. In many

[5] *Memorial Day, May 10th, 1875. Address of Col. B.H. Rutledge* (Charleston: A.J. Burker, 1875), 1.
[6] *Memorial Day... Address of Col. B.H. Rutledge*, 2.
[7] Ibid, 2-4.
[8] Ibid, 4.

ways, Rutledge cast the trials and tribulations engendered by Reconstruction as nothing more than another stage of the long and arduous journey toward an ultimate redemption. Although white Carolinians believed their institutions uprooted, their characters slandered, their prosperity shattered, and felt their northern counterparts harassed and insulted them "with cruelty most ingenious," citizens could draw solace from knowing that if they held their course and refused to succumb to the wicked designs of their former adversaries then all the sacrifice and the suffering of the recent past had not been in vain. In concluding his address, Rutledge hoped to impress upon his audience that, in the grand scheme of time, current calamities proved transitory in nature and thus citizens should not feel disheartened or dissuaded, for in an indistinct future they would see the errand begun roughly fifteen years prior come to its completion. To steel the resolve and build the fortitude of white Carolinians for the potentially perilous path ahead, Rutledge ended his remarks by urging those assembled to draw inspiration from the noble sentiment of their beloved state, "*Dum spiro spero*."[9]

The remarks uttered by Rutledge on that spring afternoon in 1875 are characteristic and largely emblematic of a cultural movement known by historians and white southerners themselves, thanks largely to the publication of a work of the same name in 1867 by Virginia-born journalist and author Edward Alfred Pollard, as the Lost Cause.[10] Generally described by

[9] The motto of South Carolina, Dum spiro spero roughly translates to "While I Breathe, I Hope." *Memorial Day... Address of Col. B.H. Rutledge*, 4-6, 8.

[10] Edward Alfred Pollard, *The Lost Cause; A New Southern History of the War of the Confederates* (New York: E.B. Treat & Co., 1867). For the Lost Cause as a cultural movement, see; Charles Reagan Wilson, *Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause, 1865-1920* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2009), viiii-x, xiv, 13, 99, 161; Gaines M. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865-1913* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 5, 8, 37, 87, 195; Thomas L. Connelly and Barbara L. Bellows, *God and General Longstreet: The Lost Cause in the Southern Mind* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982), 134, 137; *;* Karen L. Cox, *Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003), 4, 20, 122, 140, 153; Caroline E. Janney, *Burying the Dead but Not the Past: Ladies' Memorial Associations and the Lost Cause* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 55, 80; Lloyd A. Hunter, "The Immortal Confederacy: Another Look at Lost Cause Religion," in *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History,* eds. Gary W. Gallagher and Alan T. Nolan (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), 189, 208; David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in*

scholars as an ideology or an aesthetic, the Lost Cause helped define white southern beliefs concerning the Civil War in the decades following the collapse of the Confederacy.[11] The central purposes of this phenomenon were to justify secession and the horrific conflict it caused, to make sense of and explain defeat, and to exonerate the men, both living and dead, who fought for southern independence.[12] In order to buttress ideologies associated with the Lost Cause and give them broader appeal both within and beyond the region, white southerners subsequently created a series of myths concerning the idyllic nature of the southern past. Ideologues of the Lost Cause thus deliberately and systematically reimagined, indeed sanitized, their collective past and characterized the antebellum South as a society ordered, organic, benevolent, deferential, virtuous, and exceedingly godly in nature.[13] Though the Civil War failed to secure the

---

American Memory (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2001), 258, 274, 282; Nina Silber, *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865-1900* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 5; Anne Sarah Rubin, *A Shattered Nation: The Rise and Fall of the Confederacy, 1861-1868* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 5-7, 246; William A. Blair, *Cities of the Dead: Contesting the Memory of the Civil War in the South, 1865-1914* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 2-3, 50; Paul Quigley, *Shifting Grounds: Nationalism and the American South, 1848-1865* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 213, 217; and W. Scott Poole, *Never Surrender: Confederate Memory and Conservatism in the South Carolina Upcountry* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2004), 1, 3, 17, 18.

[11] In his own work, Scott Poole chose to use the concept of aesthetics when describing, generally, how conservatives in the South Carolina Upcountry fashioned various cultural materials into a public display that articulated their understanding of and vision for society. In terms of ideology, historian Barbara Jeanne Fields defined the term as "the descriptive vocabulary of day-to-day existence, through which people make rough sense of the social reality that they live and create from day to day." This study will use both concepts throughout because formulators of the Lost Cause not only created a set of ideas that helped white southerners make sense of and endure the traumas of war and defeat, but they also used visual displays to further disseminate their beliefs and to provide audiences with an idealized vision of the past, present, and future. Poole's work supports this deep-seated connection between ideology and aesthetics because he argues the former "loses its contextual meaning when separated from the cultural products of those who believe in it." See; Poole, *Never Surrender,* 3-5 and Barbara Jeanne Fields, "Slavery, Race and Ideology in the United States of America," *New Left Review* 181 (May/June 1990): 95-118, pg. 110.

[12] Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy*, 35, 45, 118; Connelly and Bellows, *God and General Longstreet*, 6, 21-22, 24, 60; Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 1, 5, 67-69, 95-96, 104, 117, 158; Alan T. Nolan, "The Anatomy of a Myth," in *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History,* eds. Gary W. Gallagher and Alan T. Nolan (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), 14-15, 17, 26-27; Hunter, "The Immortal Confederacy," 189; Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 160-61, 266, 282; Janney, *Burying the Dead*, 3, 68; Anne E. Marshall, *Creating a Confederate Kentucky: The Lost Cause and Civil War Memory in a Border State* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 83-84; and Caroline E. Janney, *Remembering the Civil War: Reunion and the Limits of Reconciliation* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 86-87, 147, 158-59.

[13] W. Fitzhugh Brundage, *The Southern Past: A Clash of Race and Memory* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005), 32, 53-54; Poole, *Never Surrender*, 3, 7, 18; Wilson, *Baptized in Blood*, 40, 46, 48; Janney, *Burying the Dead*, 3; Janney, *Remembering the Civil War*, 8-9, 150, 197, 209-10, 220, 254, 278; Nolan,

Confederacy's political independence, the Lost Cause sought to ensure the cultural autonomy of a beleaguered, yet defiant, south.[14] Military defeat and destruction would not define the states belonging to the former Confederacy, white southerners eagerly hoped, for victory would be assured if southern culture and values remained unchanged and unrepentant.

Although Rutledge's remarks, as well as the ceremonies in general, received accolades in the pages of the popular press, the ideas presented at Magnolia Cemetery in mid-May 1875 proved neither imaginative nor particularly innovative.[15] Rutledge, in essence, built upon and perpetuated an ideological lineage that stretched back well over a decade. For Charlestonians gathered on the grounds of the cemetery that spring afternoon, the ideological motifs that formed the foundation of Rutledge's discourse, especially the insistence that redemption lay at some nebulous time in the future, appeared relatively familiar and, quite possibly, rather banal. Not only had white Carolinians heard messages like Rutledge's repeatedly at Memorial Day celebrations occurring in the wake of Appomattox, but white southerners more generally could look back on their days as Confederate citizens and remember that during the war they likewise found themselves inundated with similar ideologies as their secular and religious leaders continually sought to assure them of the rectitude of the cause and were quick to focus their collective gaze forward when prospects appeared less than bright.

One such leader, who represented a sort of ideological forebearer to the likes of Rutledge, was Methodist minister Joel W. Tucker. The path from itinerant preacher to ideological

---

"The Anatomy of a Myth," 14, 26, 29; Hunter, "The Immortal Confederacy," 187, 205; and Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 257, 160.

[14] Historian William A. Blair goes so far as to argue that in the aftermath of the Civil War the main motivation behind Confederate commemorative activities for nearly two decades, if not more, was to maintain a sectional identity independent from and defying complete assimilation with the northern United States. See; William A. Blair, *Cities of the Dead: Contesting the Memory of the Civil War in the South, 1865-1914* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 50. Also see; Wilson, *Baptized in Blood*, 161.

[15] *The News and Courier*, "Decorating the Graves of the Confederate Dead," May 11, 1875.

progenitor and propagator proved one Tucker trod rather naturally. Born in 1820 in Virginia, Tucker became a minister in 1845 after being accepted by the North Carolina Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. In the first five years of his ministry, Tucker served the church as an itinerant preacher, or "circuit rider," traversing nearly the entirety of the state of North Carolina to spread the Scripture to communities like Greensboro, Beaufort, Plymouth, and Whiteville.[16] Most circuits, historian Christine Leigh Heyman points out, took roughly four to six weeks to complete and minsters like Tucker not only had to contend with rugged terrain and weather that broke down even the hardiest of men, but they also found it challenging to overcome the suspicion, indeed the downright hostility, expressed by residents who were not keen on welcoming outsiders into their midst.[17] After years of itinerancy, Tucker eventually ascended through the Methodist ranks and took positions in some of North Carolina's largest and, subsequently, most prestigious churches. In December of 1860, right before the groundswell of support in favor of secession turned in to a seemingly inexorable wave, the North Carolina Conference recognized Tucker's hard work and dedication by bestowing upon him the status of elder.

It was as a church elder that the then forty-two-year-old Tucker addressed his Fayetteville, North Carolina congregation in mid-May 1862 as they gathered together to observe an official day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer decreed by Confederate President Jefferson Davis. As Tucker ascended the pulpit to speak to his flock, neither he nor his audience could help but grasp the gravity of the occasion. Unlike the previous three fast days commemorated

[16] Larry Edward Tise, "J.W. Tucker," in *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography*, ed., William S. Powell. Copyright (c) 1979-1996 by the University of North Carolina Press; found on *Documenting the American South* (DocSouth), University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, https://docsouth.unc.edu/imls/tucker1/bio.html
[17] Christine Leigh Heyrman, *Southern Cross: The Beginnings of the Bible Belt* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 87-89, 93-94.

within the nascent southern polity, the current observances occurred at a time of national peril. For the first time since the inauguration of the war nearly one year prior, the Confederacy's prospects, indeed its very survival, James McPherson argues, appeared bleak at best.[18] In Virginia, General George B. McClellan's army of over 100,000 men, with the possibility of nearly 35,000 reinforcements soon forthcoming, maneuvered within earshot of Richmond's church bells and slept with the Confederate capitol's church spires dotting the horizon.[19] In the western theatre of war things hardly looked much better, for Federal forces controlled sizeable portions of the Mississippi Valley and threatened to tear the Confederacy in two. It is under such dire circumstances that Tucker, much like Rutledge over a decade later, addressed his listeners and attempted to frame current calamities while assuaging any lingering doubts concerning either the righteousness or the viability of the Confederate cause.

Entitled *God's Providence in War*, Tucker's sermon began by reminding his audience that the unfolding of temporal events ultimately lay in the hands of Almighty God. "There can be no such thing as fortune or accidents," Tucker explained to his attentive listeners, "it is evident that God has a plan and a purpose in reference to all nations, revolutions and wars."[20] Every aspect of the current conflict, down to the most minute of details, thus took place to fulfill a divine purpose and to further a providential plan which, according to Tucker, "was drafted in the mind of God before the world was called into being." The Confederacy's present predicament, while certainly not ideal, should not breed a sense of disillusionment, Tucker maintained, for God remained the southern nation's principle benefactor. In fact, Tucker informed his congregants that recent setbacks only reinforced the fact that Confederates represented a chosen

[18] James McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 454.
[19] McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 454.
[20] J.W. Tucker, "God's Providence in War," in *God Ordained this War: Sermons on the Sectional Crisis, 1830-1865*, ed. David B. Chesebrough (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1991), 230-31.

people acting as the Almighty's temporal agents. "God is on our side–is with us in this conflict–because we have had reverses," Tucker elucidated, "The wise and affectionate father will punish, correct and chastise the children of his love for their good."[21] Interpreting events through such a lens, effectively framing defeat and potential disaster as transitory tribulations meant to fortify the white southern mind, body, and soul, it would prove no huge intellectual leap for parishioners to believe or, at the very least, entertain Tucker's assertion that there existed "nothing in the present aspect of things, nor in the late reverses of our arms, to cause us to doubt our final success and ultimate victory."[22]

After providing a degree of contextualization, Tucker then moved on to achieve his other main objective, to buoy his listeners' resolve and resilience as they stood on the cusp of another spring campaign season. For those in the congregation that could not shake their lingering sense of trepidation, Tucker made sure to reassure his listeners that their cause was sacred and even went so far as to ask how any true southerner could doubt such a fact "when we know it has been consecrated by a holy baptism of fire and blood." As the sermon reached its conclusion, Tucker hoped to further instill a sense of confidence by focusing his congregation's collective gaze towards a future wherein God's divine countenance would again deliver his people from their enemies and, after which, current calamities would, in retrospect, seem trifling in nature. "If, as a people, we deserve to be free," Tucker told his audience, "ultimate failure in such a cause and under such circumstances . . . is impossible." In order to show their merits and earn their deliverance, Confederate citizens simply needed to pray and demonstrate, collectively, their fidelity and devotion. If white southerners did as the Methodist minister asked, then their prayers would assuredly, at some indistinct time, "convert darkness into light–our night into glorious

[21] Tucker, "God's Providence," 231, 233.
[22] Ibid, 234.

day–our defeat into victory–our disasters into triumph–our sorrow into joy–our weakness into strength–our feebleness into might."[23] In much the same vein as Rutledge thirteen years later, Tucker urged parishioners to maintain their current course for, in the end, if they remained firm, courageous, and faithful, then the nation as well as its citizens "shall be invincible."[24] Tucker's remarks that spring day proved so impactful and left such an impression upon his audience that the sermon was soon printed as a tract and distributed not only in neighboring South Carolina, but throughout other states in the Confederacy as well. Tucker's flash of brilliance, which first burst forth in May 1862, continued to burn bright over the course of the ensuing six months as he composed two more influential sermons, entitled "God Sovereign and Man Free*"* and *"*Guilt and Punishment of Extortion," and subsequently rose from relative obscurity to become, in the words of one scholar, "one of the most popular and lauded prophets of the wartime South."[25]

Although occurring over a decade apart and under vastly different circumstances, it is clear that there exists a great deal of ideological continuity between the addresses delivered by Tucker and Rutledge. In addition to seeing a remarkable amount of consistency, juxtaposing the two discourses also allows one to catch a glimpse of the progression of analogous ideological motifs over time. The parallels between the two addresses prove numerous, for aside from attempting to achieve the same ends, that is shoring up citizens' resolve in the face of adverse social and political circumstances, each speech also proved so powerful that contemporaries believed it necessary to print and circulate the sentiments they contained to provide a sense of guidance and comfort to others.

[23] Tucker, "God's Providence," 235-236.
[24] Ibid, 236.
[25] Tise, "J.W. Tucker," on DocSouth, https://docsouth.unc.edu/imls/tucker1/bio.html.

The direct ideological line connecting Tucker and Rutledge seriously challenges prevailing presumptions underlying the study of the Lost Cause. The remarkable degree of consistency between the two discourses highlights the need for historians and other scholars to more fully explore the linkages existing between ideologies developed during wartime and those promulgated in the postwar period. Drawing these types of connections, paying particular attention to religious ideologies and motifs, will inevitably lead scholars to entertain the prospect that foundational elements of the Lost Cause emerged well before the cause itself was, in fact, lost. It is only through confronting and, then, amending, prevalent beliefs existing within Lost Cause scholarship that one can attain a better understanding of the emergence and subsequent development of this complex cultural phenomenon.

The historical literature concerning the Lost Cause is voluminous and a myriad of interpretations exist as to the origins, functions, and utilities of this cultural phenomenon.[26] Scholars argue the Lost Cause represents a coping mechanism, a vehicle for change, a bulwark against social and political upheaval, and an instrument of reunion, all in an attempt to make sense of the prevalence and longevity of the Lost Cause within southern society. Although historians disagree as to the form and function of this cultural movement, there is much agreement concerning the chronology of the Lost Cause. Historiographically, the Lost Cause is characterized as a phenomenon of the 1880s and 1890s, while the time between 1865 and 1880 is depicted merely as a nascent developmental period in which white southern women and, later, men began to give meaning to the Civil War and its dead while living under arduous political, social, and economic conditions. Not until the final two decades of the nineteenth century, this

[26] Though this work looks at the historiography of the Lost Cause beginning in the 1980s, it is important to acknowledge earlier works that helped lay the foundation for more recent studies concerning this cultural phenomenon and its evolution. For older examinations concerning the Lost Cause, see; Rollin G. Osterweis, *The Myth of the Lost Cause, 1865-1900* (Hamden, Conn: Archon Books, 1973) and Pollard, *The Lost Cause.*

interpretation contends, did the Lost Cause become a powerful cultural force capable of influencing the trajectory of southern development.[27]

The most important works influencing and subsequently guiding the historiography of the Lost Cause in the past four decades are Charles Reagan Wilson's *Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause, 1865-1920*, Gaines M. Foster's *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South*, David W. Blight's *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory*, and Karen L. Cox's *Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture*. Wilson's work, first published in 1980, explored the development of a southern "civil religion" that imbued the Confederacy's recent defeat with transcendental meaning and importance, thereby helping countless white southerners overcome feelings of grief, sorrow, and despair. Building upon a long-standing evangelical Protestant tradition, white southerners created their own sacred rituals, symbols, and ideologies to properly honor their fallen and to preserve a southern cultural distinctiveness under assault both from within and beyond the region. Lasting well into the twentieth century, the Lost Cause, as described by Wilson, represented a cultural phenomenon allowing former Confederates to remain resilient and defiant in the face of an uncertain future.[28]

Published in the late 1980s, Gaines Foster's analysis depicts the Lost Cause as a cultural tradition facilitating the construction of a "new south" amidst momentous social and economic tensions. Unlike Wilson, however, Foster argues the Lost Cause represented a temporary, or transitory, phenomenon that declined in both utility and importance once it achieved its supposed

---

[27] For studies of the Lost Cause or Civil War memory that helped create and further this historiographic trend, see; Wilson, *Baptized in Blood*; Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy;* Karen L. Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*; Blight, *Race and Reunion*; Connelly and Bellows, *God and General Longstreet;* Edward J. Blum, *Reforging the White Republic: Race, Religion, and American Nationalism, 1865-1898* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2005); Poole, *Never Surrender*; Janney, *Burying the Dead*; Janney, *Remembering the Civil War*; Marshall, *Creating a Confederate Kentucky*; and Nina Silber, *The Romance of Reunion.*

[28] Wilson, *Baptized in Blood*, x, 1, 11, 13-15.

"goals" of reestablishing antebellum structures of power and easing the transition to a more industrial economy. Failing to have a lasting impact upon southern identity formation, the Lost Cause helped achieve an elusive sectional reconciliation while simultaneously providing architects of the New South with enough stability to enact the economic, political, and social changes necessary to guide the region into the twentieth century.[29] While Foster and Wilson were certainly not the first to explore the Lost Cause and its impact, or lack thereof, on southern society, their works proved extremely influential and subsequently helped frame discussions on the topic for the next two decades. Through the early 2000s and beyond, scholars vigorously debated the extent to which white southerners created the Lost Cause as a coping mechanism to deal with emotional and existential crises and the degree to which this cultural phenomenon served a more utilitarian purpose in allowing certain segments of society to veil their struggle to regain power and enact change in a language of longing for the past.

Though his work focuses on the evolution of Civil War memory more generally than on the Lost Cause specifically, is important to discuss David W. Blight's *Race and Reunion.* Arguably one of the most influential or, at the very least, most cited works on Civil War memory published in the last two decades, Blight argues a reconciliationist vision of the war triumphed in the late nineteenth century, as white Americans, north and south, joined hands while simultaneously ushering in a new era of racial subjugation.[30] While scholars such as Wilson and Foster certainly discuss race in the development of the Lost Cause, their works address the topic rather tangentially and view race as only minimally influencing white southern memories and

[29] Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy*,4-7, 8, 80, 112, 144, 178, 195, 198.
[30] Blight contends an emancipationist memory of the war proved strong through Reconstruction, but as the Federal Government waned in its commitment to protecting the newly-acquired freedoms attained by African Americans a white supremacist vision of the war, perpetuated through violence and terror, "locked arms" with a reconciliationist vision to produce a segregated memory of the Civil War that essentially echoed southern narratives. Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 2, 139, 343.

cultural practices.[31] Blight, alternatively, contends white supremacy represented a significant, if not the most significant, element of the Lost Cause movement from its very beginnings while also highlighting how, by the last decade of the nineteenth century, this racial component proved more pronounced as adherents of the Lost Cause began to shift their gaze from the past to the future. No longer dwelling on mourning or explaining defeat, Blight asserts that as the century came to a close the Lost Cause underwent a degree of transformation and subsequently aided white southerners in their quest, first inaugurated in the years immediately following Appomattox, to completely destroy African American hopes for social change or advancement.[32]

Providing one of the first full-length examinations of gender and the Lost Cause, Karen Cox's work on the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) proved instrumental in reorienting the focus of Lost Cause scholarship. Not only did women represent the leaders of the movement to memorialize the Confederacy, but, from Cox's perspective, they also proved responsible for founding the Confederate tradition.[33] Southern white women, moreover, "raised the stakes" of the Lost Cause as they sought to vindicate, mostly through the building of monuments and the education of future generations, those who sacrificed for the recently deceased southern polity.[34] Though Wilson, Foster, and Blight certainly discuss the role of women in the creation of the Lost Cause, with the latter providing the most inclusive analysis, the examinations they provide are relatively truncated, as gender is only a minute facet of a larger analytical focus.[35] Cox's work is critical, therefore, in understanding the role of gender in the creation and development of historical memory. While men seemed relatively indifferent in

[31] Wilson, *Baptized in Blood*, 12; Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy*, 194.
[32] Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 259, 266, 272, 276, 282, 292.
[33] Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 1-2, 20.
[34] Ibid, 67-69, 72, 91, 96, 104, 120, 123-24, 158.
[35] Wilson, *Baptized in Blood*, 46-47; Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy*, 31-33, 38, 174, 179; and Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 259, 255-56.

regards to preserving Confederate heritage towards the end of the nineteenth century, Cox highlights how women stepped in to fill the void by creating one of the larger, and certainly one of the most influential, memorial organizations ever formed.[36]

Although each of the previously explored works differs in its interpretation of the Lost Cause, all share similar chronological assumptions. While Wilson does analyze the war years and the initial postwar period, as he argues the experience of defeat and its attendant social and political instability helped form a southern civil religion, his main focus is on how the Lost Cause rose to prominence from the final decades of the nineteenth through the early decades of the twentieth centuries.[37] Foster goes even further in downplaying the years between 1865 and 1880, for he contends memorial activities and cultural expressions in the first two decades after defeat "did not offer a coherent historical interpretation and did little to define the Confederate tradition."[38] Advancing this pervasive trend, Blight believes that a small group of former Confederates, or "diehards," controlled the Lost Cause through the early 1880s, causing such ideologies to appear reactionary and rather trivial.[39] Lastly, Cox's work extends this way of thinking as she asserts the UDC, founded in 1894, represents the single most important organization for the perpetuation and preservation of Confederate culture because they littered the landscape with monuments and indoctrinated future generations via a relentless textbook campaign.[40] While these are but a few examples pulled from four influential scholars, they are illustrative of larger trends. Not only do these works share chronological assumptions while varying in methodology and interpretation, but Wilson, Foster, Blight, and Cox are perhaps the

[36] Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 45-46.
[37] Wilson, *Baptized in Blood*, 25, 36, 97, 123,162.
[38] Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy*, 46.
[39] Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 258, 262, 265-66.
[40] Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 1-2, 5, 51, 59-65, 91-96, 124, 157.

most referenced scholars in the field of Civil War Memory. The work of these four prominent historians helped breathe new life into the study of the Lost Cause, as well as Civil War Memory more broadly, for countless new scholars engaged with these works in an attempt either to refute, further, or nuance their insights.

It is only within the last decade and a half that scholars, namely Scott Poole, Anne E. Marshall, and Caroline E. Janney began to seriously challenge the prevailing chronology associated with the Lost Cause. Poole and Marshall's works greatly nuanced earlier scholarship as they offered an analysis of the Lost Cause from a more localized, indeed a state, perspective. Poole's *Never Surrender: Confederate Memory and Conservatism in the South Carolina Upcountry* examines the evolution of a Lost Cause "aesthetic" that allowed white conservatives in the Piedmont region of the Palmetto State to reestablish antebellum hierarchies of power by controlling and shaping cultural performance and production.[41] Southern conservatives in the Upcountry viewed the Lost Cause aesthetic as an invaluable asset, Poole maintains, precisely because it helped unite white southerners throughout the state and it upheld the past as a model for the present, effectively defying or impeding the encroachment a modern culture perceived as materialistic, irreligious, and anarchic.[42] Shifting the focus westward, Anne Marshall examines how, by the start of the twentieth century, Kentucky "developed a Confederate identity that was seemingly at odds with its historic past."[43] This shift in loyalties occurred in large part, Marshall argues, because the Bluegrass State witnessed a prolonged and bitter conflict as African Americans and whites, of both Unionist and Confederate sympathies, struggled for cultural supremacy within the state. In the end, the Confederate vision of the war triumphed largely

[41] Poole, *Never Surrender,* 1-3, 18-19.
[42] Ibid, 17, 53, 55-56.
[43] Marshall, *Creating a Confederate Kentucky,* 1-4.

because a shared racial antipathy for African Americans made it all but impossible for white Unionists to identify with a cause that grew so closely associated with emancipation and racial progress.[44]

Much like Poole and Marshall, Caroline Janney likewise seeks to push the chronology of the Lost Cause back to the years immediately following the conclusion of the Civil War in both *Burying the Dead but Not the Past: Ladies' Memorial Associations and the Lost Cause* and *Remembering the Civil War: Reunion and the Limits of Reconciliation*. While the former publication mirrors the work of Poole and Marshall in that it looks at the Lost Cause from a state perspective, in this case Virginia, Janney attempts to broaden both her geographic and analytical scope in the latter, more recent, work. In both texts, Janney argues the diligent work of Ladies' Memorial Associations (LMAs) throughout the South in the late 1860s proved so successful at preserving and protecting Confederate loyalties that by the 1880s and 90s the Lost Cause represented a force with momentous strength and influence.[45] While Cox largely downplayed the importance and influence of LMAs, instead highlighting the larger and more renowned UDC, Janney illustrates how LMAs took up the mantle of preservation in their myriad attempts to honor the Confederate dead amidst military occupation and Reconstruction.[46] Adding an extra layer of complexity and nuance, Janney's later work also demonstrated how, from the early 1870s onward, the compilers of regimental histories and the leaders of veterans' groups likewise hoped to help ex-Confederates reclaim the social and political power lost after Appomattox while simultaneously safeguarding a distinct regional identity. Writers and survivors' association founders like former Confederate General Jubal A. Early oftentimes worked in concert with the

[44] Marshall, *Creating a Confederate Kentucky,* 5.
[45] Janney, *Burying the Dead*, 2-4, 6, 13, 98, 131, 167, 190, 193, 198-99; Janney, *Remembering the Civil War,* 75, 86-87, 134, 158.
[46] Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 9-10. 12 and Janney, *Burying the Dead*, 7, 13, 40, 52, 55, 68, 70, 80, 95, 169, 173-74.

ladies of the South's various memorial associations to ensure future generations of white southerners would not only remember, but also revere their Confederate past. As a result of their combined efforts, Janney contends, the Lost Cause evolved into a movement that worked "alternatively to complicate, promote, and hinder reconciliation well into the twentieth century."[47]

While the aforementioned texts push our analytical gaze a decade or so back, into at least the late 1860s, they still do not go far enough. Poole, though arguing the Lost Cause began immediately following the conclusion of the war, is primarily concerned with the evolution of southern conservatism within the Palmetto State and thus his examination of the latter cultural trend is fairly extensive, while his treatment of the former phenomenon is relatively truncated.[48] Since Poole views the Lost Cause, especially its aesthetic components, largely as a "medium" through which southern conservatism could flourish, his chronological focus is mostly concentrated on the 1870s and beyond, when conservatives grew increasingly influential and eventually gained control of the state from Republican officials and their African American allies. [49] Marshall, moreover, begins her examination of the Lost Cause in the late 1860s, yet she neither explores the origins of the trends she analyzes nor presents much analysis or evidence of events before the middle and late 1870s.[50] Marshall is primarily concerned with the monument building movement and how its transition from cemeteries to town squares signified a resurgence in Confederate identity and defiance. This causes her to focus on the latter two decades of the

[47] Janney, *Remembering the Civil War*, 134, 141-46, 153-59.
[48] A majority of Poole's book examines the rise of conservatism, via the guise of paramilitary groups, from the early and middle 1870s through the ascent of "Pitchfork" Benjamin Tillman in 1880s and 90s. In his chapter focusing on the early development of the Lost Cause, Poole spends more than half the page length discussing topics such as labor, property, economic anxieties, and freedmen's activities without necessarily connecting these topics with the Lost Cause itself. Poole, *Never Surrender*, 50-51, 58, 60-65,73-77.
[49] Poole, *Never Surrender*, 17-18.
[50] Marshall, *Creating a Confederate Kentucky*, 5, 34, 42, 82-84.

nineteenth century while largely glossing over the initial fifteen years after the conclusion of hostilities.

The work of Caroline Janney is a bit more complex, indeed Janus-faced, as it, collectively, both departs from and reinforces prevailing chronological trends. In her first monograph, for example, Janney spent a great deal of time focusing on the immediate postwar period, as she not only explored how women's aid societies and hospital associations helped care for the dead during the war, effectively laying the groundwork for the development of LMAs, but she also analyzed the meaning these women gave to their actions and their transition to memorialization.[51] Janney's more recent work, however, fell more in line with earlier scholarship in that it largely painted the Lost Cause as a movement that slowly began developing or "gaining strength" in the wake of defeat and then ultimately reached its peak, both institutionally and ideologically, in the twenty or so years before the end of the century, as men throughout the region increasingly challenged women for control of the memorialization movement.[52] Taken as a whole, therefore, there appears to exist a slight degree of disjunction or dissonance within Janney's work. While Janney's scholarship, at times, certainly challenges historiographic assumptions, it likewise, at other times, seems merely to reinforce prevalent interpretations.

[51] Janney, *Burying the Dead*, 14-27, 33-34, 36-38, 68.
[52] Janney places a heavy emphasis on the how Robert E. Lee's death in 1870 and the publication of the *Southern Historical Society Papers* in 1876 shaped the Lost Cause in the immediate postwar period. Moreover, Janney implies the Lost Cause lacked popular interest until the 1880s, for it is around this time period that those who experienced the war as young adults matured and possessed both the resources and desire to educate their own children about the recently deceased southern polity. Janney, *Remembering the Civil War,* 9-10, 93, 134, 140, 143, 154.

In addition to sharing a similar chronological approach, much of the literature concerning the Lost Cause also places a heavy emphasis on postwar Virginia.[53] It is certainly true, as scholars are quick to point out, that Virginia represented both the political and military center of the former Confederacy. Caroline Janney and William Blair, for example, argue that due to the high concentration of combat within the Commonwealth's borders it should not be surprising either that Virginia would prove a "bastion of Lost Cause rhetoric and figures," or that memorial activities within the state would attained a high degree of symbolism and attract heightened scrutiny from Federal officials.[54] It is incorrect to assume, however, that ideologies emerging from or actions taking place within Virginia are representative of the South as a whole. Each state of the former Confederacy experienced Reconstruction differently and thus it is nearly impossible to superimpose the political, social, and economic conditions existing within Virginia onto other states.

What follows is an examination of the origins and evolution of the Lost Cause in the South Carolina Lowcountry over the course of nearly half a century. The rhetorical, theological, and ideological genesis of this cultural phenomena is found during the creation and early development of the American Republic from the late eighteenth though the early nineteenth centuries. As American colonists severed their ties with Great Britain and established an independent nation of their own, they likewise began forming a civil religion, or a set of ideas and beliefs regarding the relationship between God and their incipient polity. During the decades of the antebellum era, as sectional animosity surrounding the expansion of racial slavery began to escalate, white southerners increasingly felt threatened socially, economically, and politically

[53] Wilson, *Baptized in Blood*, 119-38; Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy*, 56-63, 74-75, 125-26; Connelly and Bellows, *God and General Longstreet,* 42-46; Blair, *Cities of the Dead:* 8; Janney, *Burying the Dead*, 2, 8-11; and Janney, *Remembering the Civil War*, 92-94, 96-98, 140-142, 148-149.
[54] Janney, *Burying the Dead*, 8 and Blair, *Cities of the Dead*, 8.

by their northern compatriots and thus they began appropriating the language and ideologies associated with the American civil religion in an attempt to develop a divergent sectional identity and to fuel the slowly growing tide of separatism. Within South Carolina, the Nullification Crisis of the early 1830s represented a watershed moment, as it dramatically altered the state's political culture and ideological outlook and subsequently accelerated the development of both a distinctive sectional identity and a divergent civil religion that would lend legitimacy and air of rectitude to an emerging nationalist movement.

In the wake of Abraham Lincoln's election in November 1860, a myriad of religious and secular leaders invoked the language associated with the southern civil religion in an effort to justify and frame the act of secession while simultaneously forging an ideological, rhetorical, and cultural consensus meant to form the foundation of an inchoate southern polity. Amidst the carnage of the Civil War, a multitude of newspaper editors, government officials, and clerics espoused and disseminated the southern, now Confederate, civil religion in an attempt to imbue their burgeoning nation with secular and spiritual significance while also providing citizens a lens through which to view and comprehend the conflict's ever-changing course. As the war became increasingly more protracted and destructive, while also growing closer in proximity than many initially anticipated, the Confederate civil religion began to not only change in form, but also in function. In the aftermath of the Union invasion and occupation of the Carolina Coast in November 1861, civil religion within the Lowcountry underwent a degree of change in terms of tone as it shed its confident airs and appeared more somber and dejected as the Federal foothold expanded and northern forces posed an increasingly dire threat to the region and its white residents. In terms of function, the Confederate civil religion evolving in the Palmetto State slightly shifted focus and acted less as a lexicon of legitimacy and more as a mechanism to

help white southerners cope with and endure levels of loss and privation that seemed to increase exponentially. Secular and religious leaders thus refined their civil religion by making it more forward-looking, by highlighting the theme of redemption, and by increasingly venerating the Confederate soldier in an effort to steel their citizens' resolve while simultaneously assuaging a sense of malaise and melancholy that grew more prevalent over time.[55]

When defeat finally occurred in the spring of 1865, white Carolinians thus already possessed an ideological and rhetorical framework from which to draw in order to explain their continued misfortunes. The Confederate civil religion that existed within the Palmetto State did not simply dissipate with the collapse of the transient southern polity and the dispersal of its accompanying military apparatus. The ideological motifs that provided white residents of South Carolina with a degree of succor during the travails of war would form the foundation of the Lost Cause and continue to supply ex-Confederates in the state with a sense of solace as they mourned the dead and struggled to come to terms with the tumultuous social, economic, and political conditions of the postwar world. In essence, the Lost Cause effectively emerged from and then ultimately subsumed the Confederate civil religion. Initially, the Lost Cause primarily provided comfort to white southerners in the midst of grief and despair and thus greatly aided in the process of bereavement. With the passage of time, the Lost Cause continued to fulfill this function while increasingly offering a language of defiance of, and continued resistance toward, the Federal Government and its Reconstruction policies. This lexicon of defiance came to a head in the gubernatorial election of 1876 when former Confederate General Wade Hampton ran

[55] Historian Drew Gilpin Faust, largely building off the work of Sigmund Freud, defines melancholy as a state or condition wherein an individual is incapable of grasping fully what has been lost and thus subsequently withdraws emotionally and effectively remains mired in a "profoundly painful dejection." The circumstances created by the Civil War, Faust continues, increasingly inhibited Americans' ability to mourn and attain some sense of closure. The result, therefore, was a population that grew emotionally numb, or resorted to denial, as a means through which to deal with the losses engendered by the war. Drew Gilpin Faust, *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the Civil War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2008), 144-45.

against Republican incumbent Daniel H. Chamberlain.[56] As Hampton's campaign tour traversed the Palmetto State in the fall of 1876, the language of the Lost Cause helped build and maintain a popular base of support and subsequently provided white South Carolinians, especially those affiliated with the paramilitary wing of the Democratic Party known as the "Red Shirts," with an opportunity, indeed a justification, to openly defy the Federal Government and to "redeem" the state from Republican rule.

It is important, before continuing on, to discuss and define the concept of civil religion, since it forms the bedrock from which the rest of this examination is built. The phrase "civil religion" first appeared in Jean-Jacques Rousseau's famed eighteenth century treatise, *The Social Contract*.[57] In Book Four, Chapter Eight, Rousseau argued there existed a "purely civil faith" that the sovereign, defined as members of the body politic or republic when active, should establish "not exactly as religious dogmas, but as sentiments of sociability without which it is impossible to be a good citizen or a faithful subject."[58] Simple and linguistically precise in nature, Rousseau's civil religion disdained intolerance and set as foundational elements a belief in a powerful, omniscient deity, a confidence that in the afterlife the just would receive reward while the wicked would find only punishment, and, finally, a reverence for the social contract upon which the society was constructed. Ideally, Rousseau believed a civil faith would create a sense of solidarity and social stability largely lacking throughout Europe, as nations oftentimes found themselves woefully divided and subsequently caught up in endless cycles of religious,

---

[56] Historian Richard Zuczek, in his analysis of Reconstruction in South Carolina, likens the election of 1876 to a revolution, a "people's war," and a popular uprising. Further, Zuczek remarks that the campaign of 1876 proved remarkable because it represented "the culmination of white organization and mobilization," within the Palmetto State. See: Richard Zuczek, *State of Rebellion: Reconstruction in South Carolina* (Columbia: The University of South Carolina Press, 1996), 5, 159, 189.

[57] Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *On the Social Contract*, ed., Roger D. Masters, trans. Judith R. Masters (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1978), 124, 130-31; Bellah, "Civil Religion in America," 43; and Angrosino, "Civil Religion Redux," 244.

[58] Rousseau, *Social Contract*, 54, 130.

cultural, and political violence. Rousseau, moreover, argued a separation of church and state, something unusual in continental Europe at the time, would help preserve and perpetuate a social contract anchored in communal cooperation. Though it "mattered greatly" that each citizen have some form of faith that instilled a sense of moral duty, the exact nature of one's own private religious beliefs lay outside the purview and control of the state.[59]

While Rousseau represents the ideological progenitor of civil religion as a concept, this study primarily rests upon and draws from the work of sociologist Robert N. Bellah, who, in an influential article first published in 1967, took ideas developed roughly two centuries beforehand and used them as a framework through which to view and analyze the development of American attitudes, outlooks, and institutions from the nation's founding through the middle decades of the twentieth century. In that seminal article, Bellah argued there existed alongside, yet clearly differentiated from the churches, "an elaborate and well institutionalized civil religion in America."[60] While not necessarily a worship of the American nation itself, this civil religion allowed the American populace to interpret and understand their national experience in the context of an ultimate and transcendent reality.[61] Although borrowing much from Christianity, American civil religion represented a distinct ideological entity. Broad enough to appeal to religious conceptions most Americans shared yet specific enough to apply easily to the American context, the civil religion provided meaning to its citizens and created a sense of social solidarity amongst an increasingly heterogeneous population. At its foundation, American civil religion described the relationship between God and the nation. Prophetic in nature, the central tenets of

[59] Rousseau, *Social Contract*, 130.
[60] Robert N. Bellah, "Civil Religion in America," in *Religion in America*, eds. William G. McLoughlin and Robert N. Bellah (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1969), 3.
[61] Bellah, "Civil Religion in America," 20, and Robert N. Bellah, *The Broken Covenant: American Civil Religion in a Time of Trial* (New York: The Seabury Press, 1975), 3, 97, 108-09.

this ideology held that God proved actively involved in human history and that Americans represented an especially chosen people charged with carrying out God's will on earth.[62] The creation and evolution of the American nation, therefore, acquired a providential character and religious faith reinforced, indeed strengthened, a sense of civic duty.

It did not take long after Bellah published his article for it to elicit an immense amount of discussion and debate within academic circles. One of the strongest criticisms of civil religion arose from scholars who argued the term lacked linguistic specificity. Historian Gaines Foster argued against using the term civil religion in his own work because he claimed it possessed no clear, widely accepted, meaning and thus served to "confuse rather than clarify" the phenomenon it attempted to describe.[63] A term used in such diverse ways, Michael Angrosino contends, makes the concept seem "impossibly vague" and therefore presents a plethora of problems to scholars and laymen alike.[64] While there certainly exist a variety of issues implicit in working with civil religion as an analytical tool, academics were quick to acknowledge the utility of the concept. Not only did scholars find Bellah's argument appealing for its sheer cogency, but from a methodological standpoint it provided a thesis "that could be readily understood and which seemed capable of being tested against the fabric and history of American society."[65] Further, the concept of civil religion provides scholars a means of identifying and interpreting extremely complex cultural values, beliefs, and behaviors. Even those who seriously doubt the existence of an American civil religion, such as John F. Wilson, argue the concept, and specifically Bellah's

---

[62] Bellah, "Civil Religion in American,"6, 9, 15-16, 20-21; Bellah, *The Broken Covenant*, 11-12, 41; Michael Angrosino, "Civil Religion Redux," 241-42; and Sidney E. Mead, "The 'Nation with the Soul of a Church,'" in *American Civil Religion*, eds. Russell E. Richey and Donald G. Jones (New York: Harper & Row, 1974), 60.
[63] Russell Richey and Donald Jones, while not as critical as Foster, also acknowledged the lack of a precise definition as they contend there exists at least five broad meanings of the term civil religion. See: Gaines M. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865-1913* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 7-8, and Richey and Jones, *American Civil Religion*, 14-15.
[64] Michael Angrosino, "Civil Religion Redux," 241.
[65] Richey and Jones, *American Civil Religion*, 6.

model, is "eminently serviceable for the historian."[66] Despite some scholastic misgivings and analytical issues, civil religion represents an invaluable lens through which to view the interplay of the secular and the religious, the social and the psychological.

In order to provide a degree of clarity and specificity in this study civil religion is conceptualized as an ideology or a set of beliefs primarily developed and disseminated during public civic events such as festivals, celebrations, commemorations, and the like. From the earliest years of the American Republic, national holidays such as Washington's Birthday and Independence Day, along with sporadic thanksgiving and fast days, greatly aided in the process of building, indeed creating, a national identity and culture.[67] Historian Len Travers argues patriotic performances or aesthetic displays, oftentimes staged at historically significant moments, possess the power "to plant, nurture, and promulgate the myths that bind societies together: stories of cultural unity, or social continuity, of unchanging tradition, of shared belief."[68] The nation's ritual and festive practices, David Waldstreicher notes in his study of American nationalism during the years of the Early Republic, not only encouraged citizens to think nationally while acting locally, but they also produced precisely what, at the very same moment, they attempted to promote; that is, the nation and the beliefs or values that formed what eighteenth and nineteenth century travel writers referred to as the "national character."[69] The

---

[66] John F. Wilson, "A Historian's Approach to Civil Religion," in *American Civil Religion*, eds. Russell E. Richey and Donald G. Jones (New York: Harper & Row, 1974), 9, 130, 133.
[67] David Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes: The Making of American Nationalism, 1776-1820* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 2-3, 6-7, 141, 145, 148, 152, 246; Simon P. Newman, *Parades and the Politics of the Street: Festive Culture in the Early American Republic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 2-3, 4, 6, 44-47, 52, 57-59, 64, 68, 73, 83, 85-87, 90-91, 95, 117, 186-87, 190; William Pencak, "Introduction: A Historical Perspective," *in Riot and Revelry in Early America*, eds. William Pencak, Matthew Dennis, and Simon P. Newman (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002), 11, 14; Len Travers, "The Paradox of 'Nationalist' Festivals: The Case of Palmetto Day in Antebellum Charleston," in *Riot and Revelry in Early America*, eds. William Pencak, Matthew Dennis, and Simon P. Newman (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002), 274-75, 291; and Blair, *Cities of the Dead*, 12.
[68] Travers, "The Paradox of 'Nationalist' Festivals," 275-76.
[69] Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes*, 6-7, 141, 246.

ideologies associated with civil religion represented a central facet of an emerging American identity or character. In addition to providing "an annual ritual calendar for the civil religion," Bellah maintains civic celebrations like the ones previously mentioned acted to "integrate the local community into the national cult."[70] Along with major national holidays, there existed a panoply of local civic events that likewise helped further spread and entrench the central ideas of the civil religion within the American consciousness. More modest events like the dedication of buildings or grounds as well as larger localized celebrations like Charleston's Palmetto Day all acted, at least to some degree, as "structuring rituals" meant to reinforce citizens' membership in communities and to promote an adherence to, or a reaffirmation of, national values and ideals.[71] Lastly, supplementing all the local and national fêtes, commemorations surrounding significant military events also provided a platform for the inculcation of civil religion. While many citizens might find the intricacies of war confusing, major military developments, such as the inauguration and cessation of hostilities or significant victories, excited Americans, easily captured their collective attention, and spawned festive events.[72] These occasions provided secular and religious leaders with yet more opportunities to orchestrate cultural performances, to fashion an ideological consensus, and, then, to promulgate it to scores of citizens.[73]

---

[70] Bellah, "Civil Religion in America," 5-6, 12-13.
[71] Travers, "The Paradox of 'Nationalist' Festivals," 273-74, 276-79, 280-86, 290-91.
[72] Pencak, "Introduction," 11 and Newman, *Parades and the Politics of the Street*, 1-2, 120, 122, 130-31, 136, 140-41, 149-50.
[73] It is important to acknowledge that perhaps as important as the civic event itself was its reporting and publication in newspapers. Historian Simon Newman argues that while it is true many Americans were taking part in or watching festivities unfold, "even more were reading about them in local or more distant newspapers." There existed a symbiotic relationship between the early national press and a developing festive culture and the spread of information through newspapers, Newman contends, "made possible the emergence of a common national language of ritual activity." David Waldstreicher further reinforces the centrality of newspapers in the emergence of an American festive culture, indeed in the growth of American nationalism more generally, as he contends those taking part in celebrations took their cues from printed sources and oftentimes "improvised upon events they read about and then publicized their own interventions in public life." By the dawn of the nineteenth century, therefore, participants in public festivals possessed an acute awareness that word of their activities had the potential of traveling far beyond the borders of their own communities. The end result of all the coverage and reporting, Newman asserts, is that a national culture was created "simultaneously on the streets in the actions of ordinary

Although it is argued that civil religion is primarily constructed and circulated during civic events and, to an ancillary degree, in midst or aftermath of military conflicts, this examination likewise contends that over time, as civic festivities increased in frequency, the phenomena of civil religion effectively qualified as a discourse. In referring to and describing civil religion as a discourse, this analysis borrows heavily from the work of Edward W. Said. Building off of, and subsequently diverging from, ideas first put forward by famed French philosopher Michel Foucault, Said argued a discourse is essentially a body of knowledge, accumulated primarily through texts, regarding a given topic. With the passage of time, Said maintained, certain texts or ideas are given primacy and accrue authority as a result of governments, institutions, and influential persons attributing legitimacy to them through reproduction and dissemination. What develops then, is a system of knowledge, a certain way of understanding, which not only shapes *how* people think about a given topic, but also influences *who* they rely on for certain information. Perhaps most interestingly, Said claimed discourses not only possessed the power to produce and propagate knowledge, but they can also manufacture "the very reality they appear to describe."[74] Civil religion, much like Said's Orientalism, created a framework of understanding and provided Americans with a common vocabulary or, what Said referred to as, a "conceptual repertoire."[75] Many believed the foundational elements of the discourse precisely because civil and religious leaders, along with the institutions they

---

Americans, and on the pages of the newspapers that reported them." Lastly, in his own study of the emergence of nationalism, Benedict Anderson likewise argues for the primacy of print, especially newspapers, in developing nationalist cultures. Anderson asserts the rise of a phenomenon known as "print capitalism" enabled some, for the first time, to comprehend the world in a different way and to "'think' the nation." The logic of capitalism, from Anderson's perspective, precipitated the vernacularization of language in print and thus "contributed directly to the rise of national consciousness." Newman*, Parades and the Politics of the Street*, 3, 187-88; Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes*, 10-12, 34, 68-69. 82, 109-10, 138-40, 196, 227-29, 268-69, 275-78, 287-88; and Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983), 22, 33-36, 38-39, 42-46.

[74] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978), 3, 94.

[75] Ibid, 121.

controlled, invested such ideas with legitimacy and authority. Working principally through print, elected officials and ecclesiastics alike refined and perpetuated a body of knowledge concerning the relationship between Providence and the American nation. Over time, the discourse of civil religion grew increasingly more intricate, pervasive, and difficult to dismiss. Since it is maintained that civil religion developed into a discourse, this study incorporates newspaper articles, songs, poetry, and other printed material that, either explicitly or implicitly, incorporated and espoused central beliefs associated with the aforementioned cultural and ideological phenomenon. Just as articles appearing in European magazines or newspapers characterizing the Orient as exotic reinforced Orientalist outlooks, so too could editorials and odes, regardless of when they were printed in the pages of the popular press, buttress and augment civil religion as a system of knowledge.

In addition to clearly defining key concepts and outlining analytical boundaries, it is also critical to delineate the geographic scope of the following examination. This study takes as its focus the South Carolina Lowcountry, a region stretching from the coastal parishes demarcated by their heavy rainfall and fertile swamplands through, and including, the midland districts abutting the state's fall line and characterized by their sandy, relatively infertile and unproductive soil.[76] In geological terms, the Lowcountry is defined by the coastal plain that covers roughly two-thirds of South Carolina and represents the state's largest geographic region.[77] The other major region located within the Palmetto State, known as the Piedmont or the Upcountry, is the thirteen-district area hemmed in by the Blue Ridge mountains to the northwest, the state's border

[76] Lacy K. Ford, Jr., *Origins of Southern Radicalism: The South Carolina Upcountry, 1800-1860* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), viii-ix, 281; Stephanie McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds: Yeoman Households, Gender Relations, & the Political Culture of the Antebellum South Carolina Low Country* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 23, 30-31; Walter Edgar, *South Carolina: A History* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1998), 4-7; and Poole, *Never Surrender*, 6.
[77] McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds*, 30 and Edgar, *South Carolina*, 6.

with North Carolina to the north, the Savannah River to the southwest, and the fall line to the east.[78] A region of rolling hills, longleaf pines, and red clay that, in the nineteenth century, lay beneath ten to twelve inches of rich alluvial topsoil, the Upcountry likewise presented a diverse topographical landscape.[79] Unlike the Upcountry, which was largely settled from the North beginning in the mid-eighteenth century and did not come of age until the cotton-boom of the nineteenth century, the Lowcountry was peopled from the coast inland beginning in the late seventeenth century and had within nearly a century developed a mature plantation economy with a clear black majority.[80] By the early years of the nineteenth century, a third region, known as the Middle Country, emerged between the coastal parishes and the fall line and began to distinguish itself from both the Upcountry and the Lowcountry.[81] The accompanying analysis considers the Middle Country as part of the Lowcountry proper because, as historian Stephanie McCurry argues, by the early years of the antebellum era, the spread and entrenchment of slavery within this region drew it inexorably closer demographically, economically, and politically with the coastal parishes.[82] As a result of these developments, the state's fall line subsequently emerged as the primary sectional boundary separating the Lowcountry from the younger and, according to Scott Poole, more boisterous Upcountry.[83]

Finally, an effective analysis not only defines its terms and sets its parameters, but it also explicitly discusses what lies outside of its analytical scope. It is critical, therefore, to note that this analysis will focus primarily on South Carolina's white population. It is true, as countless

[78] Ford, *Origins of Southern Radicalism*, viii-ix; McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds*, 30; and Poole, *Never Surrender*, 6.
[79] McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds*, 23-24, 30; Edgar, *South Carolina*, 7-8; and Poole, *Never Surrender*, 6.
[80] Ford, *Origins of Southern Radicalism*, 281; McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds*, 31, 45; and Poole, *Never Surrender*, 6-9.
[81] McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds*, 31 and Edgar, *South Carolina*, 288-89.
[82] McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds*, 31, 45-47, 242-45.
[83] Poole, *Never Surrender*, 6.

historians of the subject claim, that the Lost Cause was predicated on upholding social and cultural values established in the antebellum South, especially the preservation of a hierarchal order based on race.[84] Though race became central to the elaboration of the Lost Cause from the late 1870s onwards, this work contends it remained a relatively tangential element during the first decade or so after defeat, because, as Caroline Janney posits, many of those individuals or groups responsible for developing and propagating ideologies associated with the Lost Cause, such as LMAs, were "not predominantly concerned with race."[85] In the immediate aftermath of Appomattox, white southerners found themselves preoccupied with overcoming the trauma of their recent defeat, explaining the underlying causes of secession, and addressing the catastrophic loss of human life. While the Lost Cause certainly addressed the perceived threats posed by African American emancipation and enfranchisement, the central thrust of this cultural phenomenon attempted to heal wounds within the white southern community while simultaneously constructing an ideological bulwark to defend against white northern condemnations and denunciations.[86] White southerners, therefore, proved the principle formulators of and audience for the Lost Cause, and although black southerners shared a cultural landscape with their white counterparts, they had no stake, as Karen Cox asserts, in celebrating or memorializing the Confederacy.[87] Southern blacks, moreover, viewed the Lost Cause as

---

[84] Andrew P. Davis, "Temporal Defeat, Divine Victory: The Origins of the Religion of the Lost Cause, 1860-1870." Master's Thesis, The College of Charleston and The Citadel: The Military College of South Carolina, 2012, pg.6. Also see; Wilson, *Baptized in Blood*, 100-01, 109, 111, 118; Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy*, 20, 142, 194; Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 14, 38, 44, 91, 162; Janney, *Burying the Dead*, 74; Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 259, 266, 276, 282; and Poole, *Never Surrender*, 53, 62.

[85] Historian Charles Reagan Wilson, in a detailed examination of the religion of the Lost Cause, argues, "race was intimately related to the story of the Lost Cause but it was not the basis of it, was not at the center of it." See: Wilson, *Baptized in Blood*, 12 and Janney, *Burying the Dead*, 13. For a similar argument, see also; Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy,* 194.

[86] See: James C. Cobb, *Away Down South: A History of Southern Identity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 61-64; Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy*, 5; Connelly and Bellows, *God and General Longstreet*, 5-6; and Blight, *Race and Reunion,* 259, 261-62.

[87] Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 49.

dubious at best and destructive at worst, and thus they concentrated their efforts on destroying or dismantling the conceptual foundation upon which it stood. This study, then, does examine the actions and activities of African Americans within the Palmetto State, but only insomuch as they helped shape the contours of the Lost Cause movement and provided the context within which white southerners of the postwar period formed their ideological outlooks and attitudes.

In the end, the following study hopes to make several distinct, though interconnected, contributions to scholarship concerning the Lost Cause. Firstly, this analysis attempts to shift the geographic focus from Virginia to South Carolina. The state that birthed secession, South Carolina felt the hard hand of war from the conflict's outset and, like many others, it continued to elicit the wrath of the Federal Government long after the guns fell silent.[88] As one of few states that possessed a black majority, however, South Carolina's population, both black and white, faced a unique set of circumstances as they attempted to navigate a perilous postwar world. Historian Kate Côté Gillin argues that although South Carolina shared many economic and social conditions with other southern states, the Palmetto State "set itself apart both before and after defeat."[89] Along with endemic racial antipathy and economic ruin, South Carolina felt defeat in acute ways because the state lost, at minimum, 23 percent, or roughly thirteen thousand, of its young men during the war, more than any other state in the Confederacy.[90] Although

[88] Federal officials, politicians, and soldiers routinely credit South Carolina with starting the war, often referring to the state as the "seedbed" or "hellhole of secession" and thus possessed no qualms in exacting retribution for perceived transgressions. See: Harry S. Stout, *Upon the Altar of the Nation: A Moral History of the Civil War* (New York: Penguin Books, 2006), 415 and McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom,* 826.

[89] Kate Côté Gillin, *Shrill Hurrahs: Women, Gender, and Racial Violence in South Carolina, 1865-1900* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2013), 2.

[90] Scott Poole, largely echoing statistics put forward by Walter Edgar, argues the causality rates proved much higher, as he estimates South Carolina lost roughly 30 to 35 percent, or somewhere between 18,500 and 21,100, of its men during the conflict. In reality, the actual number of deaths lies somewhere in between the estimates provided by Gillin on the one hand and Poole and Edgar on the other. Whichever estimate one agrees with is somewhat irrelevant because both figures illustrate how the Palmetto State's sacrifices during the war proved extraordinary and, in many ways, unparalleled. Poole, *Never Surrender,* 50; Gillian, *Shrill Hurrahs*, 2; Edgar, *South Carolina,* 375; and Jack Bass and W. Scott Poole, *The Palmetto State: The Making of Modern South Carolina* (Columbia: The University of South Carolina Press, 2009), 44.

Virginia, as previously noted, certainly constituted the military and administrative center of the Confederacy, South Carolina was the nation's birthplace and thus the Palmetto State represented the symbolic, indeed sentimental, nucleus of the late southern polity.

In addition to pulling the analytical gaze further south, this examination attempts to address a major geographic lacuna existing within the historiography of the Lost Cause. To date, there exists no full-length study of the emergence and development of the Lost Cause in the South Carolina Lowcountry. Although Scott Poole's *Never Surrender* provided one of the first analyses of the Lost Cause that centered on the Palmetto State, his work concentrated solely on the northwestern districts that comprised what is known as the Upcountry. While Poole does a great deal to help better our understanding of how South Carolina's white population manipulated the language of the Lost Cause to facilitate the rise of a conservative regime in the early postwar period, he neither attempts to fit the South Carolina Upcountry within the rest of the state nor seeks to describe how aesthetic representations and performances changed form or function in the Lowcountry. Though the Upcountry did indeed represent the conservative epicenter of the state, mainly due to the extreme violence perpetrated by various paramilitary organizations during Reconstruction, this region was hardly alone in celebrating and lauding its Confederate past.[91] Incorporating the Lowcountry, and thus South Carolina, more fully into

[91] In a recent examination of the origins and actions of the Ku Klux Klan during Reconstruction, historian Elaine Frantz Parsons argues the South Carolina Upcountry represented a region where the Klan's presence proved highly notable. Further, though Klan activity waned in the region throughout 1869 and 70, the Upcountry is one of the few areas that experienced a "surge" in violence from late 1870 through mid-1871. To further the point, Parsons asserts that while most Klan violence proved sporadic and showed little evidence of planning or organization, Klan activities in the South Carolina Upcountry represented large-scale, orchestrated attacks that "required substantial advanced planning." Richard Zuczek also illustrates the central importance of paramilitary groups in ousting Republican rule and reestablishing a society based on white supremacy. Zuczek not only discusses the role of the Klan, arguing their activities in the first half of 1871 marked "the most violent period in South Carolina since General William T. Sherman had burned a path across the state," but he shows how Gun or Rifle Clubs, along with Hampton's Red Shirts, also represent paramilitary warriors seeking the redemption of the state. See: Elaine Frantz Parsons, *Ku Klux: The Birth of the Klan during Reconstruction* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 7-8; Richard Zuczek, *State of Rebellion,* 88, 106, 138-39, 209. Also see; Poole, *Never Surrender*, 109-11 and Gillin, *Shrill Hurrahs*, 52-79.

existing narratives is essential because it allows for a more nuanced examination of the Lost Cause while simultaneously illustrating how cultural forces proved more malleable than fixed. A closer examination of the Lost Cause in the South Carolina Lowcountry will, moreover, also demonstrate that before national organizations such as the United Confederate Veterans (UCV) and the UDC codified Lost Cause beliefs through the placement of monuments and the publication of textbooks, essentially creating a national Lost Cause, there existed Lost Causes that changed form and function to meet diverse, sometimes divergent, localized needs.

Lastly, but equally as important, the following analysis also hopes to emend current chronological assumptions or trends that remain rife within and largely define scholarship concerning the origins, evolution, and influence of the Lost Cause. If the Lost Cause is, as Charles Reagan Wilson argues, a "mythic construct" that helped white southerners define a divergent cultural identity in relation to their northern counterparts after Appomattox, then it is critical to understand that this construct did not emerge ex nihilo in the wake of the Confederacy's demise and then slowly rise to prominence over the course of the ensuing decades.[92] For far too long historians and other scholars have focused principally on the latter years of nineteenth century, specifically the 1880s and 1890s, while downplaying the initial postwar period and largely eschewing discussions of the antebellum antecedents and the wartime contexts that laid the foundation for the Lost Cause's meteoric rise by the dawn of the twentieth century. Current chronological approaches are inherently based, as Fitzhugh Brundage points out in his own work on the intersection of race and memory formation, upon the presumption that the Confederacy represented the crucible or crux of southern identity.[93] In tracing the trajectory of the civil religion that lay at the heart of the Lost Cause, this work illustrates how, long before

[92] Wilson, *Baptized in Blood*, viiii-x. Also see; Janney, *Remembering the Civil War*, 10, 136, 153.
[93] Brundage, *The Southern Past*, 2.

the establishment of their own independent polity, white southerners took control of their past as they appropriated and refined a myriad of traditions and myths existing within American culture in an effort to forge their own separate sense of self while simultaneously buttressing prevailing structures of power and creating the illusion of social consensus.[94] The founding of the Confederacy and the experience of civil war thus did not create something entirely new so much as it wove new motifs into preexisting patterns and helped white southerners, in the words of Michael Kammen, justify, periodize, and eventually filter myths and memories.[95] Conceptualizing the Civil War not as a point of genesis, but as simply another phase of ideological and rhetorical development, therefore, helps highlight the immense degree of continuity existing between processes predating the conflict and those emerging afterwards. When the Lost Cause is viewed as yet another point or stage on a decades-long ideological continuum, it not only becomes clear that this cultural phenomenon was hardly nascent in nature during the immediate postwar period, but it is also apparent that the Lost Cause reached its ideological and rhetorical apogee, and subsequently exerted an immense amount of influence, long before the persistent placement of Confederate monuments in town squares forever altered the topography of the American South.

[94] Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1991), 4-7, 10 and Brundage, *The Southern Past*, 3.
[95] Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory*, 13.

CHAPTER ONE
Through the Furnace of Purification: From an American to a Confederate Civil Religion

On Wednesday, November 21, 1860, Reverend William O. Prentiss delivered a sermon to a congregation assembled at St. Peter's Church in Charleston to observe a public day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer appointed by the South Carolina State Legislature. Roughly two weeks prior, the news of Abraham Lincoln's election to the Presidency of the United States created a mood, in the words of the *Charleston Mercury*, of "intense though quiet excitement" throughout the city as Carolinians contemplated the possibility of secession.[96] Prentiss, as well as his audience, understood the ominous yet sanguine nature of the crisis in which they found themselves enveloped. At the beginning of the discourse, Prentiss argued that while one nation faced destruction and decay, he could see another, an even greater nation "rising Phoenix-like from its ashes." Furthering this imagery of death juxtaposed with rebirth, Prentiss urged his listeners to acknowledge the truly remarkable times in which they lived, for rarely in the history

[96] On the eve of secession, the *Charleston Mercury* represented South Carolina's most radical newspaper. Initially a mouthpiece of John C. Calhoun, the *Mercury* eventually came under the control of Robert Barnwell Rhett when his son bought out William R. Taber in 1857 and jointly edited the publication with John Heart. Though the elder Rhett's influence over the *Mercury* went back to the late 1830s and early 1840s, as the paper was edited by his brother-in-law John A. Stuart, it was not until his son took possession of the publication that the paper ostensibly became an organ of Rhett's fire-eating agenda. An avid secessionist, Rhett used the *Mercury* as a vehicle to advocate for southern independence and his paper grew so influential that historian Stephanie McCurry argues the publication represented Charleston's leading daily newspaper. See; Eric H. Walther, *The Fire-Eaters* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992), 48, 74, 127-28, 148; Charles B. Dew, *Apostles of Disunion: Southern Secession Commissioners and the Causes of the Civil War* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2001), 25, 37-38; Stephanie McCurry, *Confederate Reckoning: Power and Politics in the Civil War South* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2010), 40; and *The Charleston Mercury*, "The News of Lincoln's Election," November 8, 1860.

of nations could a people stand "between the hearse and the cradle," simultaneously touching "the shroud of the swaddling bands of national death and national infancy."[97]

At the foundation of Prentiss's sermon lay one central question, the answer to which would frame the entirety of his discourse; "Was the Confederacy of the North American States," Prentiss posited, "merely a means to an end, simply designed by God, to protect from foreign invasion in its infancy, the institution which his wisdom hath chosen, as the means of civilizing one continent, of converting his elect there, and of benefiting through them, the universal race of Adam?" Not only did African slavery represent an institution divinely sanctioned, but, from Prentiss's perspective, God had bestowed upon the United States the task of protecting and perpetuating slavery as a means to enrich all of mankind. A growing "fanaticism" emanating from the North, however, threatened to undermine God's will and the nation's transcendental purpose. In their efforts to abolish the institution of slavery, Prentiss insisted his northern adversaries acted in defiance of "the commandments of God, the acts of his Son, and the teachings of that Son's apostles."[98] It was this arrogant usurpation of providential designs and instructions, Prentiss lamented, which lay at the heart of the United States current downfall. Where the United States failed, however, Carolinians would succeed by risking their lives and their honor to ensure the perpetuation of God's will on earth.

In closing the sermon, Prentiss urged his audience to approach the current crisis with courage and confidence as they addressed themselves to "that heaven-appointed work" which lay ahead. Though war and civil strife loomed large on the horizon, Prentiss assured the congregation that "religion is too much concerned in this enterprize not to lend you her aid, and

[97] William O. Prentiss, "A Sermon Preached at St. Peter's Church, Charleston*"* (Charleston: Evans and Cogswell, 1860), 3.
[98] Prentiss, "A Sermon," 4. 8.

she will shed over your warfare her selectest influence." In executing the decrees of God, the people of South Carolina would reap both temporal and transcendental rewards. Not only would other nations exalt and praise their actions, but by striking the first blow to apostasy, Prentiss guaranteed his listeners that the name Carolinian would become "more famous than ever was that of Roman."[99]

Prentiss's sermon offers invaluable insight into a society in flux, a people at once tearing apart and creating new national bonds. For Prentiss, northern fanaticism and agitation regarding the institution of slavery represented a disease or "moral cancer" that needed to be isolated and excised, lest the corruption spread and destroy the American people as a whole. Aside from elucidating the practical need for secession and southern independence, Prentiss also attempted to lay a theological foundation upon which an emerging southern polity could stand.[100] In addressing the problems of the present, however, Prentiss relied upon images and ideologies developed in the American past. Depicting the nation and its people as unique and possessing a special mandate from God, in this case the protection of the institution of racial slavery, Prentiss invoked key components of an American civil religion his listeners would find both familiar and comprehensible. Historian Mitchel Snay, in a study exploring the relationship between religion and what he called southern "separatism," argued northern and southern clergymen, trained to think of the sectional conflict in providential terms, preached "to an audience steeped in Protestantism, and eager to decode the religious significance of public events."[101] As his fellow Carolinians contemplated severing the old and forging the new, Prentiss's sermon attempted to provide a sense of relief to a people in political and spiritual turmoil. After listening to Prentiss's

[99] Prentiss, "A Sermon," 19-20.
[100] Ibid, 3, 10.
[101] Mitchel Snay, *Gospel of Disunion: Religion and Separatism in the Antebellum South* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 5, 186.

sermon, the audience could rest assured that the nation's divine destiny remained intact, only the means through which to achieve those higher ends had changed.

The ideological and theological foundations of the Lost Cause are found in an American civil religion developed from the late eighteenth through the middle of the nineteenth centuries.[102] When white southerners pondered secession and attempted to mobilize popular support, they did so, in part, by using the language of an American civil religion that proved both pervasive and powerful. In the latter three decades of the antebellum era, ministers and elected officials alike effectively "sectionalized" the American civil religion, placing proslavery ideologies at its core, in an effort to advance regional, as well as nationalist, interests.[103] The act of secession, therefore, represented the culmination of roughly thirty years of work by a

[102] Although arguing central facets of the Lost Cause originated in the antebellum era, Charles Reagan Wilson contends the civil religion that lies at the heart this cultural phenomenon did not develop until after Appomattox, as white southerners attempted to come to terms with defeat and began the arduous process of self-reflection. While Wilson acknowledges there exists a connection between the southern civil religion and a broader American civil religion born during the Revolution, he largely avoids any discussion of the exact nature of that relationship. Wilson, instead, only provides a truncated analysis wherein he claims an American civil religion was "reborn," with new themes such as sacrifice and renewal, during the Civil War. George C. Rable, in his religious history of the Civil War, largely follows in Wilson's chronological footsteps. By late spring 1861, Rable argues, Confederates had developed their own civil religion that proved more derivative than innovative in nature. Since Rable believes religious leaders and ideas did not drive the sectional conflict or the debates surrounding secession, he views the establishment of an independent nation and the inauguration of war as precipitating the emergence of a distinctive southern, or Confederate, civil religion. Mitchel Snay, pushing the timeline of development back incrementally, contends the process of "sectionalization" began only in the wake of Lincoln's election as clergymen increasingly relied upon religious ideologies to justify secession and to beatify an emerging southern nation. The Election of 1860, however, represents less a point of genesis and more a final stage in the maturation of a southern civil religion. Secular and religious leaders proved so successful at rallying support for secession and employing the discourse of civil religion precisely because they were not creating a doctrine *de novo*, but, rather, building upon preexisting ideological and rhetorical devices. See; Wilson, *Baptized in Blood,* 1-3, 8-9, 11, 13; George C. Rable, *God's Almost Chosen Peoples: A Religious History of the Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 3, 6-7, 21, 25, 35, 49, 62; and Snay, *Gospel of Disunion*, 151-52, 181, 192-93.

[103] Proslavery ideologies first appeared in Virginia in the late seventeenth century and soon grew increasingly more elaborate and intricate as time progressed. Proponents of proslavery not only characterized the institution as divinely ordained and benevolent in nature, but they also steadfastly asserted that racial slavery produced a myriad of positive benefits for all of those involved. By the early 1820s, the epicenter of southern power had shifted from the Tidewater and Piedmont regions of Virginia to the South Carolina Lowcountry. Along with exerting an enormous amount of economic and political influence, the Palmetto State also wielded a considerable degree of ideological authority as well. Charles Reagan Wilson goes so far as to claim that South Carolina displaced Virginia as the leader in articulating the proslavery argument. Wilson, *Baptized in Blood*, 3-4 and Charles F. Irons, *The Origins of Proslavery Christianity: White and Black Evangelicals in Colonial and Antebellum Virginia* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 10, 12, 14, 29, 43, 86-90, 190, 215-16, 219-20.

multitude of religious and secular leaders throughout the American South. By claiming the American civil religion as their own, albeit with a more sectional air, southern citizens imbued their nascent Confederate nation with both temporal and spiritual significance while simultaneously fitting their actions within an historical and religious framework. The southern civil religion represented what Michael Angrosino calls a "cultural religion," wherein a society creates a common set of symbols, values, and ideals that foster a sense of unity and allows for a degree of "cooperation, integration, and solidarity" previously unknown.[104] Not only did civil religion help forge an imagined community amidst the fires of sectionalism and secession, but it also aided in the process of building an ideological, rhetorical, and cultural consensus that many leaders deemed integral to the successful founding and development of a southern republic.[105]

This chapter explores South Carolina's prominence in the development, articulation, and utilization of a divergent civil religion. Examining South Carolina affords one the unique opportunity to attain a better understanding of both the process of creating a distinct southern civil religion, as well as its practical application. In terms of process, the Palmetto State offers a rare glimpse into the development of sectionalism and sectarianism from their earliest emergence.[106] By the middle of the 1830s, clergymen in South Carolina represented a sort of

---

[104] Michael Angrosino, "Civil Religion Redux," in *Anthropological Quarterly*, Vol. 75, No. 2 (Spring 2002), 246-47.

[105] The term "imagined community" is borrowed from Benedict Anderson's astute study on what he calls the "anomaly" of nationalism. Anderson argues the concept of nationality and nation-ness, created in their "modern" forms around the late eighteenth century, represent "cultural artefacts of a particular kind." Building upon but not entirely replacing two antecedent cultural systems, mainly the dynastic realm and the religious community, Anderson contends would be nationalists began, largely for the first time, developing the idea of a nation as both intrinsically limited and inherently sovereign. See; Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 4-7, 11-21.

[106] Sectionalism is defined as a loyalty to a set of values or interests commonly associated with a specific geographic region. The term sectionalism, however, oftentimes focuses on the social, political, or economic, while largely excluding, or ignoring, the religious. Sectarianism, defined as the deployment of religious heritage as a central marker of political identity or political difference, is used throughout this study to highlight how loyalty to region or party also encompassed a religious component. Although the terms sectionalism and sectarianism are incorporated throughout the rest of this study, the author will most often use Mitchell Snay's term, separatism. This term is utilized because it best encompasses the concepts of sectionalism and sectarianism. Southerners not only saw themselves as geographically, culturally, and socially distinct, but they also viewed themselves as spiritually

ideological vanguard because they had already effectively fused religion and sectional politics, focused on the safeguarding of racial slavery, and thus taken the first, indeed earliest, steps towards creating a divergent civil religion and fostering the idea of a separate southern nation. Inaugurating the process of secession, South Carolina is also the first place where white southerners actively applied the rhetoric and ideas developed throughout the latter decades of the antebellum era to achieve separatist ends.

Although there exist considerable differences amongst scholars as to the sources and manifestations of civil religion in America, there is widespread agreement that an American civil religion emerged during the colonial struggle for independence and the early establishment of the American Republic.[107] Not only did the revolutionary era provide the American people with new political structures, but it also created a shared set of beliefs, ideals, central figures, rituals, and symbols. No figure suffused American iconography or mythology as much as George Washington. Universally loved and admired, Washington represented a totemic figure or a "secular saint" around which people could quickly and safely unify.[108] Showing how large Washington loomed in the national consciousness, Governor Robert Francis Withers Allston, in

---

separate as well. Writing over two decades beforehand, David Potter, one of the foremost historians of the United States during the tumultuous years of the antebellum era, provided a largely contradictory evaluation as to the origins and nature of sectionalism. Examining the rapid rise of, and the subsequent escalation of internal stresses upon, American nationalism from the conclusion of the Mexican-American War through the beginning of the Civil War, Potter argues antagonism emanating from the North, more so than a sense of cultural separateness, gave birth to southern nationalism. Although cultural dissimilarities between North and South certainly gave rise to a degree of southern separatism, this sense of separateness anchored in regional heritage did not ultimately translate into the advocacy of a nationalist agenda. Southerners were united, according to Potter, not by culture, but by "a sense of terrible danger." "Southern nationalism," Potter continues, "was born of resentment and not of a sense of separate cultural identity." See; Snay, *Gospel of Disunion,* 5-6; Ussama Makdesi, *The Culture of Sectarianism: Community, History, and Violence in Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Lebanon* (Berkley: University of California Press, 2000), 2, 6-7; and David M. Potter, *The Impeding Crisis: America Before the Civil War, 1848-1861* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1976), 448-84.

[107] Bellah, "Civil Religion in America," 7-11; Bellah, *Broken Covenant*, 1; Mead, "The 'Nation with the Soul of a Church,'" 53-56; Snay, *Gospel of Disunion,* 186; and Wilson, *Baptized in Blood,* 12.

[108] Angrosino, "Civil Religion Redux," 250; Historian Paul Quigley furthers Angrosino's characterization of Washington as a "secular saint," for he argues, "As Jesus Christ is the central figure of Christianity, George Washington was the central figure of antebellum American nationalism." See; Quigley, *Shifting Grounds,* 39. Also see; Potter, *Impending Crisis*, 13.

a speech to the South Carolina Senate and House of Representatives in late November 1857, recommended that the state order a bronze statue of George Washington so it could then reside in a place of honor within the new state capitol in Columbia. "It is a boon to mankind," Allston argued, "when the good God permits sometimes the wisdom of love, associated with faith and hope, to be embodied in a human form, whose favor we may look upon and admire."[109] Though the people's debt of gratitude to the beloved founding father could never be fully repaid, Allston believed the state needed a visible token " [to] which the young may be pointed…to study the character of Washington."[110] Not only did citizens revere Washington as a man, but, much like Christ, Americans viewed Washington as an example others should aspire to replicate.

The American civil religion developed during the final decades of the eighteenth century grew increasingly more elaborate and pervasive within the national psyche over the course of the next half century. The source of this unprecedented ascension can be traced to two separate, though mutually reinforcing, phenomena. The first phenomenon was a series of religious revivals, collectively known as the Second Great Awakening, which spread rapidly throughout the nascent republic. Though revivalism touched the entire nation, the American South felt the impact of religious enthusiasm especially acutely. Initially viewed with skepticism and hostility, Protestant evangelicalism quickly found theological and institutional footing within the region and evolved, by the middle decades of the nineteenth century, into what Donald G. Matthews called "the predominant religious mood of the South."[111] Religion, therefore, formed the very foundation upon which antebellum southern society and culture stood. Not only did

[109] Message No. 1 of His Excellency R.F.W. Allston, Governor of South Carolina, to the Senate and House of Representatives, at the Session of 1857 (Columbia, S.C.: R.W. Gibbes, State Printer, 1857), 15.
[110] Message of R.F.W. Allston, 15.
[111] Charles Reagan Wilson furthers Matthews's assertion, as he claims that by 1830 "an evangelical unity had settled upon the South." Donald G. Mathews, *Religion in the Old South* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1977), xiii, 53, 58, 89; Wilson, *Baptized in Blood*, 2; and Heyrman, *Southern Cross*, 9, 17, 25, 141, 155, 217.

evangelicalism provide order and meaning to the lives of "all but a few Southern men and women, black as well as white," but it also served a public function in sanctioning racial and gendered hierarchies.[112] Antebellum southerners, much like their northern counterparts, were thus primed, more so than ever before, to view the hand of Providence actively engaged in temporal affairs.

In South Carolina, the first traces of revivalism appeared in the Upcountry in 1802 and religious enthusiasm within the region proved so strong that it would not abate for nearly a decade.[113] Much like a tributary flowing towards the ocean, revivalism spread from the Upcountry to the coast by 1803, where the tireless work of Reverend Joseph Clay in Beaufort gave evangelicalism a sustained foothold within the Carolina Lowcountry.[114] Roughly a decade after Clay introduced revivalism to Beaufort, a group of men, self-described as "professors of the glorious Gospel of God our Savior," formed the Religious Tract Society of Charleston in 1815 for the expressed purpose of sending "the 'glad news of salvation' to those, whose situation may in any manner, deprive them of the ordinary means of grace."[115] The Society focused their efforts on the distribution of short, plain tracts to spread their messages precisely because they "neither weary the attention; nor load the memory…they neither perplex the judgment, nor embarrass the understanding, while the fires of evangelical truth which they carry with them, penetrate, warm, and invigorate the heart."[116] Interestingly, the Society represented a conglomeration of various "denominations of christians" that proved anxious to spread the

[112] Snay, *Gospel of Disunion*, 3, 79, 109, 215-16; Mathews, *Religion in the Old South*, 113, 115, 121, 168, 177; and Heyrman, *Southern Cross,* 223.
[113] Historians Stephanie McCurry and Lacy K. Ford Jr. both argue revivalism within the Palmetto State can be traced to a camp meeting held in Lancaster County that drew anywhere from 3,000 to 3,500 Carolinians. See; McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds,* 148; Ford, *Origins of Southern Radicalism*, 19-20, 25-27; and Poole, *Never Surrender,* 38.
[114] McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds*, 148.
[115] Religious Tract Society, *The Constitution of the Religious Tract Society of Charleston, South Carolina: Accompanied by a Circular Address* (Charleston, S.C.: Printed for the Society by J. Hoff, 1815), 3.
[116] Religious Tract Society, *Constitution,* 3, 6.

Gospel in an attempt to promote morality within society, both at the national and local levels. Although the Society asserted it was not formed "with the contracted, selfish design of converting to the standard or a particular sect…the poor, and the ignorant of the land," it is clear the various denominations that composed the core membership of the organization belonged to self-described "reformed," read evangelical, churches who believed in the importance of "the necessity of a change of heart, and of divine influences to produce it."[117] The very formation of the Religious Tract Society demonstrates how evangelicalism made significant inroads into Lowcountry life and culture relatively early in the nineteenth century. While great strides were made in spreading the Gospel, however, members of the Society acknowledged that ignorance and apostasy of religious truth prevailed "in different sections of our country, and in particular departments of society."[118] The fact that various evangelical denominations needed to work in concert, instead of in competition, thus illustrates the difficulty many experienced in trying to sow evangelical seeds in seemingly barren fields.

The fires of evangelicalism, therefore, would be left smoldering in the early decades of the nineteenth century, as lowcountry planters and elites largely rejected what they believed represented an excessively emotional, socially marginal style of worship that contained, and to a certain extent promoted, egalitarian tendencies.[119] By the middle of the 1830s, however, evangelicalism no longer represented a peripheral facet of lowcountry society, but one of the most vital or dominant cultural forces. Historian Stephanie McCurry persuasively argues evangelicalism evolved into a truly popular religion as an intense period of revivalism occurred,

[117] Religious Tract Society, *Constitution*, 6.
[118] Ibid, 3, 7.
[119] McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds,* 135-137, 140-43, 146-47, 149-150. For works that examine the egalitarian nature of evangelicalism, see: Heyrman, *Southern Cross*; Mathews, *Religion in the Old South;* and Rhys Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia: 1740-1790* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1982).

not coincidentally, during the height of the Nullification Crisis from 1831 to 1833, when planters finally embraced or, more cynically, appropriated "the faith of plain folk, women, and slaves at the very moment that they faced the imperative of popular political mobilization."[120] This period of revivalism and political upheaval thus transformed the Lowcountry into an evangelical society, wherein a fusion of the sacred and the secular often made distinctions between religious and political culture difficult to discern.[121]

Secondly, the expansion of the nation's educational infrastructure likewise helped to perpetuate central tenets of the American civil religion. Following the conclusion of the Revolution in the late eighteenth century, Americans believed schools represented critically important institutions, as they would teach both current and future generations the privileges, along with the responsibilities, associated with citizenship. "Perhaps the most visible hand of the state in molding its citizens can be seen at work in the public schools," historian Don H. Doyle contends, "where young and impressionable citizens can be taught the unique virtues of being nationals."[122] Although the South largely lagged behind their northern counterparts in developing educational institutions, especially public primary facilities, leaders throughout the region continually advocated for the expansion of education as a means to improve the national character.[123] South Carolina possessed perhaps the most rudimentary educational infrastructure within the entire nation.[124] While military academies, seminary colleges, and other institutions of

[120] McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds*, 137, 157, 169.
[121] Ibid, 126-37, 156, 158.
[122] Don H. Doyle, *Nations Divided: America, Italy, and the Southern Question* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2002), 49.
[123] James Cobb, in an analysis of southern identity formation from the eighteenth through the twentieth centuries, notes that in 1860 roughly 35 percent of the South's white children were enrolled in school, compared with 72 percent of children outside of the region. See: James Cobb, *Away Down South: A History of Southern Identity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 51.
[124] Historian Drew Gilpin Faust, in a biography of James Henry Hammond, argues that at least through the 1830s South Carolina possessed no common schools and only the most privileged advanced even to the secondary-school level. Walter Edgar, in his own history of the Palmetto State, estimates that on the eve of secession only about half

higher learning expanded dramatically throughout the late antebellum era, planters within the state largely refused to levy taxes upon themselves to provide the children of their more humble neighbors with even the most basic of educations. The reluctance of Carolina's aristocrats, however, did not stop elected officials from attempting to expand scholastic opportunities because both they and their constituents believed the wealth and prosperity of the state, indeed the nation at large, depended on access to a quality education. In an address to the Legislature of South Carolina in late November 1853, Governor John Lawrence Manning argued it represented a commonly held belief that "education is the cheap defence of nations" and that a republic's very survival rested upon the "enlightenment of their citizens."[125] Roughly two years later, Governor James H. Adams expressed a similar sentiment when he stated, "An ignorant people may passively enjoy liberty, but they cannot feel its inspiration, and will bring no sacrifice to its altar."[126] Though the Palmetto State still moved sluggishly, South Carolina College in Columbia, Charleston College and the South Carolina Military Academy or Citadel in Charleston, Erskine College in Abbeville, Furman College in Greenville, Wofford and St. John's College in Spartanburg, and Mount Zion College in Fairfield all played a role in inculcating within the state's wealthy youth the values and traditions, of which civil religion represented but one, believed to form the foundation of the growing republic. Over the course of the antebellum era, it would fall to those lucky enough to receive an advanced education the task of marshalling their

---

of South Carolina's white children received any elementary education at all and, of those, only the 10 percent or so lucky enough to be enrolled in Charleston area schools obtained anything resembling a real education. "For the great majority of South Carolina's children," Edgar argues, "elementary and secondary education was inadequate at best and nonexistent at worst." South Carolina's school system proved so inadequate and underdeveloped that visitors from Europe and New England were often quick to point out such flaws in both their writings and their conversations. See; Drew Gilpin Faust, *James Henry Hammond and the Old South: A Design for Mastery* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982), 13 and Edgar, *South Carolina*, 297-99, 630 n. 39.

[125] Message No. 1 of His Excellency Governor Manning, to the Legislature of South Carolina, at the Session Commencing November 28, 1853. (Columbia, S.C.: R.W. Gibbes & Co., State Printers, 1853), 7.

[126] His Excellency James H. Adams, Governor of South Carolina, to the Senate and House of Representatives, at the Session of 1855. (Columbia, S.C: E.H. Britton & Co., State Printers, 1855), 11.

knowledge and employing it as a way to help their compatriots make sense of an increasingly perilous national experience. It should not be surprising then that those leading either the Secessionist or Unionist movements, and subsequently crafting discourses to bolster their cause, were oftentimes the most educated and influential members of their respective communities.

The convergence of the political and the religious, the sacred and the secular, is clear when one looks at public pronouncements, specifically governors' addresses, made in the Palmetto State over the next thirty years. Though governors within South Carolina wielded only moderate amounts of institutional authority, their annual messages, reprinted throughout the state, provided them with an opportunity to act as primary shapers of public opinion and discussion.[127] Governors' addresses, therefore, not only informed Carolinians on various issues of the day, but they also inculcated within the populace the idea or belief that as a corporate body, citizens, as well as their institutions, possessed an indissoluble bond with Providence. During the 1850s alone, for example, at least four governors made explicit references to God in their annual speeches to the South Carolina State Legislature. Interestingly, these elected officials used a variety of names when invoking a higher power. Our Heavenly Father, that Divine Power, the Giver of All Goods, and that Almighty Power are just a few of the labels utilized.[128] Remarkably, throughout the governors' discourses there is only ever one use of the word Christian or Christianity. This reference occurs in 1852, when Governor John Hugh Means, in recommending the state appropriate funds towards the expansion of the state asylum in order to offer better treatment to patients, pleaded with the legislature to release funds by stating, "if

[127] Ford, *Origins of Southern Radicalism*, 303.
[128] Message No. 1 of His Excellency Governor Means, to the Legislature of South Carolina, at the Session Commencing November 22, 1852. (Columbia, S.C.: Printed by Johnson and Cavis, 1852), 3; Manning, 1853, 16; Adams, 1855, 3; Message of R.F.W. Allston, 3; Message No. 1 of His Excellency R.F.W. Allston, Governor of South Carolina, to the Senate and House of Representatives, at the Session of 1858, With Accompanying Documents. (Columbia, S.C.: R.W. Gibbes & Co., State Printers, 1858), 16.

you all could be eyewitnesses to their sufferings, you would feel yourselves called upon by every consideration of humanity and Christianity."[129] The governors, therefore, kept their references relatively vague and non-sectarian, even in a predominately evangelical society, in order to appeal to the largest swath of citizens and to continue to foster the image of a populace more united than divided. Moreover, the continual references to Providence throughout the pronouncements helped forge a connection between the Almighty and the people of the Palmetto State as both Carolinians and Americans. In invoking a higher power, the governor as well as the legislature continued an ideological trend stretching back to the earliest days of the American Republic, as they, much like their northern counterparts, publicly acknowledged that their authority derived from, and they were ultimately accountable to, Providence.

The invocation of civil religion, however, proved a delicate enterprise, for if elected officials failed to keep their pronouncements relatively general, then they faced the possibility of receiving criticism from their constituents. In early September 1844, for example, governor James Henry Hammond issued a proclamation declaring the first Thursday of October an official day of Thanksgiving. In that proclamation, Hammond argued the day should be set aside to acknowledge "God the Creator, and his son Jesus Christ, Redeemer of the World."[130] Much to the chagrin of the governor, Charleston's Jewish population wrote a complaint to Hammond, arguing that in referencing Christ the proclamation, and the Day of Thanksgiving it meant to create, proved "exclusive, arbitrary & sectarian."[131] Though Hammond neither amended the language of his proclamation nor issued any sort of formal apology, this incident demonstrates the parameters within which an effective civil religion operates. Hammond, much like those

[129] Means, 1852, 7.
[130] See quote in Faust, *James Henry Hammond,* 249. For source, see n. 49.
[131] See quote in Faust, *James Henry Hammond,* 249. For source, see n. 49 and n. 50.

before and after him, proclaimed a day of thanksgiving in order to reinforce the providential nature of both the state and its citizens. However, unlike his predecessors or successors, Hammond tied his remarks too closely, and too exclusively, to Christianity and thus alienated segments of a population he hoped to unite and placate. Whether Christian or Jew, citizens of the Palmetto State largely shared a belief that their nation and their state fit within a transcendental framework and experienced a degree of divine favor. Hammond effectively violated a main tenet of civil religion by using sectarian language, thus eliciting the ire of those who believed their citizenship somehow diminished.

The spread of religious enthusiasm and institutional maturation made pronouncements such as Hammond's appear commonplace and conventional within southern society. Moreover, these dual trends worked in concert to reinforce many facets of an American civil religion while simultaneously injecting new ideological strains, namely the concept of "civil millennialism."[132] The development and dissemination of civil religion likewise provided Americans, north and south, with many common assumptions regarding nationalism. For Americans who bothered to think about such things, historian Paul Quigley argues, the separation of humankind into different polities with their own distinct governments seemed both "natural and divinely ordained." [133] The responsibilities of citizenship were likewise decreed by Providence and love for one's country proved sacrosanct. Americans at mid-century began to see nationalism as a mixture of the cultural, the political, and the spiritual, for they "conceived of citizenship not only as a rational, contractual relationship between the individual and the nation but also as a sacred

[132] Mitchell Snay defines civil millennialism as the belief that Americans had been singled out by God to hasten the return of Christ. Though this concept initially emerged within Puritan New England, it subsequently changed form and function during the American Revolution. The idea that America represented a "Redeemer Nation" grew increasing popular in the nineteenth century and thus breathed new life into this religious ideology. See; Snay, *Gospel of Disunion*, 186.
[133] Quigley, *Shifting Grounds,* 18.

cultural bond, embedding citizens in a sacred community that stretched back into a romanticized past and forward into a glorious future."[134] Civil religion thus imbedded itself so deeply into the American consciousness and lexicon that citizens could not help but conceptualize of themselves and their nation as playing a central role in a drama stretching from the beginning of time into a seemingly indefinite future. The fusion of the sacred and the secular served to heighten citizens' attachment to the nation and intensified their emotional investment in a system whose success or failure could produce not only ephemeral political consequences, but also spiritual effects that would likely reverberate into eternity.

Although the antebellum era represented a time in which Americans continued to forge a collective identity, of which a civil religion represented but one central facet, the decades from the 1820s through the 1850s also, rather ironically, saw an exponential increase in regional or geographic separatism. Historians of the antebellum South agree that the development and rise of southern sectionalism centered on the issue of racial slavery.[135] Two forces, intimately interconnected, pushed many southerners to believe, in the words of historian John McCardell, "that their own set of shared interest were becoming increasingly incompatible with those of the rest of the Union and were, in fact, being threatened."[136] The dramatic territorial expansion of the United States and the rise of a radical abolitionist movement increasingly politicized the institution of slavery and subsequently pushed southerners to actively and aggressively defend institutions they believed lay at the foundation of southern life.

---

[134] Quigley, *Shifting Grounds,* 41.
[135] Snay, *Gospel of Disunion*, 2; Avery O. Craven, *The Growth of Southern Nationalism, 1848-1861* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1953), 392; John McCardell, *The Idea of a Southern Nation: Southern Nationalists and Southern Nationalism,* 1830-1860 (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1979), 48-49, 85, 90; and Emory M. Thomas, *The Confederate Nation, 1861-1865* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1979), 11-12, 16.
[136] McCardell, *The Idea of a Southern Nation*, 6.

Within South Carolina, the catalyst prompting the development of southern separatism can be found in Nullification Crisis of 1831 to 1833. Although the Missouri Compromise, passed roughly a decade beforehand, certainly alarmed many South Carolinians, they were largely satisfied with, and ultimately supported, legislation John C. Calhoun went so far as to argue would "settle forever" disturbing questions which once "so deeply agitated this country."[137] While a sectional consciousness began taking shape in the early years of the nineteenth century, Stephanie McCurry aptly argues the crucial moment of coherence was the Nullification Crisis because this, according to her, represented the time period when "South Carolina's antebellum political culture and ideology were forged."[138] Historian Lacy K. Ford, Jr., in an astute study of the roots of radicalism within the Palmetto State, largely echoes such thinking, as he contends the Nullification Crisis represented "the most important political watershed of antebellum South Carolina."[139] Prior to the crisis, politics in South Carolina proved relatively mundane and mainstream, with little separating the state from its neighbors along the southern Atlantic coast. The push for nullification, however, caused a dramatic political realignment within the state and, under the leadership of John C. Calhoun, South Carolina effectively isolated itself from the rest of the nation and, instead, chose to pursue its own political course from roughly 1833 though the 1850s.[140] The development of viable two-party system akin to what prevailed within the rest of the Republic proved increasingly difficult within South Carolina not only because most citizens rejected the ideological assumptions associated with the Whig platform, but also because

[137] Historian Len Travers argues the debates surrounding the Missouri Compromise not only worried South Carolinians, but they also "served notice" that their political economy, built upon a foundation of slave labor, was becoming anathema to the growing number of Americans living in the North. Travers, "The Paradox of 'Nationalist' Festivals," 280-81. For South Carolinians' satisfaction with and Calhoun's comments of support for the Missouri Compromise, see; Edgar, *South Carolina*, 327, 635 n. 9. Also, see; Ford, *Origins of Southern Radicalism*, 117.
[138] McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds*, 209.
[139] Ford, *Origins of Southern Radicalism*, 119.
[140] Ibid, 129-30, 143, 145-46, 173, 183, 339.

politicians and their constituents clung steadfastly to their old allegiances as either "Nullifiers" or "Unionists," instead of allying themselves with the Whig or the Democratic camps. The Nullification Crisis likewise established a tradition of large-scale political participation and mobilization within the Palmetto State and primed people as never before to see the national government as the primary threat to their liberty and independence.[141] Carolinians, for the first time, began seeing themselves as a people whose interests were best served outside of the current Union and thus the process of creating a divergent identity began in earnest. While other southern states certainly shared South Carolina's animus towards tariffs and perceived federal encroachment, none moved so quickly and so radically towards achieving the dream of an independent southern confederacy.

The Compromise of 1850, passed a little less than two decades later, only exacerbated sectional antagonism and further fueled a burgeoning separatist movement.[142] Although initially coming up for discussion during the last few weeks of Calhoun's life, the debate surrounding the Compromise of 1850 continued on after the elder statesman had passed in late March. With Calhoun's rivals and eager political heirs stepping to the fore and battling for supremacy, South Carolina found itself thrown into a state of political turmoil because the debate surrounding the proposed compromise, according to Lacy Ford, "generated the most vigorous and divisive political campaigns since the nullification crisis" without any form of constraint to help calm passions.[143] After eventually passing through Congress in the fall, an overwhelming majority of white Carolinians viewed the Compromise of 1850 not as an agreement between two equal

[141] Ford, *Origins of Southern Radicalism*, 141-42 and Faust, *James Henry Hammond,* 43.
[142] For details on the construction and the subsequent passage of the Compromise of 1850, see; Potter, *Impending Crisis,* 96-105, 107-113.
[143] Ford, *Origins of Southern Radicalism*, 184.

parties, but as a series of concessions by, and ultimately a defeat for, the South.[144] Former congressman and governor James Henry Hammond, echoing the beliefs of many of his fellow statesmen, asserted the Compromise made certain that it was only a matter of time before northern free states, who formed the majority, would garner enough votes to strike a fatal blow at the institution of racial slavery and effectively reduce the southern states "to the condition of Hayti."[145] The editor of the Upcountry journal the Laurensville *Herald* went even further when he argued the Compromise of 1850 demonstrated clearly and convincingly "the solemn truth that we must give up the Union or give up slavery."[146] Presbyterian cleric James Henley Thornwell perhaps summed up the general opinion existing among South Carolinians best when, in 1851, he wrote, "When the issue is forced upon us of submitting to a government hopelessly perverted from its ends and aiming at the destruction of our own interests, it will be our duty, as it is our right, to provide for ourselves."[147] The spirit of secession first unleashed amidst the debates surrounding nullification thus only grew more intense as the antebellum era progressed and white Carolinians increasingly viewed the Federal Government as more of a foe than a friend.

Just as nearly every governor in the 1850s espoused components of an American civil religion in their public addresses to the South Carolina State Legislature, they likewise used their platform to comment on the tumultuous political situation that increasingly enveloped the state, the region, and the nation at large. In 1852, Governor Means argued a "fierce fanaticism" arrayed every element that influenced popular opinion, even the nation's literature, "against our institutions."[148] Means then went on to assert that the fate of South Carolina, for better or worse,

---

[144] Ford, *Origins of Southern Radicalism*, 193 and Edgar, *South Carolina*, 343.
[145] Edgar, *South Carolina*, 343, 637 n. 62.
[146] Ford, *Origins of Southern Radicalism*, 193 n.34.
[147] McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds*, 288 n.27
[148] Means, Governor's Address 1852, 16.

rested in large part with fellow southern states. Further agitation and aggression, especially that aimed at slavery, Means argued, would hopefully "convince our sister Southern States that the institution upon which not only the prosperity of the South, but Republicanism itself depends, is no longer safe in the Union."[149] Governor Adams echoed such sentiments in 1855, when he explained that the people of South Carolina would endure the horrors of civil war rather than live in degradation and ruin. "The right 'to provide new guards for their [the peoples'] future security' has been sealed by the blood of their ancestors," Adams extolled, "and it will never be surrendered."[150] South Carolinians possessed a sacred reverence and admiration for their institutions because, in the words of Governor Allston in 1857, "the truth is, whatever of wisdom or patriotism or virtue may characterize her [South Carolina's] people, are among the happy consequences resulting from her institutions, political, social and domestic."[151] Not only did the state's, indeed the region's, institutions provide white citizens with prosperity and security, but they also helped stoke the fires of patriotism by giving the people something tangible to fight for and, if need be, die to safeguard.

Even events that provided an opportunity for the reinforcement of national devotion and camaraderie quickly turned into occasions for the espousal of sectional animosities. In late June 1852, for example, Fleetwood Lanneau, an ex-Lieutenant of the Moultrie Guards, delivered an oration in Charleston's Hibernian Hall to celebrate the seventy-sixth anniversary of the Battle of Fort Sullivan. Interestingly, Lanneau's address oscillated between promoting a renewal of national amity and stoking the fires of sectional acrimony. At its outset, Lanneau's discourse argued all Americans, not just Carolinians, could recall their revolutionary past and "feel equal

[149] Means, Governor's Address 1852, 16.
[150] Adams, Governors Address 1855, 18.
[151] Allston, Governors Address 1857, 13.

pride in the brilliant achievements of the Patriot Fathers" who sacrifice and bravery established a nation that represented "at once the wonder, the envy, and the admiration of the world."[152] Though Lanneau could look to the past fondly, he expressed trepidation when turning his gaze towards the future. From Lanneau's perspective, a rising "spirit of fanaticism" seemed to take hold within certain sections of the country and if not checked then the very nation itself could collapse, and with it "the light of liberty extinguished forever!"[153] Although much of the rest of Lanneau's discourse tediously details the Battle of Fort Sullivan and the heroic actions of Carolina's revolutionary sons, the end of the address is rather remarkable because it offers an immense amount of insight into evolving southern mentalities. In taking stock of the Revolution in its entirety, Lanneau argued the record of that conflict had upon its scrolls "deeds, accomplished in every section of our widespread Union," and thus the audience should honor not only Carolinians, but Americans more generally. After seemingly fostering a fraternal bond with citizens outside the South, Lanneau rather quickly reversed course and commented on the growing threat posed by northern compatriots. "The clouds which have darkened our political horizons, have dispersed," Lanneau explained, "But those clouds may return, and that storm may again gather and…burst upon us in all their desolating fury!" If that dreaded day should arrive, Lanneau instilled within his audience a sense of relief, for he believed "Carolina's young and favored sons" would cheerfully and obediently follow in their forbearers' footsteps to resist oppression and degradation, no matter the source.[154]

---

[152] Fleetwood Lanneau, Esq. *Anniversary Oration Delivered before the Moultrie Guards and their Escort, the Palmetto Guards and College Cadets, at Hibernian Hall, June 28, 1852*. (Charleston: Steam Power Press of Walker and James, 1853), 5.
[153] Lanneau, *Anniversary Oration*, 7.
[154] Ibid, 18.

One can see the process by which southerners, as individuals, began to consciously separate themselves from the nation and their northern counterparts in a poem written by Augustine Thomas Smythe. Born in Charleston in October 1842, Smythe came from a respectable family and enjoyed a myriad of benefits as a result of his illustrious pedigree.[155] In late May 1853, as an eleven year old boy, Smythe wrote a poem entitled "The Eagle." Two versions of the poem exist and the similarities and differences between them are incredibly illustrative. Both writings discuss the eagle as America's national bird and detail notable, indeed noble, characteristics associated with their avian exemplar. Further, both poems end in a nearly identical fashion, as Smythe wrote in his final draft:

Oh may I ever stand
Like the Eagle light and free
With a sword in my right hand
To die for Liberty.[156]

Reading the poem, it is clear that Smythe, like other children throughout the state and the nation, was deeply patriotic, so much so that he was willing to sacrifice his life to defend the liberty believed to form the foundation of a prosperous republic. Since Smythe descended from a wealthy and well-connected family, he had access to an education and no doubt learned duties and responsibilities associated with citizenship throughout his early years of tutoring. Smythe, like countless other students, thus grew to acutely understand the temporal, as well as transcendental, nature of the nation and the values it supposedly safeguarded.

---

[155] Smythe's father, Thomas, was a pastor for roughly forty years at the Second Presbyterian Church of Charleston, while his mother, Margaret, possessed immense connections within the city because her father, James Adger, was a prominent Charlestonian merchant See; Biographical Sketch of Augustine Thomas Smythe. From National Cyclopedia of American Biography (New York: James T. White & Company, Publishers, 1901), in Smythe, Augustine Thomas, 1842-1914. Augustine Thomas Smythe papers, 1853-1938. (1209.03.02.04) South Carolina Historical Society.

[156] This version of the poem is considered the final draft as it contains a date and a signature, elements that are both lacking in the other preserved version. The only difference in the last stanza is that the earlier version of the poem used the word "bold" in the third line instead of the word "light." See: Smythe, Augustine Thomas, 1842-1914. Augustine Thomas Smythe papers, 1853-1938. (1209.03.02.04) South Carolina Historical Society.

Although the similarities between the two drafts tells us a great deal, we learn even more by analyzing the writing's subtle, yet significant differences. In an earlier draft of the poem the third stanza read:

America! Land of the free!
Be like this Mountain King
That sails o'er Earth and Sea
The brave of heart and strong of wing.[157]

In the final draft, however, this stanza is excised and replaced, and the only time in which the nation is ever explicitly mentioned is when Smythe writes that the eagle is a bird in which "The American takes delight."[158] In this simple erasure, Smythe is illustrating how many South Carolinians, or southerners more generally, began distancing themselves from a nation they believed no longer promoted their best interests. In the initial draft, the nation is the source from which liberty is derived because the Republic itself represented a land of freedom and independence. In leaving this assertion out, Smythe is suggesting that the American nation is no longer the primary wellspring of liberty. The freedom Smythe is so willing to sacrifice for is depicted as potentially lying outside the current republic. Although Smythe never explicitly mentions what entity represents the new source from which liberty flows, it is likely, especially amidst the escalating sectional tensions of the 1850s, that independence is safeguarded in institutions more regionally or locally located.

Sectional animosity grew so severe by the late 1850s that historian Lacy Ford could confidently argue, "South Carolinians clearly believed that they were living in a society under siege."[159] The conviction that forces outside of the state arrayed together in an attempt to

[157] Smythe, Augustine Thomas, 1842-1914. Augustine Thomas Smythe papers, 1853-1938. (1209.03.02.04) South Carolina Historical Society.
[158] Ibid.
[159] Ford, *Origins of Southern Radicalism*, 348.

undermine South Carolina's sovereignty is on display in the writings of Ann Elliott Morris Vanderhorst. A wealthy resident of Kiawah Island, located roughly twenty-five miles south of Charleston, Vanderhorst took to her diary in November 1859 to express her frustration and anger at the growing hostility between north and south. Referring to northerners, especially abolitionists, as "stealthy assassins," Vanderhorst could barely hold back her contempt as she accused people like the Stowes and the Beechers of acting the saint when, in fact, "they are playing the murderer."[160] Vanderhorst's diary, much like Smythe's poem, illustrates an acceptance, indeed a willingness, to break the bonds of Union if pushed to do so by a northern populace perceived as plotting nefarious assaults upon southern institutions, slavery being foremost among them.[161] If northerners dared continue their multifaceted attacks upon her home state, Vanderhorst asserted that Carolinians would wave the banner of blood throughout the abolitionist midst "and make you feel, the miseries, of medling with a brave and determined people who are ready to do and die for their fire sides."[162] The bonds of affection that once held

[160] Vanderhorst, Ann Elliott Morris, 1795-1876. Ann Elliott Morris Vanderhorst papers, 1859-1882. (1169.02.09) South Carolina Historical Society.

[161] From its very foundation, slavery represented a central facet of Lowcountry society and played a critical role in how white residents of the region formed their conception of self. Historians Ethan J. Kytle and Blain Roberts argue no American city "rivaled Charleston in terms of the role that slavery played in its formation and success." Within the first decade of settlement, one in four Charlestonians was enslaved and by the middle of the 1800s three out of every four white families in the city owned at least one slave. From the early 1700s through the inauguration of civil war, African Americans constituted a majority of the Lowcountry's population and, by the time American declared its independence from Great Britain, slavery made the region one of the wealthiest in the world. Slaves were not only an omnipresent facet of Lowcountry life throughout much of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but white residents of the region were acutely aware that their prosperity, indeed autonomy, proved inexorable intertwined with the institution of racial slavery. In the wake of the supposed slave uprising plotted by Denmark Vesey in 1822, citizens of the Lowcountry also grew to understand the increased need to tighten their supervision and control of the enslaved population. Defending slavery, Kytle and Roberts contend, meant not only keeping a more watchful eye on their own slaves, but it also required more resolute efforts "to mitigate external threats." Slavery effectively "coursed through the bodies" of South Carolinians and thus citizens and their elected officials mounted a prolonged and steadfast resistance against abolitionists and others who threatened the peculiar institution and, with it, their very sense of self. Ethan J. Kytle and Blain Roberts, *Denmark Vesey's Garden: Slavery and Memory in the Cradle of the Confederacy* (New York: The New Press, 2018), 11-15, 19-26. Also see; Peter H. Wood, *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina, From 1670 through the Stono Rebellion* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974), xiv, xvii, 25, 36, 43, 45-47, 55, 69, 83, 91, 95, 131, 143, 145, 148-50, 152, 159-165, 218-19.

[162] Vanderhorst, Ann Elliott Morris, 1795-1876. Ann Elliott Morris Vanderhorst papers, 1859-1882. (1169.02.09) South Carolina Historical Society.

the nation together disintegrated as southerners, like Vanderhorst, now viewed northerners as a hostile "other" that needed to be resisted at all costs. Southerners effectively invented an image of northerners as especially antagonistic and aggressive. The image of the northerner or Yankee, Paul Quigley argues, "served as a dustbin into which white southerners dumped all distasteful human characteristics and, furthermore, as a negative reference point against which they defined their own character."[163] Not only did creating a caricature of northerners allow white southerners to refine their own sense of self, but it also helped foster a collective identity anchored in victimhood and perceived suffering.

It is strikingly clear that as the antebellum era progressed, South Carolinians, along with southerners more generally, began making a conscious and concerted effort, both individually and collectively, to lay the groundwork for the possible construction of a separate southern nation. Just as religion proved a central component of American nationalism since the late eighteenth century, so too did religion represent a primary facet of the southern national project in the middle of the nineteenth century. Religion, Mitchell Snay contends, proved instrumental in the formation of a distinctive southern identity that lay at the foundation of the separatist movement taking shape in the latter three decades of the antebellum era.[164] Not only did religion help southerners develop a conception of self distinct from their northern counterparts, but it also provided a framework though which to understand an increasingly perilous and fraught national experience. Religious discourse invested the sectional conflict with spiritual significance and provided a language through which to create an ideological and rhetorical consensus that could

[163] Quigley, *Shifting Grounds*, 182.
[164] Snay, *Gospel of Disunion*, 15.

unite white southerners from across the social or economic spectrum to work together for a collective cause against a common enemy.

At the forefront of the drive to create a divergent sectional identity and national movement were the region's clergymen.[165] Already by the middle of the 1830s, Stephanie McCurry argues South Carolina represented a religious, indeed an evangelical, society wherein few Carolinians would have disputed the argument that churches represented "powerful, even dominant, institutions" within the state's political culture.[166] The relationship between religion and politics only grew more pronounced and symbiotic as the antebellum era progressed and political discourse, along with religious ideology, became "increasingly sectional and radical."[167] The absence of a well-developed two party system allowed politics within the Palmetto State to veer in an increasingly radical direction with few, if any, internal mechanisms to induce constraint. Religion added an emotional impetus to political discourse and thus aided in dismantled any remaining barriers to restrain radicalism, as citizens' loyalties to state and to

[165] Both Mitchel Snay and James W. Silver argue southern clergy held an enormous amount of influence within their given communities. Not only did ministers possess great amounts of moral authority, but they also proved powerful shapers of public opinion. The influence of southern clergymen was not contained to the pulpit alone, for many ministers proved active in publishing and in education, thus spreading their messages more broadly throughout society. See: Snay, *Gospel of Disunion*, 6-7; and James W. Silver, *Confederate Morale and Church Propaganda* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., Inc, 1957), 9, 23.

[166] McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds*, 136.

[167] While Stephanie McCurry argues the conjoining of religion and politics occurred during the Nullification Crisis from 1831 to 1833, Mitchel Snay points to the abolitionist postal campaign of 1835 as the point when political and religious discourse grew inexorably intertwined. Unlike the Nullification Crisis, Snay argues the postal campaign drew southern ministers into politics as never before because they increasingly viewed abolitionists as opportunists who politicized and perverted religion to meet their own sinister ends. The very nature of the Nullification Crisis, Snay contends, reinforced the disposition of ministers to keep politics and religion separate, for many viewed the crisis more as a matter of policy than morality. Whether one follows the timeline established by Snay or McCurry, it is clear that by the middle of the 1830s, at the latest, clergymen within South Carolina proved actively and aggressively involved in politics, effectively exacerbating sectional animosity while simultaneously laying the groundwork for secession and independent nationhood. See; Snay, *Gospel of Disunion*, 19-20, 30-33, 42, 46, 48-49.

party increased dramatically.[168] Southern political and religious culture effectively reinforced each other and helped foster and perpetuate a sense of difference rooted in geographic locality.[169]

The conjoining of politics and religion essentially "sectionalized" American civil religion during the latter decades of the antebellum era.[170] Over the course of roughly thirty years, leaders throughout the South worked diligently to construct a divergent civil religion that would lend credence and legitimacy to a nascent nationalist movement. Clergymen and elected officials alike appropriated key components of the American civil religion and reshaped it to meet their own sectional needs. At the heart of this evolving southern civil religion, and the element that separated it most dramatically from its northern counterpart, was the institution of racial slavery. Ministers, as well as their flocks, espoused a proslavery Christianity that steadfastly defended slavery, along with its accompanying relations of dependency and subordination, by persistently arguing that racial bondage represented not only a righteous, but also a biblically sanctioned institution.[171] The emergence of a divergent strain of civil religion allowed southerners to more

---

[168] George Rable's work echoes such sentiments, as he asserts religious ideas "added a moral and often uncompromising intensity" to the sectional conflict and debates surrounding secession. See: Rable, *God's Almost Chosen Peoples*, 49.

[169] Snay, *Gospel of Disunion*, 211, 218.

[170] Not only did American civil religion undergo a process of "sectionalization," but many of the nation's largest denominations also experienced fissure as a result of acrimony produced by debates surrounding slavery. The Baptist and Methodist Churches, for example, both experienced schisms between 1844 and 1845 as a result of political and constitutional, not theological, disagreements. Methodists split along regional or geographic lines because the General Conference, the Church's governing body, grew increasingly reluctant to recognize the appointment of slaveholders to church offices. The Baptist Church, which lacked the well-developed organizational structure of the Methodists, likewise experienced rupture when missionary groups, namely the American Baptist Missionary Union, refused to appoint slaveholders as missionaries at home and abroad. In both denominations, southern religious leaders, as well as their congregations, viewed the barring of slaveholders from church activities or positions as, at best, gross abuses of power by governing bodies and, at worst, intentionally subversive or hostile actions. Southern church members thus struck out in their own direction, arguing they were doing so to maintain "doctrinal purity" and denominational integrity. See; Snay, *Gospel of Disunion*, 113, 127-37; Rable, *God's Almost Chosen Peoples*, 23-24; and Mark A. Noll, *The Civil War as a Theological Crisis* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 36.

[171] Stephanie McCurry argues evangelicals in the Carolina Lowcountry imagined their Christian communities as families writ large, or "households of faith." The familial ideology forming the foundation of evangelicalism within the Lowcountry, McCurry contends, not only worked to confirm both yeoman and planter's masterly identities, but it also "sacralized the secular order of slave society." See; McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds*, 171-72, 179, 201, 207, 213; Snay, *Gospel of Disunion*, 54-55, 77, 79, 99, 215; and Poole, *Never Surrender*, 37, 41-42.

easily and effectively conceptualize of themselves as a distinct, indeed superior, people while also lending credibility to their claims of cultural difference.

The rhetoric associated with this incipient civil religion did more than simply provide white southerners with a conception of self. The development of a southern civil religion allowed leaders throughout the region to forge an ideological, rhetorical, and moral consensus. As the antebellum era progressed and criticism of slavery escalated, southern leaders acutely understood the importance of stifling internal discord in order to present a united front against mounting external threats. Creating and then maintaining internal harmony, both at the state and regional levels, proved a central objective of influential Carolinians like John C. Calhoun, Robert Barnwell Rhett, and James Adams following the especially intense and bitter debate surrounding nullification.[172] The dream of domestic accord, however, grew increasingly illusory by the latter years of the 1850s. Factional squabbling worked to divide, rather than unite Carolinians "at the very same time when growing external threats made that special harmony seem all the more precious."[173] Debates concerning economic development, the reapportionment and redistribution of legislative power, tax codes, and the expansion of infrastructure threatened to plunge the Palmetto State into endless cycles of internecine conflict.[174] The discourse of civil religion

[172] Ford, *Origins of Southern Radicalism*, 146-47, 191, 213, 339; Faust, *James Henry Hammond*, 214 and Joseph Kelly, *America's Longest Siege: Charleston, Slavery, and the Slow March Toward Civil War* (New York: The Overlook Press, 2013), 189, 195, 197

[173] Ford, *Origins of Southern Radicalism*, 280.

[174] To give insight into the divisive nature of politics within the Palmetto State throughout the 1850s one need look no further than debates aimed at providing the Upcountry additional representation by splitting larger and more populous electoral districts and battles surrounding the election of presidential electors. In the case of the former, in 1851 an intense debate brewed as to whether to split the Upcountry district of Pendleton and thereby give the region more representatives in state government. Upcountry politicians believed taking such actions would make the state government more democratic while simultaneously overthrowing the rule, and easing their resentment, of what they referred to as "barons of the low country." Initially passing through the house, the bill to split the district failed in the senate and Upcountry leaders subsequently decided not to give up, but to double-down on their bid to gain additional representation. In response to an increasingly acerbic campaign, Charleston's *Mercury* went so far as to argue Upcountry actions amounted to declaring "a war of extermination against the parishes." In the end, the bill to divide Pendleton ultimately passed in December 1852 and calmed passions between the Upcountry and the Lowcountry, but acrimony would continue to characterize state politics for years to come. Over the next three years,

helped check internal discord and functioned as one of the main unifying forces at both the state and regional levels. Southern religious and secular leaders, through their speeches and writings, created a moral consensus around slavery that could rally Carolinians of diverse and, oftentimes, disharmonious, political and social views to a common cause.[175]

The appearance of internal harmony was so important to nurture that then Senator James Henry Hammond, in a speech in the town of Barnwell, South Carolina, in late October 1858, attempted to claim with relative certainty that the South represented a region "almost thoroughly united," while the southern people enjoyed unprecedented amounts of happiness because "they never were at any former period so united and harmonious as now."[176] The South was able to achieve such unparalleled degrees of unity precisely because a veritable consensus had emerged concerning both the rectitude and morality of racial slavery. From Hammond's perspective, southerners seemed willing and eager to cast aside their political, social, and economic differences for the sake of defending an institution that supposedly lay beyond reproach. Hammond, however, almost certainly overstated his presumption of unity, for he subtly acknowledged the fragility of domestic accord. Hammond urged his fellow Carolinians to recognize and rise above the factionalism created by "cunning men for selfish purposes."[177]

---

for example, bitter political struggles would occur over bills put forward by Upcountry politicians designed to introduce the popular election of presidential electors. In pushing for this change, Upcountry leaders hoped to gain control of these offices and check the disproportionate power of the Lowcountry in the state legislature. Expressing the frustration felt by many of his fellow Upcountry residents after repeated attempts to introduce such legislation had failed, George Tillman of Edgefield argued that instead of falling into the hands of the people, control of state politics was instead the purview of "an odious, cunning, tyrannical, intriguing oligarchy" that he could not bring himself to respect. By 1856 it was apparent that the Upcountry's bid to alter the process for electing presidential electors had failed and although other issues would soon dominate the discussion, many Upcountry residents would never be able to shake the suspicion, in the words of Lacy Ford, "that their liberty was subject to the whims of a power-hungry oligarchy." For quotes and citations, see; Ford, *Origins of Southern Radicalism*, 282 n.2, 292 n.23, 300- 301 n.44. For detailed information on the political battles taking place in the Palmetto State and causing internal dissonance, see; Ford, *Origins of Southern Radicalism*, 279-80, 282-85, 292-92, 295-303.

[175] Snay, *Gospel of Disunion*, 214-16; McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds*, 288-91.

[176] James Henry Hammond, "Speech of Hon. James H. Hammond, delivered at Barnwell C.H., October 29th, 1858," (Charleston: Steam Power Press of Walker Evans & Co., 1858), 25, 28.

[177] Hammond, "Speech at Barnwell C.H.," 26-27.

Though two polities parties existed within the state, the National and States Rights Democrats, Hammond argued any differences proved merely distinctions of degree rather than of kind. Carolinians, and southerners more generally, needed to remain unified, Hammond contended, for "no measure has yet been strong enough to stand up against the South when united. I believe none ever will."[178] The very recognition of divisive forces and the plea to rise above factionalism betrayed Hammond's earlier claim of internal harmony. Even though Hammond exaggerated the level of unity within his home state and the region, it is clear southern leaders believed internal dissent represented a dire threat and thus they sought to crush the emergence of an ideological heterodoxy by whatever means possible. Southern civil religion, therefore, represented one of the ways to create orthodoxy and reinforce it with transcendental sanction.

Interestingly, Hammond's address also illustrates how ubiquitous the discourse of southern civil religion had become by the end of the antebellum era. After clarifying his position on the recent crisis in Kansas, Hammond went into a lengthy discussion concerning the practicality, or rather impracticability, of expanding slavery into the American West, Mexico, and Central America. Although Hammond saw little hope of slavery's survival in these regions, he assured his audience that he was by no means against the expansion of slavery more generally, for "I believe God created the negroes for no other purpose than to be the 'hewers of wood and drawers of water'—that is to be the slaves of the white race."[179] Not only did racial slavery represent an institution "sustained by the religion of the Bible," but Hammond believed it fell to southern slaveholders to bring the question of slavery to its final conclusion. "Such is our fate," Hammond claimed, "Let us cheerfully accept and manfully perform our destined parts, and

[178] Hammond, "Speech at Barnwell C.H.," 18.
[179] Ibid, 14.

do it with no distrust of God; with no misgivings of our course or of ourselves; with no panic."[180] Hammond's assertions thus highlight how white southerners largely accepted the divine sanctioning of slavery and, perhaps more importantly, viewed themselves as temporal caretakers of that institution. Hammond's comments, made mostly in passing or in a matter-of-fact manner, demonstrate how deeply the discourse of civil religion imbedded itself within the southern consciousness. An accomplished planter, essayist, and politician, Hammond had risen to the highest echelons of southern society and invoked ideologies associated with the southern civil religion precisely because he understood, perhaps more than most, how religious discourse could influence public opinion.[181]

Fellow Carolinian James D. B. De Bow likewise understood the power and effect of religious discourse while simultaneously maligning its pervasiveness. Born in Charleston in 1820, De Bow first entered the world of journalism early in his collegiate career at the College of Charleston and, after graduating at the top of his class in 1843, left the legal profession to pursue his love of writing, eventually becoming a junior editor of the *Southern Quarterly Review*. After a falling out with his boss, Daniel K. Whitaker, De Bow moved to New Orleans in late 1845 and within a few months established his own journal, entitled the *Commercial Review of the South and West*, that, by the early 1850s, attained national renown and could claim a widespread readership. Although initially torn between his dedication to the South and his loyalty to the

[180] Ibid, 22, 25.

[181] James Henry Hammond first created a name for himself within South Carolina when he took over as editor of the fledgling *Southern Times* newspaper in 1829. The paper effectively served as an organ of the state's nullifiers and soon Hammond caught the attention of some of the state's most influential leaders. Hammond would eventually go on to serve as a U.S. Representative, a governor, and a U.S. Senator. Hammond, therefore, wielded immense influence both within South Carolina and within the nation's capital. Possessing great oratorical skill and espousing provocative ideas, Hammond soon ingratiated himself into Washington's most elite circles and achieved national prominence. By the late 1850s, Hammond had almost achieved his chief goal of reaching the pinnacle of southern society and becoming, much like John C. Calhoun, the South's regional spokesman and favorite son. See; Faust, *James Henry Hammond*, 2-3, 44-47, 148-55, 233-35, 262, 338-39, 342, 347-48.

Union, De Bow grew increasingly radicalized as he watched with trepidation the rise of the Republican Party and the bloodshed occurring in the Kansas Territory. As a result, De Bow's journal, which initially focused on topics such as trade, agriculture, and manufacturing, became a central vehicle for the development and dissemination of proslavery ideologies.[182] It is not surprising, therefore, that in 1856, roughly two years before Hammond's speech, De Bow printed an article in his famous *Review* laying out a biblical defense of racial slavery. What is remarkable, however, is that the famous editor soon regretted his decision to print the piece, not on any ideological grounds, but because he claimed "the subject is growing hacknied."[183] By the late 1850s, therefore, many of the ideas contained within the discourse of civil religion, such as the characterization of slavery as a secular institution whose protection and propagation represented a religious responsibility, proved so prevalent and permeated the white southern consciousness to such a degree that De Bow believed it a waste of ink and paper to elucidate further on such topics.

Ideologies associated with the southern civil religion grew more widespread and gained greater appeal not only through print culture and public oratory, but also through the development of paramilitary organizations that began forming in ever-greater numbers from the late 1850s through early 1860. Within South Carolina, the news of John Brown's raid in October 1859 sent shock waves of anger and fear throughout the state and thus local elites, building upon the preexisting military system of beat companies and replicating actions taken in the wake of Nat Turner's Revolt nearly three decades prior, quickly organized vigilance or minute men associations in order to safeguard southern communities and institutions.[184] On Tuesday, January

[182] Walther, *The Fire-Eaters*, 197-202, 214-24.
[183] For quote, see; Walther, *The Fire-Eaters*, 20 and for source, see; Walther, *The Fire-Eaters*, 20 n. 14.
[184] Stephanie McCurry argues that paramilitary organizations grew so widespread and popular that by the fall of 1860 a group of some form could be found in every parish and district within South Carolina. See; McCurry,

4, 1860 the citizens of St. John's Parish, located in Berkeley County, held a meeting in Black Oak and formed a vigilance associated precisely because many believed Brown's raid clearly illustrated that abolition "has recently assumed a more active and aggressive attitude, and now threatens to invade our very homes with its vile machinations."[185] In coming together and organizing an official association, citizens hoped to promote "a concert of actions, and strict vigilance for the protection of our property and our institutions against the increasing encroachments of our Northern Enemies."[186] While the creation of the Vigilance Association of St. John's Berkeley certainly served a practical purpose, in this case heightened communal policing, the organization also possessed a great deal of political utility. The formation of such groups allowed local elites, many of whom aligned themselves with radical fire-eaters, to draw yeoman and poor whites into their campaigns, thus creating expansive political networks and fostering personal loyalties.[187] Paramilitary organizations thus allowed white Carolinians of disparate socioeconomic backgrounds to gather together, exchange ideas, and mobilize for collective action. While historians such as Stephanie McCurry rightly depict these associations as political entities serving partisan, indeed sectional, purposes, they largely fail to acknowledge the religious characteristics of the paramilitary groups. Before any words were spoke, agendas presented, or signatures affixed, the Reverend H. B. Howe opened the meeting at Black Oak with a simple and solemn prayer. The presence of a clergyman, as well as the words he offered, gave divine sanction and rectitude to the proceedings that took place while simultaneously fitting the Association's actions within a transcendental framework. The fifty-five men who signed the

Confederate Reckoning, 46-47 and Walter Edgar, *South Carolina,* 329-330. See also; Potter, *The Impending Crisis*, 500.

[185] Ravenel family. Family documents series, 1695-1899. (1171.01) South Carolina Historical Society.

[186] Ibid.

[187] McCurry, *Confederate Reckoning*, 46-48.

Vigilance Association's roll thus acutely understood the secular and religious implications, as well as importance, of their organization.[188] Not only could members rest assured that they were protecting their homes and firesides from an external threat, but they could also find solace in the fact that they would be defending an institution and a hierarchy designed by Providence.[189] Vigilance associations, like the one formed at Black Oak, helped Carolinians create a sense of collective community, anchored in a political and religious sense of purpose, while simultaneously forging a rhetorical and discursive consensus.

In the fall of 1860 the project of creating ideological accord remained far from complete, but the election of Abraham Lincoln breathed a new sense of urgency and significance into the drive for unity. Once again, southern ministers took to their pulpits and presses in an effort to unify and mobilize southerners for a conflict that seemed all but inevitable. Reverend Christopher P. Gadsden was one such minister, and less than a week after Lincoln's ominous election, he ascended the pulpit at St. Luke's Church in Charleston to deliver a sermon entitled "Duty to God: Not to be Overlooked in Duty to the State" in an attempt to provide some perspective on the cavalcade of recent events. Though the state stood at a point of crisis engendered by "political occurrences of uncommon gravity," Gadsden urged his audience to remember the command of Christ, as recorded in the Gospel According to St. Matthew, to

[188] Ravenel family. Ravenel family papers, 1695-1925. (1171.00) South Carolina Historical Society.
[189] Historian Edward J. Blum, in a study of how white northern Christians used religious ideologies to rebuild an American Republic anchored in ethnic and racial nationalism, argues religious imagery and ideas proved crucial in motivating and propelling citizens into action during the final four decades of the nineteenth century. The same can be said concerning the latter decades of the antebellum era, as religious discourse and ideologies certainly caused many white southerners to more actively and aggressively defend both their institutions and their communities. Especially for yeoman and poor whites, who rarely owned slaves and largely resented the reach and influence of planters, religious discourse, particularly that associated with the southern civil religion, added an extra impetus to join with their social superiors and support their political outlooks. See; Blum, *Reforging the White Republic,* 47.

"Render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's."[190] Gadsden certainly recognized that the state laid claim upon its citizens in such calamitous times, yet he advised his congregation against allowing politics and other civil engagements to become all-absorbing. Duties to the state, Gadsden vehemently asserted, should not hinder the people from meeting their responsibilities before Almighty God. As a minster of Christ, Gadsden admitted that he "trembled for his charge" in such uncertain times, yet he knew in his heart that it was his sacred obligation to guard his flock against a peculiar evil to which they now found themselves exposed. "This evil," Gadsden elucidated, "is the facility with which our sinful and erring hearts may be drawn away from the spiritual service of God; from the things of Christ; from prayer; from Scripture; from worship, from all the acts and exercises of religion . . . by the excitement of public affairs, and the deep concern with which we, necessarily, take in the fate of our country."[191]

Interestingly, Gadsden's discourse did much more than simply offer a word of warning to those who would potential neglect their responsibilities before God while pledging their fealty to the state. Much like the myriad of secular and religious leaders who preceded him, Gadsden likewise espoused and developed a distinctive southern civil religion. "Think not that patriotism and piety are opposed," Gadsden asserted, "they dwell together with the holiest harmony in the same breast, and the servant of Christ is the most true and faithful servant of the State."[192] The idea that religious faith and devotion to the nation represented mutually reinforcing, not mutually exclusive, characteristics proved a foundational facet of America's civil religion since the late

[190] Christopher P. Gadsden, "Duty to God Not to be Overlooked in Duty to the State," A Sermon Preached at St. Luke's Church, Charleston, S.C., On the Twenty-third Sunday after Trinity, November 11, 1860 (Steam-Powered Presses of Evans and Cogswell, 1860), 6.
[191] Gadsden, "Duty to God," 7- 8.
[192] Ibid, 10.

eighteenth century and remained central in the southern manifestation taking shape in the middle of the nineteenth century. In the latter part of Gadsden's comments he argues that of all pious citizens, it is the Christian who represents the quintessential patriot. This suggestion is not surprising given the individual and the environment in which Gadsden is speaking, but what is astonishing is how Gadsden seems to subtly suggest that those of other faiths also represent loyal citizens. Patriots, therefore, are defined as those who possess some, indeed any, form of faith. This idea is reinforced later in the sermon when Gadsden claimed that there may indeed be faithless men who possess courage and are esteemed as heroes or patriots by their fellow citizens, but there exists in the man living without God a terrible deficiency, for "there is not character such as God intended there should be; the creature has fallen short of his duty; he is in ruin; the glory is departed; and the end shall be death."[193] Faith and faith alone, therefore, enabled one to possess the necessary character to properly honor and, if need be, sacrifice for their nation. If those following the Christian faith represented the truest of citizens, then it is left to reason that those of other faiths were also patriots, just of a lesser degree. Gadsden's words struck such a chord with those in attendance that the congregation and its leaders requested the permission of their rector to print and distribute the discourse because many believed it would provide "much benefit to themselves and the community in general."[194] The congregation's request to more widely distribute Gadsden's sermon demonstrates not only their approval of the ideas presented therein, but also illustrates how parishioners believed the address could serve a utilitarian purpose in equating religious faith with patriotism precisely when South Carolina looked poised to enter upon her own national destiny.

[193] Gadsden, "Duty to God," 11.
[194] Ibid, 2.

In the wake of Lincoln's election, southerners, building off a custom established by their seventeenth- and eighteenth-century forebears, invoked the tradition of the fast day to provide citizens a means through which to affirm and reinforce the central conviction that they indeed represented a chosen people preparing to fight in a holy cause.[195] Proclaimed by the state but observed in the church, fast days proved perhaps the single most important occasions for the development and dissemination of a southern civil religion.[196] Held at both the national and state levels, official days of fasting, humiliation, and prayer not only helped citizens make sense of the crisis in which they found themselves enveloped, but they also offered, in the words of historian George C. Rable, "a bit of guidance to people beset by doubts, anxieties, and fears."[197] In crafting their remarks, southern ministers, much like their northern counterparts, oftentimes presented a very limited, indeed sectarian, reading of scripture in an effort to bolster the case for cause and for country. Fast days, therefore, provided secular and religious leaders alike with a platform to stoke the fires of separatism while simultaneously forging a rhetorical and ideological consensus.

The *Charleston Daily Courier*, expressing its support for the state fast day in late November, argued their readers needed to raise themselves to the level of the sublime occasion by refraining from the joyous exhibitions that daily took place in the streets of the city as calls for secession seemed to reach a fevered pitch. "No hurrah should go out upon the air;" the paper's editors claimed, "let the banners float, but throw no new one to the breeze till to-morrow's sun rises."[198] A day of silent contemplation would serve Carolinians well, the paper

[195] Rable, *God's Almost Chosen Peoples,* 73.
[196] Drew Gilpin Faust, *Confederate Nationalism: Ideology and identity in the Civil War South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988), 26 and Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes,* 145.
[197] Rable, *God's Almost Chosen Peoples*, 44.
[198] *The Charleston Daily Courier*, "Humiliation and Prayer," November 20, 1860.

maintained, because only then could the people hear the voices of their ministers and the "tuneful invitation of the church bells."[199] The City of Charleston, the editor's believed, seemed to be reduced to a state of utter chaos and disorder as pronouncements, discussions, and celebrations emanating from every class of society created a cacophonous landscape in which discordant voices confused, rather than clarified, the issues of the day. Historian Mark M. Smith argues Lincoln's election unleashed an "auditory revolution" as South Carolina's politicians filled public venues and spoke "at a decibel level not heard in generations." "Revolutions are rarely quiet affairs," Smith continues, "they give an opening to the voices that either want to be heard or claim exclusive right to drown out all others."[200] Prominent Carolinians not only jockeyed with each other for the exclusive attention of receptive audiences, but also with an entirely new, relatively unknown, set of speakers who asserted themselves in the public sphere and challenged the traditional cadre of leaders. In early November of 1860, a man know only as Mr. McCarter noted in his journal that men "who had never been heard of before now entered [the] list as public orators."[201] The auditory furor unleashed by secession created a perfect babel of confusion at a time when Carolinians need clarity. The fast day thus served a crucially important purpose because it not only provided an opportunity for citizens to assemble together in their places of

[199] Historian Mark M. Smith argues the noise created by church bells had long been deemed suitable and appropriate within the complex soundscape of Charleston because the bells not only called out God's time, but they also opened and closed the city's many markets. The sound of church bells imposed order on Charleston's people and streets, so much so that Smith claims church and state "met in the sound of those bells." It is not surprising, therefore, that the editors of the *Daily Courier* impressed upon their subscribers the importance of listening for and subsequently hearing the chiming of church bells. See; Mark M. Smith, *The Smell of Battle, the Taste of Siege: A Sensory History of the Civil War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 15 and *The Charleston Daily Courier*, "Humiliation and Prayer," November 20, 1860.

[200] Smith, *The Smell of Battle*, 18.

[201] It is unclear who the actual author of the source is, as the copyist, who also transcribed the journal, noted there existed an inscription in the original journal that simply stated "The writer of this was a northern gentleman living in the South during the war 1861-5." It is theorized that the journalist was James J. McCarter who lived in Columbia and worked as a bookseller. James Jefferson McCarter was originally from New Jersey but eventually served as a South Carolina State Legislature and a Columbia Alderman. Journal of McCarter, 1860-1866 [microform]. (45-373) South Carolina Historical Society, second copied sheet (unnumbered), 15.

worship to help foster a sense of collective community, but it also provided an opportunity for religious leaders, whose voices would echo from those pulpits or Bemahs, to filter the multitude of raucous messages into one more clear, concise, and uniform.[202]

The time for discordant voices and heterodoxy was over, for fire-eaters and their supporters inculcated within the public consciousness the belief that Lincoln's election posed a colossal threat and Carolinians thus needed to face such peril united as never before. The *Daily Courier's* editors acutely understood the magnitude of the current crisis and thus deemed the fast day both admirable and appropriate because they recognized the day's symbolic and practical utility. "We are entering upon a new existence," the paper argued, "We have begun a great work. A work that requires the profoundest wisdom, the steadiest nerves, the highest patriotism."[203] The article acknowledged the gravity of the times while simultaneously reinforcing the belief that it was only through the guidance and protection of the Almighty that Carolinians could hope to achieve the wisdom and strength necessary to properly manage current calamities. In invoking the fast day, secular and religious leaders thus attempted to strengthen the bond between the temporal and the transcendental. Viewing themselves as God's elect, it only made sense that Carolinians would turn to Providence in such trying times. The earnestness and sheer volume of prayers, many hoped, would guarantee that God could not turn a deaf ear to the petitions of his

[202] A Bimah is an elevated platform within a synagogue that serves as a place where Rabbis and other speakers can deliver addresses or orations. A Bimah in a synagogue is roughly equivalent to a pulpit in a church. Although Charleston always possessed a majority Christian citizenry, it retained a large and influential Jewish population since at least the late eighteenth century. In 1794, an Orthodox Sephardic congregation of Jewish settlers, mostly from England and under the leadership of Reverend Moses Cohen, established an impressively designed synagogue downtown on Hassel Street. Beth Elohim, as the synagogue would be called, boasted a membership of around 400, making it the largest Jewish congregation in the entire nation. As the nineteenth century progressed, the prominence of Jewish Americans would increase substantially at both the regional and national levels. In the final decade before the outbreak of civil war, George Rable notes, the number of Jews within the United States tripled. See; Walter Edgar, ed., *The South Carolina Encyclopedia* (Columbia: The University of South Carolina Press, 2006), 70, 146 and Rable, *God's Almost Chosen Peoples*, 12.

[203] *The Charleston Daily Courier*, "Humiliation and Prayer," November 20, 1860.

beloved people. Attempting to reassure their subscribers that their prayers would indeed find acknowledgement, the editors of the *Courier* claimed "The united supplications of thousands will force their way to the ear of the Hearer of Prayer."[204] Since the relationship between the Almighty and his elect represented one reciprocal in nature, many believed that by duly honoring the fast day, and thus showing humility and contrition, they would likely induce God to shed his divine influence upon their cause. The fast day, therefore, proved much more than a spiritual necessity, it represented a day rife with pragmatic, utilitarian purpose.

Reverend James H. Elliott, much like the editors of the *Daily Courier*, recognized the unique opportunity offered by the state fast day in late November 1860 when he ascended the pulpit of St. Michael's Church to deliver a sermon entitled "Are these His Doings?" Much of the beginning of Elliott's sermon is devoted to illustrating how man, from the beginning of time, largely proved the author of his own miseries due to his greed, pride, and ambition. In looking at the present crisis and offering an answer to the question framing his address, Elliott claimed, "In the sense in which I am now regarding the evils that surround us they are not His doings, and I trust that we may with justice add, they are not our doings." In placing blame for the current state of affairs, Elliott, much like Prentiss, pointed to the evolution of a "senseless and arrogant fanaticism" that grew into a storm unleashing torrents of hatred, discord, and desolation. From Elliott's perspective, Americans, in this case abolitionists specifically, represented the architects of their own destruction and, regrettably, followed an historical precedent established by the twelve tribes of Israel. No sooner had the Israelites achieved domestic tranquility, Elliott argued, then they began to realize "dark clouds of strife began to cast their shadows over the horizon"

[204] *The Charleston Daily Courier*, "Humiliation and Prayer," November 20, 1860.

and brethren that once shared a familial bond now represented "aliens in heart; aliens in religion; and aliens forever in government and policy."[205]

Similar to Prentiss, Elliott invoked a proslavery Christianity that lay at the heart of the developing southern civil religion. According to Elliot, slaves represented "the race which Providence has placed under our charge," and therefore any attack on the institution of racial slavery represented an assault upon God and his omnipotent designs.[206] Given on the same day, Prentiss and Elliott's sermons sought to accomplish the same fundamental task. Each minister attempted to equate fanaticism with infidelity and thus portray secession, along with the establishment of an independent southern Confederacy, as an act of purification from a northern populace so hopelessly mired in sin that they now represented a debased, indeed hostile, people.[207]

The language and imagery of purification represented a theme minsters invoked time and again during the secession crisis. "If it please the Almighty to try us, to put our courage, our patience to the test," James Elliott stated, "let us implore Him that we may come forth from the furnace purified by adversity, that our faith may be upheld, and our course approved in his sight."[208] Reverend Charles Gadsden used similar imagery roughly two weeks prior when he argued the present crisis "may prove a furnace of purification, in which the dross may be separated from the gold and the character hardened into the vigor of Christian manhood."[209] From the pastors' perspectives, therefore, northerners had perverted the teachings of Christianity

---

[205] Reverend James H. Elliott, "Are these His Doings?" A Sermon Preached in St. Michael's Church, Charleston, S.C., on The Day of Public Prayer, Wednesday, November 21st, 1860 (Charleston: Printed by A.E. Miller, 1860), 4, 6-7.
[206] Elliott, "Are these His Doings?" 8.
[207] Snay, *Gospel of Disunion*, 164, 170; George C. Rable, *Damn Yankees! Demonization and Defiance in the Confederate South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2015), 8, 11, 13. 16-17; and Faust, *Confederate Nationalism,* 30.
[208] Elliott, "Are these His Doings?" 9.
[209] Gadsden, "Duty to God," 10.

for purely political purposes and they subsequently forfeited any claim to divine sanction or favor. In removing the main source of impurity, southern religious leaders ardently believed that the region would finally be able to take its rightful place as the true agent of God and thus the rightful stewards of America's providential destiny.

Not only did Elliott continue the process of building a divergent southern civil religion, but he also began challenging civil religion as it appeared in the North. Though many throughout the South believed that cotton, a superior sense of courage, or a chivalrous nature endowed the region with a sense of superiority, Elliott argued these beliefs proved erroneous, even dangerous. Elliott impressed upon his listeners that righteousness, and righteousness alone, is what exalted a nation. "The nation which cannot truly appeal to the Searcher of hearts," Elliott continued, "of its willingness to do justice to all within and without its borders, whether weak or strong, bind or free, sooner or later fall first into sin and then into evil."[210] While the North reveled in their recent electoral victory, Elliott argued the people of South Carolina assembled together in the spirit of humility to seek the guidance and succor of Almighty God. The failure to approach God in the spirit of humility and contrition only served to highlight the North's depravity and clearly demonstrated their estrangement from divine grace. Though many of his listeners feared for the future, Elliott offered a sense of comfort as he placed the current crisis within an historical and transcendental framework that depicted secession as both a logical and righteous solution to the problems at hand.

The foreboding and despair initially produced by Lincoln's election quickly turned to excitement as Carolinians believed that while one chapter in their history was coming to an abrupt end, another, an even greater, chapter was just beginning. The clamor for secession and

[210] Elliott, "Are these His Doings?" 8.

the jovial celebrations that accompanied such calls reached all corners of the Palmetto State. Citizens in the Upcountry districts of Hamburg and Edgefield, for example, held a joint celebration with residents from Augusta, Georgia for the express purpose, in the words of the *Charleston Mercury*, "of giving their expressions to their opinions upon the great issue of the day."[211] At roughly eleven o'clock in the morning, the booming of cannon inaugurated a military procession as citizens of South Carolina and Georgia marched throughout the principle streets of Hamburg, receiving "loud cheering, firing of canon, and waving of handkerchiefs" along the entire route.[212] The day's proceedings reached a crescendo when attendees gathered in a handsomely decorated warehouse to listen to prominent citizens give their opinions and views regarding the current political climate. Not only did the speeches, met with "deafening cheers," help prepare the southern consciousness for secession, but the very scenery utilized in the meeting place helped foreshadow events to come. In front of the speakers' stage, there appeared a long banner with the coat of arms of both Georgia and South Carolina and emblazoned over the coats of arms were the words "Southern Confederacy."[213] The aesthetics of the event, therefore, served to create the impression that secession, and the subsequent formation of an independent southern nation, seemed all but inevitable. The speeches offered to the audience also went a long way to work up the enthusiasm of the populace and to stoke the fires of separatism. Senator James Henry Hammond argued that from his perspective the secession of South Carolina was "already accomplished" because there existed such acrimony between North and South that the latter could never attain justice if it remained in the present Union. "They hate us and our institutions, with malice most implacable," Hammond bemoaned, "and we hate them equally

[211] *The Charleston Mercury*, "Inter-State Celebration of the People of Georgia and South Carolina, Saturday, December 1, 1860," December 7, 1860.
[212] *The Charleston Mercury*, "Inter-State Celebration," December 7, 1860.
[213] Ibid.

back again."[214] As the day's proceedings came to a close, the audience left with "the utmost enthusiasm" and steadfastly believed immediate secession represented the most prudent and honorable course to pursue in the coming days.

The historic vote to sever the state's ties with the Union finally occurred at 1:15 pm on Thursday, December 20, 1860. Although the resolution for secession passed early in the afternoon, delegates to the Secession Convention decided to reassemble later in the evening at an alternative location to allow citizens of the state to take part in and witness the historic act of secession. At roughly 6:30 in the evening, the convention gathered at St. Andrew's Hall on Broad Street and then silently marched to Institute Hall, more commonly known as Secession Hall, located a few blocks away on Meeting Street, to sign, seal, and thus make official, the Ordinance of Secession. When delegates entered the Hall, they found a building that was literally overflowing with "an eager and expectant audience" estimated at roughly three thousand persons.[215] The *Charleston Daily Courier* claimed there existed such excitement amongst the citizenry to witness the historic event that "Long before the time fixed for the for the ratification of the Ordinance in the Secession Hall, that famous hall was besieged by eager citizens and by a large number of ladies."[216] The enthusiasm and passion that characterized much of the state for over a month reached a crescendo as Carolinians assembled together to breathe life into the dream of independence.

As during the past three decades, clergymen and the civil religion they helped create once again occupied a central position at the very moment of southern independence. Before the ceremony began, "an old man, with bowed formed, and hair as white as snow, the Reverend Dr.

---

[214] *The Charleston Mercury*, "Inter-State Celebration," December 7, 1860.
[215] *The Charleston Mercury*, "The 20th Day of December, in the Year of Our Lord, 1860," December 21, 1860 and *The Daily Southern Guardian*, "The Ratification," December 22, 1860.
[216] *The Charleston Daily Courier*, "Independence Day," December 21, 1860.

[John] Bachman, advanced forward, with upraised hands, in prayer to Almighty God, for His Blessing…[on the] great act of his people, about to be consummated."[217] "The whole assembly at once rose to its feet," the *Charleston Mercury* continued, "and with hats off, listened to the touching and eloquent appeal to the All Wise Dispenser of events."[218] The importance of Bachman's presence and prayer can hardly be overstated, as the aging cleric provided the proceedings with yet another authoritative figure to vouchsafe the validity of the Convention's actions while simultaneously bestowing upon them a degree of divine sanction.[219]

For Carolinians who viewed secession as an act of purification and rebirth, Bachman effectively "baptized" their enterprise at its inception. In the aesthetic display that inaugurated secession and independence, southern civil religion took center stage and offered a spiritual framing of the events taking place. More importantly, as noted earlier, the pastor's presence sought to imbue the fledgling nation with legitimacy and rectitude. Stephanie McCurry argues that even after manipulating the democratic process, suppressing public debate, and undertaking acts of violence, fire-eaters could hardly claim to have achieved a consensus regarding secession. In the end, McCurry contends, secessionists turned to fabricating a consensus and thus the campaign to take South Carolina out of the Union signified a stroke of genius precisely because it was "designed and executed to produce the consent of the governed to the degree required for the democratic legitimacy of the new Palmetto Republic."[220] For a movement that still faced

---

[217] *The Charleston Mercury*, December 20, 1860; *The Charleston Daily Courier*, "Independence Day," December 21, 1860, and *The Daily Southern Guardian*, "The Ratification," December 22, 1860.
[218] *The Charleston Mercury*, "The 20th Day of December, in the Year of Our Lord, 1860," December 21, 1860.
[219] Born in 1790, Bachman moved to Charleston from his native Ressalaer County, New York in 1815 both to serve as the minister of St. John's Lutheran Church and to find relief from his repeated bouts with tuberculosis by migrating to a warmer climate. While living in Charleston, Bachman was very active in the affairs of the city and became relatively well known in academic and social circles. Not only did Bachman serve as president of the Literary and Philosophical Society and the Elliott Society of Natural History, but he also taught natural history at the College of Charleston from 1845 to 1853. See; Lester D. Stephens, "John Bachman," in *The South Carolina Encyclopedia*, ed. Walter Edgar (Columbia: The University of South Carolina Press, 2006), 40.
[220] McCurry, *Confederate Reckoning*, 51-52.

some degree of resistance, the invocation of civil religion could help muffle any lingering murmurs of dissent while simultaneously fostering the image of a populace harmoniously united. Though some might disagree with the political course chosen by Carolina's leaders, few would openly challenge the idea that institutions ordained by Providence came under an increasingly dire threat from northern compatriots who seemed fixated on trampling God's will asunder. There existed widespread agreement, therefore, that political and religious problems loomed large, only the proper solution to those problems produced a degree of discord.

After the final delegate affixed his signature to the historic document and the President of the Convention proclaimed South Carolina an independent nation, the crowd erupted into shouts of glee and revelry. "To describe the enthusiasm with which this announcement was greeted," the editors of the *Charleston Mercury* explained, "is beyond the power of the pen."[221] The excitement within Institute Hall quickly burst into the streets as decades of fear, anxiety, and anger melted away with the stroke of a pen. Sixty-six year old Charlestonian Caroline Howard Gilman, in a letter to her aunt, claimed "there were shouts and bonfires, and fireworks and ringing of bells, and music and soldiers, and every body looked so glad and negroes were leaping and clapping their hands, and almost every body seemed happy."[222] Lowcountry planter Thomas Porcher Ravenel, then thirty-six, described a similar scene when he noted in his dairy that the signing of the Ordinance of Secession produced "the greatest excitement and rejoicing that has ever been demonstrated in Charleston."[223] The jovial scene described by Gilman and Ravenel would last long into the night and continue into the next day. The morning after secession, the *Charleston Daily Courier* informed their readers, "The Great and glorious event will be

[221] *The Charleston Mercury*, "The 20th Day of December, in the Year of Our Lord, 1860," December 21, 1860.
[222] Gilman, Caroline Howard, 1794-1888. Caroline Howard Gilman papers, 1810-1880. (1036.00) South Carolina Historical Society.
[223] Ravenel family. Ravenel family papers, 1695-1925. (1171.00) South Carolina Historical Society.

celebrated with fuller preparation this day and this evening, as will be seen in notices."[224] The public was invited, and largely expected, to participate in the day's festivities, especially the "Grand Secession March," led by the Charleston Brass Band, that would file through the principle streets of the city. Citizens eagerly embraced the myriad of celebrations because secession provided a release from a complex set of political and religious problems that had plagued white southerners for roughly three decades.

The elation experienced within Charleston soon spread throughout the rest of the state as news of secession traveled with lightning speed. The Columbia-based *Daily Southern Guardian*, whose masthead read "The South—Equality or Independence," informed their readers that in light of such a momentous event "it is proper that this community should make demonstrations of unqualified joy" to duly honor the occasion. At roughly two in the afternoon businesses within the city closed and church bells, including the new bell "Secession," rang out for over an hour. From the late afternoon into the early evening, citizens throughout Columbia experienced a sensory overload as they heard sporadic artillery and musket salutes, as well as saw the unfurling of countless palmetto flags. Citizens experienced the full spectrum of visual and auditory delights when, at the very moment businesses closed and church bells began ringing, a handsome palmetto flag appeared over the new state capitol and once its folds caught the breeze the Richland Volunteer Rifle Company saluted the flag "with a regular *feu de joie.*"[225] The day's celebrations reached a crescendo as a large crowd gathered to hear remarks offered by the honorable James D. Tradewell in which he congratulated the people of the Palmetto State for their recent actions to safeguard the state's sovereignty while simultaneously warning them to prepare for the possibility of war. Following Tradewell's address, citizens dispersed to their

[224] *The Charleston Daily Courier*, "Independence Day," Dec. 21, 1860.
[225] *The Daily Southern Guardian*, "Rejoicings Yesterday," December 22, 1860.

respective residences in order to make final preparations, as requested by the Columbia City Council, to illuminate their homes and places of business as a visible sign of support for the day's proceedings. By the end of the evening, not only could the *Daily Southern Guardian* report with the utmost confidence that there existed "a universal illumination throughout the city," but the paper's editors could also conclude that the day's demonstrations proved truly "worthy of the occasion."[226]

It is in the weeks leading up to South Carolina's independence that a southern civil religion began transitioning into a Confederate civil religion. As citizens in the Palmetto State discussed secession, many leading secular and religious figures assumed that their departure from the Union would soon be followed by other slaveholding states throughout the South. By the time the Secession Convention met in Charleston in mid-December 1860, two other states, Mississippi and Alabama, had already approved the appointment of secession commissioners to preach the gospel of disunion and to build the foundation for a future Confederate nation.[227] Carolinians flocked to the secessionist banner, therefore, precisely because many believed that, unlike during the Nullification Crisis, their beloved state would not remain isolated or alone as it embarked on its momentous journey.

Within one day of the passage of the Ordinance of Secession, officers in a local militia unit assembled near City Hall and unfurled a banner that, according to the *Charleston Mercury*, not only appeared "appropriate for the times," but also exhibited "the common feeling with the public."[228] Upon the flag there was an arch that represented the fifteen southern states, with South Carolina acting as the keystone. Inside the arch there stood a palmetto tree encircled by a

[226] *The Daily Southern Guardian*, "Rejoicings Yesterday," December 22, 1860.
[227] Dew, *Apostles of Disunion,* 18, 22-23.
[228] *The Charleston Mercury*, "Another Banner," December 21, 1860.

rattlesnake and written across a scroll above the palmetto were the words "Southern Republic." At the base of the arch, stones representing nonslaveholding states lay scattered and destroyed, while at the very bottom of the banner ran the motto, "Built from the ruins."[229] The idea of a southern nation, therefore, seemed no mere abstraction, for many Carolinians believed the coalescing of such a nation represented nothing more than a formality.

Immediately after declaring themselves an independent nation, South Carolina's leaders, quickly mobilized to appoint their own secession commissioners for the express purpose of both maintaining the momentum of the secession movement and of creating an ever-expanding coalition of support to ensure that their dreams were made into reality. The Palmetto State could move so swiftly because the groundwork for such actions was already in place The day before the signing of the Ordinance of Secession, for example, Isaac W. Hayne, South Carolina's Attorney General and a secession convention delegate, put the wheels in motion when he urged his fellow statesmen to take the initiative and possess the foresight to designate a cadre of commissioners to travel throughout the South to coordinate the organization of a new "Provisional Government."[230] By early January 1861, then, the Palmetto State proved prepared and thus sent its seven commissioners to journey, at least initially, to states who already announced their intention to call secession conventions. Ultimately, however, South Carolina's secession commissioners, along with commissioners from other states, soon traversed nearly the entirety of the American South as they effectively represented a nation in utero.[231] Drew Faust

---

[229] *The Charleston Mercury*, "Another Banner," December 21, 1860.
[230] Dew, *Apostles of Disunion*, 37.
[231] South Carolina's secession commissioners eventually went out to what Charles B. Dew calls the "cradle of the secessionist movement," which included Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, Florida, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, Virginia, and North Carolina. David Potter contends the network created by secession commissioners, along with the connections established between southern members of Congress who met frequently in caucus, served as a sort of ready-made coordinating body that would make sure the individual actions of states would eventually converge as a collective push for national independence. See; Dew, *Apostles of Disunion*, 18, 38 and Potter, *The Impending Crisis*, 493.

argues the significance of state secession conventions and the commissioners they appointed stemmed from their "metapolitical status," for "they self-consciously set out to articulate political goals and purposes for the new nation." "This was nationalism in creation," Faust continues, "not a preconceived body of theories or abstractions, but ideas as rhetorical weapons, useful insofar as they could persuade, legitimate, or inspire."[232] It fell to secession commissioners to wield rhetorical weapons as well as to clearly communicate and disseminate their emerging nation's aims. In their writings and speeches, secession commissioners not only made clear why disunion proved a rational action, but they also, quite literally, argued the Confederate nation into existence.

Though commissioners relied heavily upon economic and political arguments to make their cases, they also utilized the rhetoric and ideas associated with the southern, now nascent Confederate, civil religion to legitimize southern independence. On December 19, a day before South Carolina officially seceded, Judge Alexander Hamilton Handy, Mississippi's secession commissioner to Maryland, addressed a boisterous crowd at Maryland Institute Hall, located in Baltimore. Handy argued the results of the recent election plunged the nation into utter chaos because a Republican-dominated government would soon set out to undermine the Constitution and the sovereign rights of the states. More important, Handy argued the Republican claim that slavery represented a great moral and religious sin was heretical. "Slavery," Handy exclaimed to his receptive audience, "was ordained by God and sanctioned by humanity."[233] In a letter written to Governor Beriah Magoffin of Kentucky on December 27, Stephen F. Hale, Alabama's secession commissioner, echoed the sentiments of his compatriot from Mississippi. "The Federal Government has failed to protect the rights and property of citizens of the South," Hale wrote,

[232] Faust, *Confederate Nationalism*, 34, 39.
[233] For quote, see; Dew, *Apostles of Disunion*, 33; also see; pg. 11 n. 24.

"and is about to pass into the hands of a party pledged to the destruction not only of their rights and their property, but the equality of the states ordained by the Constitution, and the heaven-ordained superiority of the white over the black race."[234] In listing their grievances towards the Federal Government, and thus why secession proved logical, secession commissioners likened the disruption of racial hierarchies decreed by Providence to the usurpation of property and other rights guaranteed under the Constitution. The justification presented, therefore, was at once political, economic, and religious. Secession commissioners, in spreading the gospel of disunion, acted as acolytes of a civil religion that would unite white southerners and serve as a pillar of their burgeoning polity.

The dream of an independent southern nation, first born roughly three decades beforehand, finally came to fruition in the early months of 1861. Writing to the *Columbia Banner* in early February 1861, Mrs. C. Ladd of Winnsboro, South Carolina, related her excitement after just hearing the news of the Confederate government's establishment and the election of Jefferson Davis as the first president of the new republic. "Glorious news!" Mrs. Ladd wrote in her correspondence, "We are free! We have institutions of our own—a country that we can call our own—rulers from among are own people."[235] The *Charleston Daily Courier* likewise could hardly contain their enthusiasm, as the headline for their February 14 edition read, "Important from Montgomery. The Southern Confederacy Inaugurated! A Constitution Adopted! Great Unanimity Prevails."[236] Although almost identical to its American counterpart, the Confederate Constitution did possess some alterations that prove illuminating.[237] The Provisional

[234] Dew, *Apostles of Disunion*, 90, 100.
[235] *The Columbia Banner*, "Southern Confederacy," February 20, 1861.
[236] *The Charleston Daily Courier*, February 14, 1861.
[237] To see the distinct similarities between the two constitutions, one need look no further than the extant writings of South Carolina's own Robert Barnwell Rhett. As more and more states seceded from the Union, Rhett took it upon himself to draft a constitution, with accompanying amendments, in early 1861 that could provide fellow southerners with, what Rhett called, "A Plan for a Provisional Government." The constitution proves interesting because it offers

Confederate Constitution, unlike its predecessor, openly used the words slave and slavery as it went about establishing a new fugitive slave code, regulating the migration of slaves within the new nation's borders, and forbidding the international slave trade. The most revealing modification, however, lies not in the actual articles of the constitution, but in its preamble. "We the Deputies of the Sovereign and Independent States of South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana," the preamble began, "invoking the favor of Almighty God, do hereby, in behalf of these States, ordain and establish this Constitution for the Provisional Government of the same."[238] In explicitly appealing to Providence, the framers of the Confederate Constitution, much like the myriad of secular and religious leaders before them, placed the founding of the new nation within a transcendental framework. The nascent Confederate civil religion proved so powerful and pervasive that those who created the Confederacy on paper imbedded its core ideologies within the foundational text. The Confederate people, along with their nation, the founding document recognized, represented an elect that proved accountable to and ultimately responsible before Almighty God. Historian Drew Faust argues that Christianity represented "the most fundamental source of legitimation for the Confederacy," and thus it is no surprise to see direct references to God in the nation's formative texts.[239] Faust's argument, however, can be broadened and taken one step further to demonstrate an even larger truth on display in the formation of the Confederate nation. Religion

insight into how Rhett, and perhaps how white southerners more generally, created their founding documents. Each page of Rhett's constitution is split in half, with one side having the United States Constitution and the other containing the potential wording of the Confederate Constitution. Going through the document, one sees both the ingenious and the relatively trite nature of the proposed constitution. Some sections are copied word for word, others contain only slight alterations, and some are completely original. It is clear, therefore, that the founding documents of the United States occupied a central place within the southern consciousness as leaders, such as Rhett, went about creating new governments and institutions. See; Rhett, Robert Barnwell, 1800-1876. Rhett family papers, 1825-1938. (1057.00) South Carolina Historical Society.

[238] *The Charleston Daily Courier*, February 14, 1861.

[239] Faust, *The Creation of Confederate Nationalism*, 22.

in the general sense, not necessarily Christianity specifically, lent an air of rectitude and legitimacy to the new republic. In the Constitution there is no explicit reference to Christ and no use of the word Christianity.[240] Southerners leaders who attempted to create an ideological and rhetorical consensus upon which a new nation could stand understood, as demonstrated in James Henry Hammond's 1844 incident, that references to a particular religion would put any degree of internal harmony at risk and, instead, only lead to alienation and sectarianism. Even the Confederacy's national motto, *Deo Vindice*, made only the most general reference to and recognition of Providence.[241] While many of the framers of the Confederate Constitution and government were indeed Christian, they did not explicitly align their new nation with any particular sect or denomination.

The lack of a clear reference to Christ or Christianity did not seem to bother religious leaders throughout the nascent republic. In early June of 1861, Presbyterian minister Benjamin Morgan Palmer of New Orleans delivered a sermon entitled "National Responsibility Before God" from the Crescent City's prestigious First Presbyterian Church.[242] In the address, Palmer

---

[240] The only mention of God in the text of the Confederate Constitution appears in the preamble, when the government's framers invoked the "favor and guidance of Almighty God" as they went about establishing their new polity. The word religion, furthermore, only appears once in Article I, Section 12 when southern leaders, much like their colonial predecessors, assured citizens that the new government "shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." James D. Richardson, *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Confederacy: Including the Diplomatic Correspondence, 1861-1865* (Nashville: United States Publishing Company, 1905), found via The Avalon Project: Document in Law, History and Diplomacy, Yale Law School, Lillian Goldman Law Library, "Constitution of the Confederate States, March 11, 1861." http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/csa_csa.asp

[241] Faust argues the Confederate Congress chose the epigram Deo Vindice to demonstrate "the religious sentiments of the nation." Roughly translated to mean "With God, our Defender," the national motto of the Confederacy attempted to relate a common assumption shared by nearly all southern citizens, mainly that an all powerful and omnificent deity directed their national fate. The members of the Confederate Congress certainly could have decided upon a more sectarian motto in order to express the distinctly Christian sentiments of their new polity, but they consciously chose, instead, to keep their references relatively vague and generalized to fit more squarely within a cultural and discursive tradition developed over the course of the preceding century. For quote, see: Faust, *The Creation of Confederate Nationalism*, 24-26.

[242] Benjamin Morgan Palmer was born in Charleston in 1818 and received his primary education roughly fifty miles inland from his birthplace in Walterboro, South Carolina. Palmer graduated from the University of Georgia in 1838 and enrolled in the Columbia Theological Seminary in South Carolina the very next year. After briefly serving in Savannah, Palmer accepted a position as the pastor of Columbia's First Presbyterian Church, a post he would hold

expressed his utmost approval and elation on the signing of the Confederate Constitution roughly four months beforehand. "When my eye first rested upon the Constitution adopted by the Confederate Congress," Palmer explained, "and I read in the first lines of our organic and fundamental law a clear, solemn, official recognition of Almighty God, my heart swelled with unutterable emotions of gratitude and joy."[243] Palmer believed one of the cardinal sins that afflicted the United States was the fact it did not directly recognize God in its founding documents. From the very outset of his sermon, Palmer asserted, "We bewail then, in the first place, the fatal error of our Fathers in not making a clear national recognition of God at the outset of the nation's career." The certain fact is, Palmer continued, "the American nation stood up before the world a helpless orphan, and entered upon its career without a God."[244] Palmer, therefore, enthusiastically applauded the Confederate government for its immediate and direct references to Providence.[245] At long last, Palmer informed his attentive audience, "the nation has a God: Alleluia!"[246] Palmer, as well as his congregation, certainly assumed the framers of the Confederate Constitution set out to create a new nation Christian in nature, and thus he did not bemoan, at least publicly, the absence of explicit references to Christianity. With God recognized

---

for over a decade before moving to New Orleans in 1856. Although Palmer's tenure in Columbia proved successful, it was in New Orleans that he would achieve unprecedented amounts of fame and influence. Historian Mitchell Snay argues Palmer grew to become one of the most prominent Presbyterian ministers in the antebellum South. Furthermore, Snay contends Palmer represents a classic example of what he calls a "Gentleman Theologian," as he held pastorates in major cities, proved active in denominational affairs, and was involved, through his brief tenure at a seminary, in education. Palmer is referenced throughout this text because even though he resided in New Orleans at the time of the Civil War, Palmer would remain, in his ideas and his outlook, a South Carolinian. See; Snay, *Gospel of Disunion*, 100, 175-76

[243] B.M. Palmer. "National Responsibility Before God," June 13, 1861 in *God Ordained this War: Sermons on the Sectional Crisis, 1830-1850*, ed. David B. Chesebrough (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1991), 208.

[244] Palmer, "National Responsibility," 207-08.

[245] Scholars Isaac Kramnick and R. Laurence Moore discuss how the American Constitution came under intense scrutiny for its failure to directly mention God or Christianity. Further, the authors examine efforts made during the Civil War to add a "Christian Amendment" to the Constitution that would, once and for all, acknowledge the Almighty and his connection with the nation. B.M Palmer is a prime example of the type of person who would belong to what the authors call "the party of religious correctness." See; Isaac Kramnic and R. Laurence Moore. *The Godless Constitution: A Moral Defense of the Secular State* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2005), 13, 27-28, 144-146.

[246] Palmer, "National Responsibility," 208.

and affirmed as their beneficent protector, Confederates, Palmer principle among them, believed their nation would enjoy a life both prosperous and protracted.

The Confederacy's national life, which began with the secession of South Carolina in the winter of 1860, reached a new stage of development by mid-February 1861, as provisional congressmen selected their first leader and sought to inaugurate the government at long last. In the pageantry associated with the investiture of Jefferson Davis, as well as the chief executive's opening address, one can attain a clear view of civil religion's dramatic rise to prominence, as well as its subsequent centrality within the new southern nation. At noon on February 18, 1861 Reverend Basil Manly rode in a carriage with Jefferson Davis and Alexander H. Stephens, surrounded by a military escort, as the pair made their way to the provisional capitol located in Montgomery, Alabama to assume their respective offices.[247] Before Davis rose to accept his appointment, Manly opened the proceedings by offering a prayer to the Almighty, stating, "Thou hast provided us a man, to go in and out before us, and to lead thy people."[248] As the prayer progressed, Manly beseeched God to bless not only Davis, but also the people whose safety and security the chief executive would now oversee. "Put thy good spirit into our whole people," Manly requested, "that they may faithfully do all thy fatherly pleasure…"[249] Much like Reverend Bachman roughly two months beforehand, Manly, by virtue of his presence and his remarks, gave divine sanction to and conferred a degree of legitimacy on the inauguration of the Confederate government. Once again, the discourse of civil religion occupied a prominent place in the drama that unfolded. Manly instilled, or rather reinforced, within his audience the belief that the southern people represented an elect body and the government they now established fit

[247] Snay, *Gospel of Disunion*, 1.
[248] For quote, see; Snay, *Gospel of Disunion*, 1 and for source see pg. 1, n.1.
[249] Ibid.

within a framework designed by the Almighty. From Manly's perspective, Providence had selected Davis, much like Moses, to lead his people as they began their appointed errand. Though the journey might prove long and arduous, those present at Davis's inauguration could rest assured that if they obeyed God's temporal agents and thus followed his divine will, their path would surely end in salvation.

At the conclusion of the Manley's remarks, Jefferson Davis stood and delivered his first public address as the Confederate president to the anxious crowd assembled to witness the historic event. In the speech, Davis accepted the position of chief executive and expressed his hope that a more permanent government would be established in the very near future. Davis then went on to justify secession and the establishment of the independent Confederate nation he now led. "Our present political position…illustrates the American idea that governments rest on the consent of the governed," Davis explained, "and that it is the right of the people to alter or abolish them at will whenever they become destructive of the ends for which they were established."[250] Davis effectively argued that the current government under Abraham Lincoln perverted and debased the Constitution to such a degree that the only way to save the American experiment was to create an independent southern confederacy where the principles set forth in America's founding documents could be successfully safeguarded. Davis thus attempted to cast the formation of the Confederacy as the logical perpetuation, not the sinister destruction, of republican government. In closing his oration, Davis, much like the minister who opened the ceremony, channeled the nascent Confederate civil religion. "Reverently let us invoke," Davis declared, "the God of our fathers to guide and protect us in our efforts to perpetuate the

[250] Richardson, *A Compilation*, found via The Avalon Project: Document in Law, History and Diplomacy, Yale Law School, Lillian Goldman Law Library, "Confederate States of America—Inaugural Address of the President of the Provisional Government, February 18, 1861," http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/csa_csainau.asp

principles which by his blessing they were able to vindicate, establish, and transmit to their posterity." "With the continuance of his favor ever gratefully acknowledged," Davis continued, "we may hopefully look forward to success, to peace, and to prosperity."[251] In these brief comments, which made up the concluding remarks of the inaugural address, Davis synthesized and gave voice to over three decades of popular thought concerning the relationship between Providence and the southern people. Davis recognized that Americans, from the very beginning, represented an especially chosen people whom the Almighty endowed with certain institutions and principles for the express purpose of propagating them into a seemingly endless future. The chief executive also made clear that northerners, largely as a result of their own actions, effectively excised themselves from the community of the elect over the preceding decades as they engaged in efforts to dismantle and destroy providential designs. Southerners thus humbly took up the mantle of divine grace and now, as Confederates, they would continue to experience transcendental favor and guidance. The discourse of civil religion, once again, reached into the highest echelons of southern society and did much more than simply justify secession and the establishment of a new government, it provided comfort to white southerners who now felt more assured than ever that, with God at their side, the Confederacy would experience unprecedented degrees of tranquility and success.

Over the course of the next two months, the peace and prosperity experienced by the burgeoning Confederacy proved increasingly difficult to maintain. By early March 1861, seven states had seceded from the Union and took with them any Federal property residing within their borders. The seizure of Federal facilities created an extremely perilous political situation where neither the Confederacy nor the United States showed any signs of relenting or abdicating their

[251] "Confederate States of America—Inaugural Address of the President of the Provisional Government, February 18, 1861."

authority over the property in question. Though the Federal Government maintained control of three installations in Florida, two in the Keys and one near Pensacola, attention quickly focused in on Fort Sumter, an imposing structure situated at the mouth of Charleston Harbor. Historian James McPherson argues citizens and leaders alike increasingly concentrated on Fort Sumter because it became "a commanding symbol of national sovereignty in the very cradle of secession, a symbol that the Confederate government could not tolerate if it wished its own sovereignty to be recognized by the world."[252] Native Charlestonian Mary Boykin Chesnut, in a dairy entry in late March 1861, perhaps noted it best when she wrote, "There stands Fort Sumter—en évidence—and thereby hangs peace or war."[253] When South Carolina seceded from the Union in mid-December, there were actually four Federal installations lining Charleston Harbor: Fort Moultrie on Sullivan's Island, the aforementioned Fort Sumter, Castle Pinckney on Shute's Folly Island, and Fort Johnson on James Island. As was protocol during the time period, troops often moved from installation to installation throughout the year to maintain the various facilities and to make sure equipment remained in good working order. At the time of the Palmetto State's departure from the Union, therefore, the only post garrisoned in strength by Federal troops was Fort Moultrie, where Major Robert Anderson commanded two companies, numbering roughly eighty-five officers and men, of the First United States Artillery.[254] On the night of December 26, Anderson moved his men and supplies from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter because he believed the former installation indefensible against a land-based attack. Anderson's strategic relocation subsequently elicited the ire of local residents and made a tenuous situation all the more precarious. Even before Anderson relocated his men, many Charlestonians could not

[252] James McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 263.
[253] C. Vann Woodward, ed. *Mary Chesnut's Civil War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), 40.
[254] *Fort Sumter: Official National Park Handbook.* Produced by the Division of Publications, Harpers Ferry Center, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, Washington, D.C., 18.

help but recognize the tension and anxiety enveloping their beloved city. In a letter to her children dated December 24, Caroline Howard Gilman expressed her own sense of foreboding when she, rather bluntly, took stock of the situation in Charleston and wrote, "What a volcano we stand over!"[255]

The aura of apprehension, as well as enthusiasm, only grew more pronounced as time progressed. Writing to her son Augustine in late February of 1861, Margaret Milligan Adger Smythe claimed there existed within Charleston "a kind of feverish anxiety, an intensity of feeling as the 4th of March draws near." "Everybody apprehends that the Crisis is approaching," the Smythe matriarch continued, "that we are on the eve of an explosion."[256] Many Carolinians, as well as southerners more generally, believed that once Lincoln took office on March 4 any chance of amicable relations or negotiations would quickly disintegrate. The only possible way to move forward peacefully, many maintained, was if the Federal Government transferred possession of any remaining installations over to the Confederacy before the new government took over in Washington. March 4 thus took on a heightened significance within the southern consciousness, as Confederate leaders and citizens alike recognized the date as a point of demarcation. Writing around the same time as her mother, Sarah A. Smythe, affectionately known as Sue, informed her brother that fellow Carolinians proved so eager to have the fort within their possession by March 4 that "there is some talk of attacking fort Sumter Tuesday."[257] When Lincoln finally took office in early March with Fort Sumter still firmly in Federal hands, many Carolinians surmised that their last hope of achieving a peaceful resolution of hostilities

[255] Gilman, Caroline Howard, 1794-1888. Caroline Howard Gilman papers, 1810-1880. (1036.00) South Carolina Historical Society.
[256] Smythe, Augustine Thomas, 1842-1914. Augustine Thomas Smythe papers, 1853-1938. (1209.03.02.04) South Carolina Historical Society.
[257] Ibid.

appeared exhausted and thus they began preparing for the prospect of war. Taking to her dairy once more in early April, Mary Chesnut related the tense atmosphere that pervaded Charleston over the course of the ensuing month when she lamented, "How can one settle down to anything? One's heart is in one's mouth all the time. Any minute this cannon may open on us, the fleet come in, &c&c."[258] For citizens like Mary Chesnut and Margaret Smythe, it seemed as though there existed no alternative but to sit and wait for the termination of an untenable status quo.

The fateful moment Chesnut anxiously awaited finally occurred when Confederate forces, under the command of General Pierre Gustave Toutant Beauregard, opened fire on Fort Sumter in the early morning hours of April 12, 1861. "Precisely at four and a half o'clock," the *Charleston Mercury* informed its readers, "a shell was fired from the signal battery on James' Island, which, making a beautiful curve, burst immediately above Fort Sumter."[259] While the pages of the *Mercury* described the scene as sublime and argued the attack represented the culmination of decades of sectional strife, many citizens of Charleston experienced the event in a much more somber manner. Lying in bed unable to sleep, Mary Chesnut was roused from her uneasy repose when she heard the booming of canon off in the distance. "I sprang out of bed," Chesnut wrote in her diary "And on my knees—prostrate—I prayed as I never prayed before."[260] In a letter to her brother Charles Pettigrew Allston, Elizabeth Waties Allston wrote that her entire household found themselves awakened "by the most terrible firing of cannon!"[261] The fear that initially gripped Elizabeth, affectionately known to her brother and other close friends as Bessie, quickly turned into elation once the young woman realized the magnitude of the events lately

[258] Woodward, *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, 41.
[259] The *Charleston Mercury*, "April Twelfth, 1861," April 13, 1861.
[260] Woodward, *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, 46.
[261] Allston family. Allston family papers, 1730-1901. (1164.00) South Carolina Historical Society.

inaugurated. “You cannot think the excitement it produced,” Elizabeth related to her brother, “I was watching all the proceedings from Uncle Phil’s top piazza through a spyglass [,] I could see everything plainly.”[262] Though Charlestonians experienced the event in a multitude of different ways, all certainly realized that the moment Confederate batteries opened fire on Fort Sumter, the nascent southern republic entered an entirely new stage in its national career. From this point forward, the Confederacy’s independence and security would assuredly require the effusion of blood and coin. Confederates could not look too much towards the future, however, for although the current battle seemed to progress rather favorably, the ultimate fate of the fort remained very much in doubt.

Any trepidation concerning the battle raging in the harbor quickly subsided by the afternoon of April 13 when, after over thirty hours of continuous bombardment, the guns fell silent and the two belligerents entered negotiations for the eventual surrender of the fort. After a series of discussions, both sides eventually reached an amicable agreement and in the early afternoon hours of Sunday, April 14, Major Anderson and his men lowered the United States’ flag to a fifty gun salute, boarded the steamer *Isabel,* and sailed north. At the conclusion of the surrender ceremony, the *Charleston Mercury* reported that citizens, clustered on boats and on shore, let out deafening shouts whose cumulative effect announced to the world “that the authority of the late United States upon the last foot of Carolina’s soil was finally withdrawn.”[263] The removal of the Stars and Stripes and the subsequent raising of the flag of the Confederacy, along with the Palmetto Flag, the *Mercury* continued, illustrated to Carolinians “that liberty had been vindicated, and that the State had established her claim to the skill and courage necessary to

[262] Allston family. Allston family papers, 1730-1901. (1164.00) South Carolina Historical Society.
[263] *The Charleston Mercury*, “The Latest: The Evacuation of Fort Sumter—Embarkation of Major Anderson,” April 15, 1861.

the cause she had the intellectual intrepidity to avow."[264] Ann Elliot Morris Vanderhorst, writing from her home on nearby Kiawah Island a few days prior, presaged the conclusions of the *Mercury* when she noted in her dairy that Carolina's sons acted "like veteran troops" when they stood by their guns and "poured a tremendous fire of Ball and shell into fort Sumpter."[265] The recent triumph, therefore, proved no mere stroke of luck, for citizens like Vanderhorst believed their fellow Carolinians exhibited a level of courage and determination rarely paralleled in the recent annals of history. The sense of pride and enthusiasm created by the fort's fall, editors of the *Mercury* claimed, sent a thrill through the hearts of all true citizens of the state, a thrill that seldom stirred "in the breasts of any men before."[266]

The victory achieved at Fort Sumter not only bolstered the belief in southern martial superiority, but it also reinforced the image of the Confederacy as a nation divinely chosen. The reason for such a steadfast conviction lay in the bloodless manner in which the battle was conducted and, ultimately, concluded. The only fatalities of the entire engagement occurred when one of the guns discharged prematurely during the pre-departure cannon salute and exploded a nearby pile of cartridges, resulting in the deaths of Pvt. Daniel Hough and Pvt. Edward Galloway.[267] Many saw in the battle the hand of God actively guiding and protecting his people through their first real trial. "The Battle of Fort Sumter is a marvelous affair in the bloodlessness of an engagement of thirty two hours and a half," the editors of the *Mercury* opined, claiming further that it was "surely the merciful finger of God" who conducted the course of the entire event.[268] Adele Allston, the daughter of former South Carolina governor

---

[264] *The Charleston Mercury*, "The Latest: The Evacuation of Fort Sumter…,"April 15, 1861.
[265] Vanderhorst, Ann Elliott Morris, 1795-1876. Ann Elliott Morris Vanderhorst papers, 1859-1882. (1169.02.09) South Carolina Historical Society.
[266] *The Charleston Mercury*, "The Latest: The Evacuation of Fort Sumter…," April 15, 1861.
[267] Neff, *Honoring the Civil War Dead*, 16-19; *Fort Sumter: Official National Park Handbook*, 32; and *The Charleston Mercury*, "The Latest: The Evacuation of Fort Sumter…," April 15, 1861.
[268] *The Charleston Mercury*, "April 13, 1861," April 15, 1061.

Robert Allston, concurred when she wrote in her diary, "Fort Sumter was bombarded and taken by our troops and in the great goodness of God not a man was killed or even severely wounded."[269] Corresponding with her brother in the immediate aftermath of Sumter's capture, Elizabeth Allston, Adele's sister, emphatically wrote, "And Charley does it not seem like a miracle not a man even wounded! We ought really to be thankful to heaven for having delivered us from our enemies in such a miraculous way."[270] Even as the battle continued to rage and the degree of death and destruction remained unknown, many Charlestonians clung to the belief that God remained at their side and would subsequently deliver a great victory. Writing in her diary on April 13, Mary Chesnut related an interesting, indeed illuminating, encounter she experienced with a group of women visiting her residence during the bombardment. Chesnut noted the women possessed "anxious hearts," but displayed a steadfast faith as cannons roared in the distance. As the women lay on their beds, moaning in a state solitary misery, Chesnut could hear them crying, "God is on our side," and when Chesnut ventured to ask the women why they held such a belief, they responded, "Of course He hates the Yankees."[271] The events of mid-April 1861 thus served as a veritable litmus test for ideologies associated with the nascent Confederate civil religion. The bombardment effectively tried, and subsequently confirmed, the veracity of the discourse developed by southern leaders over the preceding three decades. For a people who believed secession an act of purification, the battle in Charleston's harbor represented yet another stage in the cleansing process. The conflagration that ravaged Fort Sumter quite literally removed the last remaining Federal presence from within the Palmetto State. Much like a

[269] The daughter of Robert F.W. Allston and Adele Petigru, Adele Allston would eventually become part of the prominent Vanderhorst family when, in 1863, she married Ann Elliot Morris Vanderhorst's son, Arnoldus. Adele wrote this letter from the Vanderhorst family plantation, Chicora Wood, located in Georgetown County, South Carolina. See: Vanderhorst, Adele Allston, d. 1915. Adele Allston Vanderhorst papers, 1859-1930. (1169.02.10) South Carolina Historical Society.
[270] Allston family. Allston family papers, 1730-1901. (1164.00) South Carolina Historical Society.
[271] Woodward, *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, 48.

metallurgist, Carolinians used fire, inaugurated by shot and shell, to engage in their own sort of smelting process for the purpose of expunging the dross. With the source of impurity duly extracted, Confederates believed their nation could begin its divinely ordained journey unencumbered by the apostasy of the recent past.

News of Sumter's surrender quickly galvanized the North as differences of party and class succumbed to the rising tide of patriotism. On April 15, Abraham Lincoln issued a call for the raising of 75,000 troops to serve ninety-day enlistments for the express purposes of suppressing what the Union's chief executive viewed as a large-scale insurrection.[272] While the inauguration of war served to unite the Free States as never before, the eight states composing the Upper South found themselves faced with what historian James McPherson called "a crisis of decision."[273] Upon hearing the news of the firing on Fort Sumer on April 13, citizens of Richmond marched on the state house, tore down the Stars and Stripes, and jubilantly raised the Stars and Bars. Four days later, Virginia left the Union and brought with it a great amount of men and resources. Not only did Virginia represent the most populous and industrialized southern state, but the Old Dominion also possessed an historic lineage few other states could match.[274] Virginia's exodus from the Union thus exerted a powerful influence over other Upper South states and by the end of May Arkansas, Tennessee, and North Carolina joined the ranks of the Confederates States of America. In the four Border States, where slavery represented a far less central facet of society and thus a separate civil religion did not take hold like in the other eleven states comprising the Confederacy, the push for secession proved an uphill battle. Maryland and Kentucky initially declared their neutrality, but as time progressed indigenous

[272] McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom,* 275 and Potter, *The Impending Crisis*, 566-67.
[273] McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 276.
[274] Ibid, 279-80.

Unionism asserted itself as pro-Union candidates increasingly won control over state legislatures.[275] In Missouri, the Union held firm political control over most of the state, but the establishment of a rival, pro-Confederate, government exacerbated internal divisions and internecine warfare that would not stop for the next four years. The only state in which Unionism faced little to no challenges was Delaware, wherein the legislature expressed "unqualified disapproval" of secession and thereby refused to discuss the topic any further.[276] By late May 1861, therefore, the Confederacy had evolved from a nation in theory into a burgeoning republic that spanned over 750,000 square miles.

As the so-called second wave of secession began to wane, Tom Cobb, a Georgian then serving as a member of the Confederate Provisional Congress, introduced a resolution that both urged the provisional government, in some way, to explicitly acknowledge their reliance upon "an overruling Providence" and beseeched Jefferson Davis to appoint a day of fasting and prayer to rouse the public to do the same. [277] The Confederacy's chief executive seemed to have taken Cobb's request to heart and subsequently appointed a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer for Thursday, June 13, 1861. "The President of the Confederate States has invited us to set apart this day to penitence and prayer," the *Charleston Daily Courier* informed its readers on the first Confederate fast day, "The call is clothed with the authority of his high office, and it is our duty as citizens to obey with strictness and cheerfulness."[278] The *Courier's* editors went still further and argued that the day needed to be kept universally, claiming, "High and low, rich and poor

[275] In Kentucky, James McPherson argues Confederate commander Leonidas Polk's invasion of the state in early September of 1861, along with the winning of congressional seats in a special election held in late June, helped push the state towards Unionism, though pro-slavery Kentuckians did form a provisional government and subsequently joined the Confederacy in early December of the same year. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom,* 284-87, 293-97; also see; Marshall, *Creating a Confederate Kentucky*, 16-17.
[276] Delaware proved a bastion of Unionism because only two percent of its population owned slaves and over ninety percent of its black population was free. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom,* 297; for quote see 297, n. 31.
[277] For quote, see, Rable, *God's Almost Chosen Peoples*, 73; for citation, see 414 n. 15.
[278] *The Charleston Daily Courier*, "The Solemn Fast," June 13, 1861.

should tread the courts of the Lord's house, and pour out from contrite hearts their confessions and supplications."[279] A few days before the fast, on June 10, the *Charleston Mercury* took the concept of universal fasting to an extreme when an article asked, "Should not the observance of the solemn fast…be extended to our negros?" The editors concluded that the suggestion, first offered by a revered and respected minister of the state, struck their minds favorably because any calamity and chaos engendered by the war "threatens them equally with ourselves."[280] Believing the institution of racial slavery righteous and benevolent, white southerners argued a stable Confederate nation, envisioned as a Christian slaveholders republic, would safeguard, not jeopardize, the modicum of safety and security experienced by the region's African American population. The *Mercury* went on to call for the suspension of all labor and for masters and mistresses alike to do all within their power to promote a general observance of the fast day. "Who can doubt that God would look with favor upon such a blessed reunion of all classes of our population before his mercy seat," the paper explained, "and how much more vividly would the patriarchal feature of the institution be thereby realized!"[281] In a way, the first Confederate fast day constituted another litmus test for the Confederate nation and the civil religion that lay at its foundation. Popular participation, moreover, would ultimately be the barometer by which to measure the day's success or failure. A dutiful observance of the day by the Confederacy's citizens would not only likely induce God's continued favor, but it would also make manifest the population's acceptance of and support for the standing order. If large portions of the southern population ignored the call to fasting and prayer, then it would seriously undermine the southern conception of self and throw the nation, as well as the hierarchies it promised to protect, into

[279] *The Charleston Daily Courier*, "The Solemn Fast," June 13, 1861.
[280] *The Charleston Mercury*, "The Fast—A Suggestion," June 10, 1861.
[281] Ibid.

question. With so much at stake, it is no wonder Charleston's leading daily newspapers attempted to inform their readers of the importance of incorporating, even if only superficially, all facets of society in the day's observances.

The appointment of the first Confederate fast day allowed secular and religious leaders to further bolster the image of the Confederacy as a favored nation composed of an elect citizenry. The reinforcement of such claims on the inaugural fast day carried increased significance because in the past two months four more states had recently joined the ranks of the fledgling republic and effectively transformed the polity from what David Potter called a "Gulf Coast Confederacy" to a more inclusive and expansive Southern Confederacy that, for the first time, displayed an unprecedented degree of political unity.[282] As the Confederacy grew in size and scope, clergymen and governmental officials alike, especially those from the Lower South, believed it critical to incorporate their new brethren from the Upper South within the national fold. The discourse of the Confederate civil religion thus provided a mechanism through which to expedite, and potentially complete, the process of ideological assimilation. "We have received manifest and marvelous evidences of the favor of God," the *Charleston Daily Courier* boldly proclaimed on the first fast day, "the brilliant victory in Charleston harbor has been followed by a series of cheering successes, and the course of our Government has been marked by wisdom and foresight."[283] For a people who steadfastly believed, as one prayer eloquently put it, that Providence "watcheth over all things, and in whose hands is the disposal of all events," it only made sense that the Confederacy's recent triumphs, both political and military, were a result of God's direct intervention.[284]

---

[282] Potter, *The Impending Crisis*, 505.
[283] *The Charleston Daily Courier*, "The Solemn Fast," June 13, 1861.
[284] *The Charleston Daily Courier*, "Prayers Suitable for the Times in Which We Live," June 13, 61.

In a service created especially for the fast day, Bishop Thomas F. Davis, the leader of the Protestant Episcopal Church for the Diocese of South Carolina, likewise made explicit the connection between God and the Confederate nation. After beginning with an acknowledgement of the greatness and omnificence of Almighty God, the opening prayer for the service recognized that Providence "hast in all ages past heard the prayers of Thy servants which have feared Thee and called upon Thy name."[285] Not only did Davis, and the service he constructed, attempt to portray the Confederate people as the Almighty's temporal agents, but it also tried to fit the current fast day within a religious and historic framework that stretched back to time immemorial. In observing a collective day of fasting and humiliation, Confederates, much like countless peoples before them, recognized their ultimate reliance upon the will of God while they simultaneously displayed a fear of divine chastisement or retribution for perceived shortcomings. The very act of beseeching the Lord for guidance and forgiveness supposedly affirmed the nation's favored status, both before God and its own citizens, and consequently provided a level of assurance that the prayers of Providence's willing servants would fall upon receptive ears. While the beginning of the service appealed to God for forgiveness and, to a certain degree, absolution of sin, the end of the proceedings attempted to induce the Almighty into action on his people's behalf. "Stir up Thy strength, O Lord, and come and help us," the closing prayer requested, "O let not our sins cry against us for vengance; but hear us, Thy poor servants, begging mercy, and imploring Thy help, and that Thou wouldst be a defence unto us against the face of the enemy."[286] Davis's service thus depicted Confederates as providential charges who not only required, but largely deserved the Almighty's assistance. Whether

[285] *The Charleston Mercury*, "Fast Day Service for the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina," June 12, 1861 and *The Charleston Daily Courier*, "The Day of Public Prayer," June 12, 1861.
[286] *The Charleston Mercury*, "Fast Day Service for the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina," June 12, 1861 and *The Charleston Daily Courier*, "The Day of Public Prayer," June 12, 1861.

emanating from secular or religious sources, the rhetoric produced on the fast day illustrated an underlying belief in the sanctity of the southern cause as well as a presumption of divine arbitration.

Aside from providing an occasion in which to celebrate recent successes and situate their origins within the realm of Providence, the fast day also created an opportunity to police communal boundaries and behaviors. In constructing discourses for the fast, secular and religious leaders explicitly outlined acceptable and unacceptable behaviors, thus demarcating the parameters of citizenship by directly defining what it meant to be a loyal and reverent member of the new polity. Alongside pronouncements of divine favor, there also existed a register of perceived transgressions, both individual and collective, that threatened not only the salvation of souls, but the ultimate deliverance of the nation state. In explicating the sins for which southerners should atone, Confederate leaders endeavored to check dissent while simultaneously imposing their own conception of morality. One sin in particular, that of greed, received special admonishment in both of Charleston's leading newspapers precisely because it proved deleterious from both a temporal and transcendental point of view. "Are our thoughts too much given to money-making," the *Charleston Mercury* queried, "or luxurious case and pleasure?"[287] The *Charleston Daily Courier* echoed the sentiments of the *Mercury* when "avariciousness" appeared first on their list of "flagrant transgressions" committed against Almighty God.[288] Not only did the practices of hoarding and price gouging threaten to undermine the stability of the Confederate economy, and thus the nation itself, but it also violated a central teaching of Christianity as presented in the Gospel of Mark, wherein Jesus claimed one of the most

[287] *The Charleston Mercury*, "The Day," June 13, 1861.
[288] *The Charleston Daily Courier*, "The Solemn Fast," June 13, 1861

important commandments was that one "must love your neighbor as yourself."[289] Newspapers lambasted citizens who chose to enrich themselves at the expense of their neighbors, arguing they neglected both their private and public duties while simultaneously undermining "a beneficent but responsible patriarchal system." [290] In creating a stigma around hoarding and price gouging, effectively casting them as outside the bounds of respectable behavior, Confederates leaders hoped to curtail such activities and equate opposition to current economic policies or procedures as both political and religious apostasy. Personal actions thus took on a heightened significance and the manner in which one observed the fast, as well as their decision to either forgo or indulge in the day's activities, reflected not only one's piety, but also their belief in and devotion to the Confederacy. The editors of the *Daily Courier* perhaps put it best when they, rather bluntly, claimed, "The desecration of this Sabbath were at once a sin against our country and our God."[291]

The perception amongst Carolina's leaders that it fell to them to impose morality and prescribe behavior to their more humble neighbors caused many articles and orations to appear highly critical in nature. Society was replete with sin, secular and religious leaders maintained, and thus Carolinians needed to take advantage of the fast day to earnestly look inward and cleanse themselves, along with the nation writ large, of any remaining traces of corruption. Urging their readers to take the call for introspection seriously, the *Daily Courier* warned, "If we simply comply with the letter of the proclamation, if we do nothing more than rest from our labors, and abstain from the indulgences of our appetites—we shall fall far below the meaning and purpose of the call." "We must not only confess, but feel our transgressions," the paper

[289] *The Revised English Bible with the Apocrypha* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 42.
[290] *The Charleston Mercury*, "The Day," June 13, 1861.
[291] *The Charleston Daily Courier*, "The Solemn Fast," June 13, 1861.

continued, "not only mortify our bodies, but chasten our souls; not only acknowledge our iniquities as a people, but as individuals."[292] The *Mercury* largely concurred with such assertions, arguing that only through critical self-examination could fellow citizens "purify and elevate our minds to a true knowledge of what constitutes a people good and great and happy."[293] George Rable, in his analysis of the first Confederate fast day, argues the discourses produced for the occasion revealed an almost arrogant sense of confidence, as the sins most often mentioned by Confederates were, in fact, Yankee sins.[294] While leading Confederates certainly described the national sins that led to secession and southern independence, and thus largely implicated their northern brethren, it would be erroneous to downplay the degree of self-reflection, indeed self-criticism, that took place on the first fast day. Although there existed widespread agreement that northerners represented apostates of the utmost degree, many of Charleston's leading publications sought to temper the confidence of those Confederates who viewed themselves, as well as their nation, as exceedingly righteous. "What if they are greater sinners than we," the *Daily Courier* excoriated, "our guilt, nevertheless, is deep, and were God to visit us in judgment, the strokes of His rod would be the direst woes and calamities."[295] "We have broken His Sabbath," the paper's editors continued, "we have turned our backs on the ordinances of His Church—we have given a loose rein to our passions—we have trampled upon His commandments—we have despised His threats, refused to receive His promises—and forgotten our solemn vows."[296] The *Mercury*, for their part, reminded their subscribers that as human beings, Confederates could never completely escape from their natural state of sin and thus any

[292] *The Charleston Daily Courier*, "The Solemn Fast," June 13, 1861.
[293] *The Charleston Mercury*, "The Day," June 13, 1861.
[294] Rable, *God's Almost Chosen Peoples*, 73.
[295] *The Charleston Daily Courier*, "The Solemn Fast," June 13, 1861.
[296] Ibid.

arrogant sense of self-confidence proved utterly inappropriate.[297] Although certainly self-serving to an extent, the discussions taking place through print and oratory represented more than mere exercises in political pontification.

The fast day in late spring 1861 was remarkable for a number of reasons. First, the juxtaposition of laudation and excoriation, otherwise known as a jeremiad, augmented a discursive template from which civil and religious leaders would continuously draw over the course of the next four years.[298] Incongruous in nature, yet containing a remarkable degree of internal cogency, the ideologies espoused on the first national fast day placed the Confederacy within a religious framework and imbued it with divine rectitude while simultaneously reproaching the nation's citizens for their supposed failure to conduct themselves in a manner consummate with their elect status. Secondly, the first Confederate fast day is noteworthy because it represents a benchmark in southern cultural history. It is in the late spring and early summer of 1861 that a southern civil religion developed over the course of the preceding three decades completed its evolution into a fully formed Confederate civil religion. This transition is perhaps best encapsulated in Benjamin Morgan Palmer's aforementioned fast day sermon entitled "National Responsibility Before God." After beginning the sermon by providing his audience with an historical and religious context through which to understand secession and the creation of the Confederacy, effectively equating the departure of the slaveholding states from the Union to the Israelites' exodus from slavery in Egypt, Palmer immediately attempted to impress upon his attentive audience the importance of the first national day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer. "At the moment we are crystallizing into a nation, at the very opening of our separate career," Morgan elucidated, "we bend the knee together before God—appealing to

[297] *The Charleston Mercury*, "The Day," June 13, 1861.
[298] Stout, *Upon the Altar*, xx.

his justice in the adjudication of our cause, and submitting our destiny to his supreme arbitration."[299] Along with a recognition of and submission to God's divine will, Palmer believed the fast day performed an essential service by clearly and concisely formulating foundational principles that all southerners, regardless of religious affiliation, could support. Palmer argued that upon the central truth that "God is and that He is the rewarder of them that diligently seek him," all Confederates could agree. "Hebrew or Christian, Protestant or Catholic—all can subscribe this ultimate truth," Palmer continued, "and here we all meet to-day to say that He is our trust in whom nations as well as men 'live and move and have their being.'"[300] The observance of a collective day of fasting not only fostered the development of an inclusive national community anchored in shared political and religious convictions, but it also instilled within the southern populace the belief that there existed, henceforth and forever, a covenant or sacred agreement that bound Confederates to an omnipotent providence.[301] While the belief in the existence of a reciprocal relationship between God and the southern people certainly predated the first Confederate fast day, the present observances allowed citizens, en masse, to pledge their fealty and devotion. No longer acting as citizens of individual states, Confederates now approached the Almighty as a corporate body both eager and earnest. "The bonds of this covenant, which we seal this day to the Lord," Palmer avowed, "are entered upon the register in which the Recording Angel writes up the deeds of time, before the Eternal throne."[302] In issuing what Palmer called a "beautiful proclamation," the Confederacy's chief executive thus created

[299] Palmer, "National Responsibility Before God," 202.
[300] Ibid, 209.
[301] Faust, *Confederate Nationalism*, 28-29.
[302] Palmer, "National Responsibility Before God," 202.

the perfect occasion for the nascent southern republic, along with its citizens, to "ratify the covenant, and to set up the memorial stone thereof."[303]

The initial reticence to mix religion and politics, displayed by civil officials and ecclesiastics alike during the secession crisis, seemed to all but dissipate as the Confederacy celebrated its first national day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer.[304] Although there certainly existed some dissenting voices, George Rable contends that, overall, there were no widespread objections to the espousal and dissemination of civil religion. Not only was the day "conscientiously observed in the army, on plantations, in small towns, and in cities," but businesses shut their doors and "streets seemed Sunday quiet."[305] Roughly a week after the first fast day, the *Charleston Mercury* published a letter, written from Gainesville, Alabama, that lends credence to Rable's assertion while simultaneously shedding light on the day's reception amongst the Confederate populace. "Yesterday (Fast Day) was more universally observed among us than ever such a day was before;" one known only as G.H.D. informed a friend living in Charleston, "every store, office and shop being shut up all day."[306] After expressing satisfaction with the successful reception of the fast day amongst his neighbors, G.H.D. then went on to opine about what he hoped fellow citizens gleaned from the holiday. "I trust our people are beginning to realize the importance of trusting in God for success," G.H.D. wrote, "Our cause being *just* and *right*, and God on our side, we *must* conquer a peace."[307] Although interesting in many respects, G.H.D.'s letter is especially remarkable because it shows the degree to which

---

[303] Palmer, "National Responsibility Before God," 202. 208.
[304] George Rable argues that in the build up to the election of 1860, as well as in its immediate aftermath, "Disagreements over the relationship between faith and public affairs persisted; neither members of the clergy nor their congregations seemed ready to weld religious faith to partisan politics." See; Rable, *God's Almost Chosen Peoples*, 34.
[305] Rable, *God's Almost Chosen Peoples*, 74.
[306] *The Charleston Mercury*, "Extract of a Letter from Gainesville, Ala., to a gentlemen in this city, under date of 14th Inst." June 21, 1861.
[307] Ibid.

white southerners internalized the ideologies of the southern, now Confederate, civil religion. Primed by decades of pronouncements emanating from secular and religious officials, it is not surprising that G.H.D. assured his friend, in a rather matter-of-fact manner, of the righteous and sacrosanct nature of Confederate cause. Moreover, in relating his desire for fellow citizens to put their faith in the transcendental and not the temporal, G.H.D. is revealing his belief that God represents both the Confederacy's core custodian and the conflict's ultimate arbiter. In printing the letter on the front page of their paper, the editors of the *Mercury* wanted to broadcast the apparent success of the first fast day, thus illustrating the nascent nation's strength and sense of solidarity, while simultaneously providing Carolinians with an overarching interpretation of current events deemed, at least by the publishers, entirely appropriate.

June 1861 thus found Confederates joined together, both physically and figuratively, in observation of the first national holiday proclaimed within their newly established southern polity. Neither the occasion nor the messages presented, however, would have struck Carolinians, or white southerners more generally for that matter, as particularly extraordinary. For well over half a century, residents of the Palmetto State grew accustomed to hearing how they, as American citizens, represented an elect people tasked with advancing providential designs. The nation to which they belonged, Carolinians came to understand, constituted a vehicle through which to achieve not only temporal, but transcendental objectives as well. In an ever-evolving cosmic drama, therefore, South Carolinians, both as individuals and as members of a larger corporate body, represented actors of paramount importance. The degree of continuity between the messages heard on that first Confederate fast day and those uttered on countless occasions throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries should not obscure the

immense changes Carolinians experienced, especially in regards to context, when engaging with the discourse of civil religion as the antebellum era progressed.

Initially, those living within South Carolina, like countless other Americans, took pride in their national identity and revered their membership in a burgeoning democratic republic whose future seemed filled with limitless potential. Civil religion originally served as a catalyst for cohesion by reinforcing a sense of civic pride and responsibility while also fostering bonds of affection and affinity meant to be national in nature. The tumult of the Nullification Crisis, however, caused many within the Palmetto State to take pause and to reconsider the privileges, as well as the pitfalls, associated with their citizenship. Viewing their relationship with the Federal Government as more of a burden than a benefit, a small but increasingly influential cadre of individuals began arguing that only through the establishment of an independent nation could southern slaveholders safeguard their autonomy and, ultimately, their sovereignty.[308] Over the course of the ensuing three decades, prominent Carolinians such as Robert Barnwell Rhett and, rather sporadically, James Henry Hammond worked diligently through print and oratory to construct an imagined political community anchored in a sense of cultural difference and superiority.[309] Viewed with suspicion by some and downright contempt by others, these early

[308] Charles Reagan Wilson argues the dream of southern nationalism did not emerge in South Carolina until the 1850's. Wilson is certainly correct in that until the final decade of the antebellum era southern nationalism largely failed to gain popular support or ideological traction within the consciousness of most Carolinians. Wilson's assertion, however, downplays, indeed ignores, how the idea of southern nationalism initially appeared within the state following the Nullification Crisis. Although initially supported only by a relatively small group of radicals, it is important to recognize that southern nationalism did not emerge ex nihilo in the 1850s. Southern nationalism, therefore, possessed a far more deep-rooted lineage than many historians are willing to recognize or acknowledge. See; Wilson, *Baptized in Blood*, 3.

[309] Southern separatists took advantage of major advances made in print technology to disseminate their ideas not only to a local, but to a regional audience as well. In many ways, the idea of an independent southern nation initially germinated within the pages of various newspapers, periodicals, and pamphlets. Daniel Walker Howe, in his examination of the "Communications Revolution" occurring in the first half of the nineteenth century, argues the evolution of print technology "magnified the power of the spoken word" as never before. Further, Howe highlights how better communication did not necessarily foster national harmony, for while critics of slavery took advantage of new technologies to spread their ideas and hopefully undermine the South's peculiar institution, defenders of slavery likewise seized upon the opportunities offered by the Communications Revolution to buttress the institution and

fire-eaters often worked in relative isolation because many of their peers, especially those from neighboring southern states, expressed hostility towards ideologies deemed radical and rash. The leaders of the incipient nationalist movement, however, quickly realized that they possessed a key group of allies who agreed with their diagnosis of, though net yet with their remedy to, national maladies. Religious leaders throughout the Palmetto State, much like their secular counterparts, viewed deepening sectional tension with growing alarm and subsequently, both consciously and unconsciously, radicalized religious ideologies to serve sectional, largely political, ends. To lend credence to their agenda, aspiring southern nationalists, along with their ecclesiastic allies, appropriated and contorted, or "sectionalized," the discourse of American civil religion, placing the institution of racial slavery at its foundation, to buttress a perception of regional distinction and to further justify or contextualize a burgeoning separatist movement. When prominent Carolinians attempted to gain popular support for secession, therefore, they constructed an argument that was at once economic, political, and religious. The southern civil religion helped forge an ideological and cultural consensus on the eve of secession, as the discourse integrated Carolinians of, oftentimes, antagonistic groups into a collective community that not only inhabited a similar rhetorical landscape, but also grew closer as a direct result of a shared sense of victimhood and providential destiny.[310] After the formal establishment of the

prevent the "intrusion of unwelcome expression." See; Daniel Walker Howe, *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815-1848* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 5, 7, 242, 371, 493, 496-97, 627, 690-98. Also see; Charles Sellers, *The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815-1846* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 369-72.

[310] In many ways, the discourse of civil religion created what Benedict Anderson called "unified fields of exchange and communication." In examining the early emergence of national consciousness, Anderson argues the development of print languages created an avenue of exchange that allowed for previously unheard of levels of communal comprehension and understanding. Inhabiting a plane below Latin, but above the myriad of spoken vernaculars, print languages provided a form of communication that proved recognizable and easily comprehensible. The southern civil religion, much in the same way, generated a lexicon that transcended tradition divisions, such as class or geographic region, and created a common foundation of understanding. See; Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 44.

Confederate States of America, the now Confederate civil religion continued to function as a discourse through which to foster a degree of cooperation and integration while simultaneously stifling dissent. As Confederates from the Rio Grande to the Rappahannock mobilized for war, therefore, many earnestly believed in, and few openly challenged, the characterization of the Confederacy as a divinely chosen nation. Residents of the Palmetto State could feel the utmost confidence as their sons marched off to battle precisely because they felt assured, as one South Carolina paper proudly proclaimed, that southern forces, like Cromwell's army of old, advanced with Bibles in hand and "the laws of the universe and the attributes of the Almighty" steadfastly pledged to their support.[311]

[311] *The Daily Southern Guardian*, "Faith," June 24, 1861.

CHAPTER TWO
"Breasting a Cruel Sea of Suffering and Blood:" Confederate Civil Religion in the Crucible of War

Early September 1863 found the residents of Charleston, South Carolina, on edge as a result of a particularly devastating, and largely disappointing, summer campaign season. The optimism and self-confidence gained in the early stages of war soon gave way to a deep sense of foreboding and malaise. It was a pervasive feeling of pessimism that the editors of the *Charleston Mercury* attempted to counteract when they published an article on August 3 entitled "Fortitude." In opening, the article acknowledged that the Confederacy's state of affairs proved less than ideal and as a result a sizeable portion of the citizenry expressed a sense of restlessness and outright frustration. "However gloomy the horizon in politics or war may be, however oppressed a good citizen may feel," the paper cautioned their readers, "this one fact is certain, hopeless despair makes it still worse."[312] The editors continued on this theme by arguing that, as the old adage said, a feather may indeed break the camel's back, but in order to do so it required "all the previous heavy load" to enable the feather to wield such power.[313] In the end, the *Mercury's* editors wanted to prevent their readers from falling into cycles of despair and doubt from which they might never return. This sort of behavior would not only hurt the individual, but the nation more generally because it would almost certainly sow the seeds of division and, ultimately, defeatism.

[312] *The Charleston Mercury*, "Fortitude," August 3, 1863.
[313] Ibid.

If mounting despair represented a malady poisoning the body politic from within, then fortitude and perseverance offered, according to the article, the only applicable antidote. Not only did the possession of these attributes show man's "moral power in the noblest light," but at the most fundamental level "nearly all" depended upon the nation's ability to demonstrate resilience and determination. Hoping to soothe their readers' strained psyches, the publication attempted to focus their subscribers' attention towards a vague, indeed indistinct, future. "If the best cause is oppressed, fret not," the article maintained, "but wait for the due season, and prepare thyself patiently and perseveringly for it."[314] Time, it seemed, represented one of the Confederacy's greatest assets because it possessed the power to heal all wounds, whether they be physical, emotional, individual, or national.

Roughly one month after the *Mercury's* article appeared to the people of Charleston, the Columbia-based *Confederate Baptist* printed a similar piece and thus highlighted how a growing crisis of confidence proved a contagion infecting nearly the entirety of the South Carolina Lowcountry, from its coastal parishes to its interior districts.[315] Entitled "Blessings Deferred," the article argued that much like the Israelites who found their journey to Canaan protracted and

[314] *The Charleston Mercury*, "Fortitude," August 3, 1863.

[315] There exist two misprints in this edition of the *Baptist* that that are important to note in order to clarify the article's date of publication and distribution. On the front page of the paper, the date is listed as September 9, 1863 and it is labeled Vol. I, No. 4. This represents the first misprint because the paper released one week prior, on September 2, is listed as Vol. I, No. 44 and the issue published one week later, on September 16, is identified as Vol. I, No. 46. The paper for September 9, therefore, is Vol. I, No. 45, not, as listed, No. 4. The second error appears on the second page of the paper. In the top left corner of the page, where the date and place of publication is listed once more for the reader, the paper reads Sept. 2, 1863. The date, however, should read Sept. 9, 1863, as both the editions before and after this printing are labeled correctly. Nearly its entire existence, from the first printing on October 1, 1862 to one of the final runs on January 25, 1865, the *Confederate Baptist* possessed a very clearly defined structure in how it was printed. The paper always had four pages, the first two containing mostly with local and national news and the final two filled with advertisements, obituaries, and a section geared towards children entitled "Uncle Fabian." There is a clear misprint on the second page of the *Baptist's* September 9 issue because, otherwise, this would represent the one edition that breaks radically with the periodical's established structure. If this was not a misprint, then the September 2 issue would contain two second pages, five pages in total, and the September 9 issue would have only three pages total and would completely lack a second page.

their subsequent arrival deferred, Confederates likewise found themselves "sadly disappointed" because the acknowledgement of southern independence seemed long overdue. Instead of enjoying the fruits of sovereignty and national autonomy, the *Baptist's* editors admitted, "We are yet in the wilderness, exposed to its privations and toils, and beleaguered by our enemies." Though the Confederacy's circumstances looked bleak, the article insisted, much as the piece printed in the *Mercury* in early August, that no one should "yield to discouragement." Even the most cursory understanding of religious or historical precedent, the periodical maintained, revealed the Confederacy's tribulations proved neither extraordinary nor insurmountable. "It accords with the analogies of divine Providence," the paper explained, "that great blessings are secured only by long and painful endeavor." The article even went so far as to argue citizens should temper their grandiose, largely unrealistic, expectations because "great commonwealths do no rise up like an exhalation from the earth; but are built up, like a majestic temple by the steady accumulation of protracted labor and combined skill."[316]

Remaining rather abstract, the article concluded by making a direct appeal to the citizens of Columbia, as well as to Confederates more generally, to stay steadfast in the face of increasing adversity. Building upon an ideological theme that appeared in the columns of the *Mercury* some weeks prior, the editors of the *Baptist* similarly endeavored to fix their readers' gaze upon a nebulous future by explaining that although their path "is long, edged with fires, and beset with foes . . . the end must, at length, be reached; and the blessings in store for our people, when we arrive at our political land of promise, will be a full compensation for all the troubles of the long and dreary journey."[317] Discontent and dissatisfaction certainly proved natural, even normal, given the southern nation's current predicament, but the publication cautioned their subscribers

[316] *The Confederate Baptist*, "Blessings Deferred," September 2, 1863
[317] Ibid.

against giving into the emotions of the day and, instead, hoped Confederates would view a perilous present through the lens of reason and measured contemplation.

The strikingly similar tone and messaging coming from the pages of the *Mercury* and the *Baptist* are not only interesting, but also incredibly illustrative. It is within the columns of these two publications that one sees a subtle, yet significant shift in a Confederate civil religion evolving from its embryonic stage to its adolescence. Initially emerging as a means through which to understand and interpret the rise of sectional antagonisms and, ultimately, secession, Confederate civil religion began to fundamentally change form and function. No longer simply justifying the Confederacy's existence and its secular, as well as spiritual, importance, Confederate civil religion also attempted to help citizens make sense of and cope with what Civil War Americans referred to as "the work of death."[318] In thinking about death as "work," Confederates, as well as their northern adversaries, understood death not only as something actively inflicted upon others, but also as a phenomenon to be experienced and endured.[319] While once laudatory and bullish in nature, the discourse of civil religion grew increasingly dejected as the Civil War escalated. Many of the foundational elements associated with the Lost Cause of the postwar period, namely its forward-looking nature, its veneration of Confederate troops, and its central theme of redemption thus emerged during the war itself as a result of adverse military and political developments.[320] Additionally, the very nature of Confederate civil religion also experienced a great deal of transformation. What began as an elite-controlled, patently proactive,

[318] Faust, *This Republic of Suffering*, xiv. Also see; Laderman, *The Sacred Remains*, 96-99, 101-02.
[319] Faust, *This Republic of Suffering*, xiv
[320] Wilson, *Baptized in Blood*, 37, 41-45, 49-52, 57, 75; Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy*, 116, 122, 124; Poole, *Never Surrender*, 44-48, 55; Jason Phillips, *Diehard Rebels: The Confederate Culture of Invincibility* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2007), 181-83; Connelly and Bellows, *God and General Longstreet,* 23-24, 29; Hunter, "The Immortal Confederacy," 185-89, 196-200; and William W. Bennett, *A Narrative of the Great Revival which Prevailed in the Southern Armies During the Late Civil War between the States of the Federal Union* (Harrisonburg: Sprinkle Publications, 1989).

discourse bent on achieving an ideological consensus soon gave way to a more reciprocal and reactive construct hoping to maintain morale while simultaneously acknowledging and explaining mounting trauma.

In the South Carolina Lowcountry, the seminal event precipitating an evolution in the discourse of Confederate civil religion was the Federal invasion and subsequent occupation of Port Royal and the adjoining sea islands in early November 1861. W. Scott Poole, examining the South Carolina Upcountry, argues the invasion of the region by William Tecumseh Sherman's army in February 1865 raised some disturbing questions for the state's residents and inaugurated a process of individual and national introspection.[321] The abject humiliation and degradation experience at the hands of the Union Army pushed many Carolinians, like famous poet and proslavery ideologue William Gilmore Simms, to ponder, supposedly for the first time, the variety of ways in which providential designs proved "so inscrutable to man."[322] While the Carolina Upcountry remained a region relatively untouched by Federal forces until the waning months of the war, the same could not be said of the Lowcountry, which experienced an occupation lasting nearly three and a half years.[323] It is in the late fall of 1861 that a largely bombastic, exceedingly confident, civil religion started to grow increasingly subdued and somber while also beginning to incorporate new ideological motifs to help white Carolinians endure the invasion of their state. It is striking how within a matter of weeks the tone of civil religion within the Palmetto State went from a zenith to a nadir. Over the next twenty-one months, until the late summer of 1863, the discourse of civil religion would remain dour in nature and subsequently

[321] Poole, *Never Surrender*, 49-50.
[322] Ibid, 50, 216 n.37.
[323] In discussing the South Carolina interior, James McPherson points out that by early 1865 the Upcountry represented one of the only "sizeable portions of the Confederate heartland still untouched by invading Yankees." See; McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 825.

formed a divergent, indeed localized, discourse that distinguished South Carolina from many of her sister states within the Confederacy. The ideological and rhetorical themes that initially emerged in the wake of Port Royal, mainly the tendency of white citizens to sanctify the sacrifices of their soldiers and to look for an ultimate redemption in an ill-defined future, were amplified and nationalized in the final two years of the war as a result of the Confederacy's deteriorating military and political situation.

It is important before continuing to make a brief comment concerning the geographic focus of the accompanying analysis. This study takes as its focus the South Carolina Lowcountry, defined along geological lines as the region stretching from the coastal plains of the Atlantic Coast through, and including, the sandy hills along the state's fall line.[324] Unlike those either preceding or following, however, this chapter argues the traditional boundaries separating Lowcountry from Upcountry, whether they were cultural or sociopolitical, began to blur as the Civil War progressed. Only seven months into the conflict, Union forces took control of Port Royal, along with the surrounding sea islands, and sent the area's planter elite fleeing to the interior of the state.[325] In a letter written only weeks after the fall of Port Royal, Caroline Preston informed her friend Mary Chesnut that Columbia was already "filled with refugee women and children" because the wretched and merciless Yankees "are driving our friends from their homes and devastating the land."[326] As the Federal foothold expanded, the refugee crisis only grew more dire. So many refugees flooded into South Carolina's interior that the *Mercury* suggested those leaving the Lowcountry, and especially Charleston, should seek shelter in Middle Georgia,

[324] Poole, *Never Surrender*, 6; McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds*, 23-24, 30-31; and Ford, *Origins of Southern Radicalism*, viii-ix.
[325] Poole and Bass, *The Palmetto State*, 44-45 and Willie Lee Rose, *Rehearsal for Reconstruction: The Port Royal Experiment* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1964), 16-17.
[326] Woodward, *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, 244-25.

as "The Up-Country towns of our own State are already crowded, and provisions of all kinds extremely dear."[327] Roughly a year and a half later, the *Confederate Baptist* reported so many Lowcountry residents fled their homes due to "the Barbarous cruelty of the invader" that the state's largest population center at Charleston "is now deserted of her inhabitants."[328] Along with their families and personal possessions, residents of the Lowcountry brought their ideological outlooks along as they sought refuge in the state's interior. The mass displacements of people provided an opportunity for the discourse of civil religion to penetrate deeply into the interior and at least start the process of incorporating the Upcountry into the rhetorical and ideological world then being created throughout the Lowcountry.

In the wake of the Confederacy's inaugural fast day observances, morale within the state of South Carolina ran incredibly high as civilians and soldiers alike possessed a great deal of self-assurance. The confidence, bordering on hubris, experienced throughout the Palmetto State arose largely as a result of two distinct, yet interconnected, factors. The complete victory at Fort Sumter in early April 1861 contributed to, and seemed to reinforce, a previously established belief in southern martial superiority. Roughly two weeks after the first fast day, an article entitled "A Good Word for our Enemies" appeared in the *Charleston Daily Courier* that thus illustrated the pervasiveness of Confederates' certainty in their military might. Supposedly driven by a sense of charity, the editors of the *Courier* attempted to paint their northern enemies in a more congenial manner in order to stem the feelings of animus mounting in the bosoms of southern citizens. While a majority of the article detailed Federal offences and sought to provide "some considerations for extenuation" that largely characterized northerners as either fanatics or the hapless victims of zealots, the very end of the piece practically thanked Americans for acting

[327] *The Charleston Mercury*, "Summer Retreats for our People," May 10, 1862.
[328] *The Confederate Baptist*, "The Widowed City," September 9, 1863.

boldly and recklessly in the recent past. "Had they not charged their tongues and pens to abstain from the truth," the editors argued, then the spirit and resolve that now characterized the eleven sovereign states composing the Confederacy many never have been aroused. Almost in passing, the article also mentioned how if it were not for the Union's conceited behavior then the "spirit and qualities they [Confederates] have exhibited on the march and in the field," along with the "great renown" gained in uniform, would not have come to light.[329] Even early setbacks could not shake Confederate beliefs in their own preeminence. Shortly after Confederate forces withdrew from Harper's Ferry in mid-June 1861, Jefferson Davis, while having a conversation with Mary Chesnut in his residence in Richmond, laughed and made light of southerners' faith in their own power in the face of seemingly overwhelming odds.[330] "We think every Southerner equal to three Yankees at least," Chesnut recalled Davis saying, and with the way things progressed the chief executive joked, "We will have to be equivalent to a dozen now."[331] Although made in jest, Davis's comments illustrated that no matter what the odds or how long the war might take, he possessed no doubt that southerners would ultimately achieve their goals through "pluck and muscle, endurance, and dogged courage."[332]

The second factor leading to an overabundance of confidence in the Palmetto State was the steadfast belief, fostered by the discourse of civil religion, that the Confederacy represented a divinely chosen nation carrying out God's will on earth. With Providence on their side, Confederates could hardly imagine, at least at this stage of the war, a scenario in which their arms or their cause could experience failure. In late June, the *Mercury* printed a poem written by

[329] *The Charleston Daily Courier*, "A Good Word for our Enemies," June 26, 1861.
[330] David J. Eicher, *The Longest Night: A Military History of the Civil War* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2001), 77-78.
[331] Woodward, *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, 83.
[332] Ibid.

Mrs. Anna Petre Dinni[ng] entitled "A Song for the South" that expressed just such a sentiment. After using her prose to rally southerners to rise up in defense of their nascent nation, the author attempted to alleviate any lingering fear of the dangers ahead by reminding readers that they did not resist invasion alone. The penultimate stanza of the poem read:

> Go forth to the Battle in Liberty's cause,
> God sanctions the act---for 'tis Justice ye seek---
> Your homes to protect---one of Nature's great laws,
> Your rights to defend---and your means are *not* weak;
> For He will assist you, whose arm is most strong,
> Who hateth the spoiler---and crusheth the wrong.[333]

Victory for the new southern nation, therefore, seemed all but assured precisely because God proved the Confederacy's most powerful ally. Since Providence played such an integral role in the birth of the Confederacy, many thought it unfathomable that God would usher a nation in being only to forsake it on the battlefield. The belief in the righteous, indeed sacrosanct, nature of their cause thus served to reinforce the sense of assurance Confederates possessed in their arms.

Confederate confidence and mettle would face its first real test in late July at the Battle of Manassas. Union Commanding General Irvin McDowell, a former officer on Winfield Scott's staff who lacked any experience in field command, drew up a plan for his roughly 35,000 troops to descend from Washington, D.C. and attack the nearly 20,000 Confederate troops under the command of P.G.T. Beauregard defending Manassas Junction, located in northwestern Virginia.[334] Crucial to McDowell's strategy was for another contingent of Federal troops

---

[333] *The Charleston Mercury*, "A Song for the South," June 21, 1861.

[334] The degree to which McDowell developed a battle plan for one of the first major engagements of the Civil War is a matter debated by some historians. James McPherson contends the Union commander did indeed have a strategy, but it fell apart largely due to the failure of his subordinates. Historian Harry S. Stout offers a slightly more critical evaluation of McDowell, as he argues the general proved so confident in his own superiority and ability to end the war with one decisive blow that he "hardly bothered with a comprehensive plan of battle, nor did he consider the possibility of Confederate reinforcements that might overwhelm his army." See; Stout, *Upon the Altar,* 64 and McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 335-36. Also see; Eicher, *The Longest Night*, 81-83, 87-88.

stationed near Harper's Ferry to pin down, or at least keep occupied, a large Confederate force operating nearby to prevent their reinforcing Beauregard at Manassas. Right from the outset, however, it seemed as though nothing could go right for the Union. Initially scheduled to commence in early July, McDowell's advance found itself delayed for nearly two weeks as a result of supply and manpower shortages. Compounding these issues, once northern forces amassed and marched towards Manassas it became abundantly clear that McDowell's prior planning proved all for naught. General Robert Patterson, the man in charge of keeping Joseph E. Johnston's 11,000 troops otherwise occupied in the Shenandoah Valley, grew overly cautious and became confused at his orders and effectively "maneuvered himself right out of the campaign."[335] When McDowell finally reached Manassas Junction, therefore, he faced a force nearly equal in numbers to his own.

The battle commenced in the early morning hours of July 21 and, at first, it seemed as though McDowell's troops would win the day as they continually pushed their Confederate adversaries back across the Warrenton Turnpike and towards the crucial southern railroad junction at Manassas. Initial reports of Union triumph, however, proved premature as Federal fatigue, combined with the arrival and deployment of Confederate reinforcements, allowed southern forces to gain the upper hand. Snatching defeat from the jaws of victory, McDowell's forces fled and an organized retreat quickly escalated into a chaotic, desperate, rout. In the end, over eight hundred soldiers lost their lives and the Confederacy experienced "one of the most decisive tactical victories of the war."[336]

---

[335] McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 335-36, 339.

[336] James McPherson argues that as a result of the battle the combined death toll for both sides was roughly 1,025 men. In a more recent estimation, Harry Stout cites a slightly lower figure and contends between the two combatants the number of soldiers killed was roughly 847. See; McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 340-47 and Stout, *Upon the Altar*, 64, 66-67.

The nearly complete victory sent waves of jubilation and glee throughout the Confederacy. The editors of the *Richmond Whig*, putting the Confederacy's newfound sense of cockiness on full display, argued the recent battle not only showed the "breakdown of the Yankee race," but also, perhaps most importantly, ushered in a new national destiny for the young southern polity. No longer content with simply fighting to ensure their own existence, the paper believed the South's military prowess, along with the sacred character of their cause, practically compelled the new nation to "take the scepter of power."[337] The victory achieved at Manassas thus reinforced the prevailing belief that southern culture, society, and religious values proved superior to their northern counterparts. In framing the battle and its consequences in such a way, the *Whig,* at least rhetorically, sought to propagate a Confederate Manifest Destiny.[338]

Only three days after the battle, the *Charleston Mercury* gave voice to the inflated sense of ego developing within the southern consciousness when the editors explained that Bull Run

[337] McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 347, n.10.

[338] The term "Manifest Destiny" entered the American lexicon in the summer of 1845 when John O'Sullivan, writing for the popular New York-based *Democratic Review*, used the phrase when advocating for the annexation of Texas. Manifest Destiny quickly captured the American popular imagination and soon became a justification for expansionism and imperialism. Along with political, cultural, and racial motivations, there also existed a religious impetus for expansion. O'Sullivan's concept, fitting nicely with prevailing notions of American millennialism, linked political liberty and Protestantism and thus reinforced a connection going back to the mid-eighteenth century. In much the same way as southern political and ecclesiastical leaders "sectionalized" an American civil religion and claimed themselves the true guardians of the Republic's providential destiny, the *Richmond Whig* is appropriating the ideology of Manifest Destiny. Much like Manifest Destiny in the antebellum era, the *Whig* is proposing the Confederacy look to expand their borders, values, and institutions. As a result of supposed moral, racial, and cultural decay, culminating with the ruin experienced at Manassas, the *Whig* believed northerners ultimately proved "unfit for empire" and thus it fell to southerners to take the mantle of imperialism. For *Whig* article, see; McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 347, n.10. For works dealing with Manifest Destiny, see; Daniel Walker Howe, *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815-1848* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 702-708 and Sean Wilentz, *The Rise of American Democracy: Jefferson to Lincoln* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2005), 561-565, 577, 581, 585, 669-70. For works describing the connection between liberty and Protestantism, see; Patricia U. Bonomi, *Under the Cope of Heaven: Religion, Society, and Politics in Colonial America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986) and Nathan O. Hatch. *The Sacred Cause of Liberty: Republican Thought and the Millennium in Revolutionary New England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977). For an extended discussion of how slaveholding southerners envisioned creating an "empire" as early as the 1820s in the hopes of spreading racial slavery and cotton production to the South and West, please see; Walter Johnson, *River of Dark Dreams: Slavery and Empire in the Cotton Kingdom* (Cambridge, Mass: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2013).

"has inspired the greatest confidence in the superiority of our generals and their troops, and our power…to defeat the mercenary hordes of the North."[339] Even if Confederates doubted the totality of their victory in the days immediately following the battle, their reading of foreign papers only served to confirm reports coming from their own sources. In a letter to James Louis Petigru, the famous South Carolina unionist, a young friend of his explained how northern forces "must have been awfully scared & most damnedly whipped by our men," because even Yankee papers and reporters informed their readers that "they never saw such a panic."[340] William Howard Russell's coverage in the *London Times*, reprinted in papers throughout the South, only further allayed any lingering trepidation as he supposedly wrote Manassas represented "the greatest route that has ever been witnessed in modern times."[341] In an era in which conflicting reports often confused, rather than clarified, military matters, the Battle of Manassas produced a rare moment of consensus in the pages of popular print.

Not only did newspapers and editors let out a collective sigh of relief, but citizens also experienced an overwhelming sense of euphoria and release. Writing in her diary one day after the battle, Mary Chesnut noted the wild excitement prevailing in Richmond and how men, women, and children streamed into her residence, all with tales of battle on their lips. Though citizens proved "such anxious wretches" in the days and months leading up to Manassas, afterwards there existed a brimming confidence and one heard "complete victory" echoing from nearly every mouth.[342] J. P. Huger, in a letter to Edward L. Wells in late July, expressed the sense of pride he felt when he informed his friend "The 21st was a glorious day for the Southern

[339] Stout, *Upon the Altar*, 66, 477 n.14.
[340] Carson, Caroline Petigru, 1820-1892. Caroline Petigru Carson papers, 1853-1892. (1169.03.02.02) South Carolina Historical Society.
[341] Ibid.
[342] Woodward, *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, 105.

Cause._ the Linconites were whipped & routed, & they ran, it was a Waterloo defeat." Continuing on, Huger relayed that he hoped the recent defeat would open northern eyes to the fact that Confederates "cannot be conquered so easily; all the men and money cannot conquer us."[343] Expressing a similar sense of confidence in the Confederate cause, Caroline Howard Gilman wrote a letter to one of her daughters in early August in which she explained the recent victory produced a "calm indomitable spirit" that prevailed amongst the people.[344] Writing from the South Carolina Coast, Adele Allston Vanderhorst likewise took to her diary to note the "signal and complete victory" achieved by southern forces. The triumph proved all the more impressive, in Vanderhorst's view, due to the odds Confederates faced on the field of battle. "Truly can we say," Vanderhorst explained, "it was not our might that gained the battle[,] the odds against us were so great."[345] Vanderhorst and her fellow Confederates could feel a sense of pride and assurance precisely because, from their perspective, the result achieved at Manassas made manifest the fact that mere numbers counted for naught. The Confederacy's military prowess and the righteousness of the cause, therefore, practically guaranteed the outcome of a conflict yet in its infancy.

Carolinians like Vanderhorst, Huger, and Chesnut took solace not just in how Confederate troops performed generally, but they could hold their heads especially high when surveying the actions of their fellow statesmen. Just as Thomas J. Jackson made himself and his fellow Virginians legendary for their stand at Henry House Hill, so too did the battle heap laurels upon the native sons of South Carolina.[346] Brigadier General Bernard Bee and General Wade

---

[343] Wells, Edward Laight, 1839-1917. E.L. Wells papers, 1861-1913. Microfiche. Charleston, S.C.: South Carolina Historical Society, 1981. 7 microfiches ; 11 x 15 cm. (SCHS ; 51-180)
[344] Gilman, Caroline Howard, 1794-1888. Caroline Howard Gilman papers, 1810-1880. (1036.00) South Carolina Historical Society.
[345] Vanderhorst, Adele Allston, d. 1915. Adele Allston Vanderhorst papers, 1859-1930. (1169.02.10) South Carolina Historical Society.
[346] McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 342; and Eicher, *The Longest Night*, 95- 96.

Hampton found themselves in the thickest of the fighting and served their state well by performing admirably under fire. While Bee died in battle and was mourned and eulogized throughout South Carolina, Hampton survived and began to accumulate a legendary mystique of his own. Lacking any prior military experience when the Civil War began, Hampton shined at Manassas despite being shot in the face in the early afternoon and earned himself, as well as his illustrious Legion, a special place in the heart of all white Carolinians.[347] Just one week after the engagement, a solider in Hampton's Legion wrote a letter to friend in Charleston that not only provided a first-hand account of the recent battle, but it also helped build and propagate a narrative that cast the Legion's, as well as their commander's, actions as especially gallant and significant. In the beginning of the letter the author expressed a sense of satisfaction for having "a hand in creating the greatest route that probably ever drove a retreating army to destruction." After briefly describing enemy units and troop maneuvers, the author illustrates the momentous amount of pride felt after having experienced the battle and fought alongside Hampton and other Carolinians. "Indeed I think it is no bragging to say that the Hampton Legion and Kershaw[']s and Cash's regiments won the day," the letter explained, "It was entirely a S[outh] C[arolina] victory."[348] While Virginians venerated Jackson and celebrated a victory attained within their borders, white citizens in South Carolina began constructing a pantheon of their own heroes. In

[347] Historian Rod Andrew Jr., in a biography of Hampton, argues the general performed more than adequately as a novice soldier in his first battle, for not only did Hampton remain cool under pressure but he also displayed a natural understanding of how to use terrain to one's advantage. As for Hampton's Legion, it represented a distinguished unit because most of the officers and many of the enlisted men belonged to the finest families in South Carolina and, over time, the Legion "became the socially correct unit to join." Composed of six infantry companies, four cavalry units, and an artillery battery, Hampton's Legion numbered roughly 1,000 men when formed in late April and early May. Interestingly, although Hampton required cavalrymen to provide their own horses and weapons, he equipped his infantry units largely at his own expense. See; Ron Andrew Jr., *Wade Hampton: Confederate Warrior to Southern Redeemer* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 69-80.
[348] West, Langdon Cheves. Papers, 1941. (1167.03.04) South Carolina Historical Society.

times of triumph and of trouble, Confederate Carolinians would look to these exemplars of bravado to fortify their own courage and sense of purpose.

The confidence exuded by citizens and the popular press rather naturally weaved its way into the tone of the Confederate civil religion. Exactly one week after the Battle of Manassas, Reverend Edward Reed delivered a sermon to his rural South Carolina congregation entitled "A People Saved by the Lord." In the opening of the discourse, Reed conflated how Confederates felt in the wake of their recent victory to how Moses and the Israelites felt when, after years of wandering, they finally stood at the gates of the Promised Land. In his last moments, as he simultaneously looked toward the future while surveying the hardships of the past, Moses left his people with these final words, "Happy art thou, O Israel: who is like unto thee, O People saved by the Lord, the shield of thy help, and who is the sword of thy excellency!"[349] Just as God walked with the Israelites, so too did the Almighty carry the Confederacy through each and every trial it experienced in the first six months of its existence. "God has granted us a great deliverance," Reed informed his listeners, "By His mighty hand and stretched-out arm he has wrought salvation for us."[350] Distilling the deluge of newspaper articles and civilian conversations, Reed claimed it was not a boast, but a widely accepted fact, that the glorious triumph at Manassas demonstrated the Confederacy's superiority in statesmanship and in combat. Not only did the Confederacy prove preeminent from a social, cultural, and political perspective, but they also reigned supreme when it came to their religious convictions. Northern society, Reed maintained, had supposedly descended into the "last phase of infidelity" by continuing to engage in a "most unchristian and unnatural war." At the end of the sermon, Reed

[349] Reverend Edward Reed, "A People Saved by the Lord," A Sermon Delivered at Flat Rock, July 28, 1861 (Charleston: Evans & Cogswell, 1861), 3.
[350] Reed, "A People Save by the Lord," 11.

reminded his audience that although the future surely held more loss and woe, they should not disparage in the slightest degree, for "we shall be in the end, as we have been hitherto, *a people saved by the Lord*."[351]

As Edward Reed delivered a stirring sermon to his congregants in Flat Rock, South Carolina, Reverend Stephen Elliott, a native of the Palmetto State, likewise stood at the pulpit and expressed many of the same sentiments to his audience assembled at Christ Church in Savannah, Georgia. Much in the same way as Reed, Elliott began his sermon by recognizing "the hand of the Most High God, the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, in the glorious victory with which He has crowned our armies at Manassas." "We truly believed that our cause was His cause;" Elliott maintained, "that we were defending a condition of society which He had established as one of the links in the chain of his Providence, and that we should be successful."[352] The assurance many possessed going into the conflict, therefore, remained unscathed as the victory represented "the crowning token of his love—the most wonderful of all the manifestations of his divine presence with us." Remarkably similar to Reed's discourse, Elliott likewise acknowledged that the Confederacy's future certainly contained continued travails, yet he believed the congregation could find comfort in the fact that as long as citizens put their trust in God "we shall go on from victory to victory, until our independence shall be acknowledged and our homes be left to us in peace."[353] As the congregation filtered out of Christ Church, therefore, many a mind could rest at ease knowing that maintaining one's faith, as Confederates had done since the nation's birth, would surely lead to national deliverance and salvation.

---

[351] Reed, "A People Save by the Lord," 12.
[352] Reverend Stephen Elliott D.D., "God's Presence with our Army at Manassas!" A Sermon, Preached in Christ Church, Savannah, on Sunday, July 28, 1861 (Savannah: W. Thorne Williams, 1861), v, 8.
[353] Elliott, "God's Presence," 6, 19.

The sermons delivered by Reed and Elliott to their respective congregations are interesting in many respects. Perhaps most importantly, the addresses highlight the evolving nature of the Confederate civil religion. In both tone and content, the messages presented in the wake of Manassas show a discourse feeding off of popular perceptions and attitudes. The language used and the overall tenor of the sermons demonstrates how civil religion grew more reciprocal in nature. In many ways, the discourse of civil religion went from being almost solely an ideology emanating from the top-down to one in which beliefs and ideas began filtering from the bottom-up, a process that would continue throughout the duration of the war. Confederate civil religion grew more confident and self-assured, therefore, precisely because citizens exuded such feelings. Reed and Elliott, and countless others like them, thus created sermons that both channeled and reflected the attitudes of the those their words were meant to serve.

Secondly, the addresses presented by Elliott and Reed demonstrate that, as with the Secession Crisis, the discourse of civil religion continued to provide both a means of interpretation and a de facto justification for the unfolding of events. In addressing their respective congregations, one urban and one rural, both preachers attempted to provide their listeners with a way to understand the recent victory while simultaneously arguing that Confederates' very belief in and propagation of ideologies associated with the civil religion directly led to the recent triumph. In framing the struggle as one largely religious in nature, a "sacred war" as Stephen Elliott called it, ecclesiastical leaders merely built upon popular assumptions concerning divine sovereignty and the Almighty's role in the unfolding of human history.[354] Contextualizing the conflict in such as way not only made the outcome of battles more intelligible, but it also helped explain how a people supposedly fighting in the name of God

[354] Elliott, "God's Presence," 8 and Rable, *God's Almost Chosen Peoples*, 74.

could still experience sorrow and suffering. "Not one of those brave men has fallen, or suffered, without His permission," Reed explained, and though the Almighty could have shielded all as in the past, on this occasion "It has not pleased Him to do so."[355] God thus controlled the most minute of details and a woman's grief and bewilderment at the loss of a son, husband, or brother could be tempered by the fact that an omniscient Providence directly orchestrated their loved one's death to serve a higher, indeed divine, purpose. The framework provided by the likes of Reed and Elliott proved so effective that citizens such as Caroline Howard Gilman demonstrated a willingness and readiness to endure potential reverses because they earnestly believed "Providence as yet has aided our cause, & we trust still will do so."[356] One of the reasons the discourse of civil religion proved potent was because it justified its own existence in explaining that only through piety and the nurturing of a special relationship with God could the Confederacy achieve autonomy. In effect, civil religion represented not just a means to an end, but an end in and of itself. The religion of a people represented an element of their prosperity, Edward Reed informed his attentive congregation in late July, "not only as contributing to form character and direct events, but because the national acknowledgement of God brings with it the favoring help of God."[357] The existence of a civil religion, therefore, helped procure God's intervention on the nation's behalf. If the Confederacy ever neglected or forsook their special relationship with Providence, this line of thinking maintained, then God would almost certainly remove his favor and the nation would face utter ruin.

All the boasting and the bombast, however, would soon dissipate in early November as a Federal fleet, comprising seventeen warships and nearly 12,000 troops, steamed towards Port

[355] Reed, "A People Save by the Lord," 5-6.
[356] Gilman, Caroline Howard, 1794-1888. Caroline Howard Gilman papers, 1810-1880. (1036.00) South Carolina Historical Society.
[357] Reed, "A People Saved by the Lord, 7-8.

Royal, South Carolina.[358] Located roughly five miles south from the town of Beaufort, Port Royal possessed a magnificent though underdeveloped sound which James McPherson called "the finest natural harbor on the south Atlantic coast."[359] On November 7, Flag Officer Samuel Du Pont led his ships back and forth up the sound and, in less than five hours, destroyed the two forts guarding the entrance to the harbor.[360] Writing from nearby Bluffton one day after the fighting, Langdon Cheeves, who manned the defenses guarding the harbor, told his wife Charlotte that Yankee shelling was so constant and continuous it "was on a large scale like the sound of a flock of birds swooping over head."[361] General Robert E. Lee, recently given charge of the Department of South Carolina, Georgia, and East Florida, took stock of the developing situation and strategically withdrew troops from their more isolated posts scattered throughout the Sea Islands in an attempt to concentrate Confederate forces and bolster the defense of not only Charleston and Savannah, but the ever-important railroad that connected the two major cities.[362] Over the next three months, Federals forces utilized their newly gained foothold to

---

[358] McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 371. Also see; Eicher, *The Longest Night*, 128-29.

[359] In 1850, a United States Coast Survey investigated the area and eventually said Port Royal Sound represented "the finest harbor south of the Chesapeake." The *Charleston Daily Courier* agreed when, in 1861, the paper described the harbor as "the most capacious and deep of any South of the Chesapeake Bay." The port was never developed because the largest community in the area, Beaufort, only contained a seasonal population of about 1,000 white residents. Local planters built exquisite homes and stayed throughout the summer, but effectively evacuated the town during the fall and winter. As a result of its part-time settlement, the area's infrastructure never fully developed and Beaufort remained a relative isolated coastal community until the Charleston and Savannah Railroad built tracks in the area in the spring of 1861. See; Stephen R. Wise, Lawrence S. Roland, and Gerhard Spieler, *Rebellion, Reconstruction, and Redemption, 1861-1893: The History of Beaufort County, South Carolina, Volume 2* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 2015), 1-2; Rose, *Rehearsal for Reconstruction,* 7; McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 371; and *The Charleston Daily Courier*, "The Bombardment of Port Royal," November 11, 1861.

[360] Du Pont's plan of attack, indeed success, was made possible by the incorporation of steam power into naval vessels. The use of steam allowed Du Pont's ships to go back and forth continuously and upend the traditional belief that one gun on shore was equal to four or five shipboard guns. Out gunned and out maneuvered, Confederates quickly abandoned Fort Beauregard, located to the East on Bay Point and Fort Walker, situated to the West on Hilton Head. See; McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 371; Wise, Roland, and Spieler, *Rebellion, Reconstruction, and Redemption*, 2-3, 15; *The Charleston Daily Courier*, "The Bombardment of Port Royal," November 11, 1861; and Eicher, *The Longest Night*, 135-37.

[361] West, Langdon Cheves. Papers, 1941. (1167.03.04) South Carolina Historical Society.

[362] Wise, Roland and Spieler, *Rebellion, Reconstruction, and Redemption*, 4-5, 12, 35; McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 371; and Kelly, *America's Longest Siege*, 288-89.

strengthen the blockade of the Atlantic Coast, assist runaway slaves, and launch expeditions aimed at harassing Confederates while simultaneously expanding Federal control of the region. The invasion of Port Royal thus quickly transitioned into a prolonged, ever-expanding, occupation and for the remainder of the war Federal troops, by their mere presence, would serve as a constant reminder that the safety and security of South Carolina's white population proved precarious at best.

The euphoria Carolinians experienced throughout the summer and fall of 1861 as a result of the victory at Manassas came crashing down as citizens quickly grasped the gravity of the Union invasion. "The Reynoldses came, and with them terrible news," Mary Chesnut recorded in her diary on November 8, "I ordered the carriage and rushed off to Camden to hear the worst…Utter defeat at Port Royal. [Col. William D.] DeSaussure's and [Col. Richard M.G.] Dunovant's regiments cut to pieces."[363] "The Lincoln fleet have arrived," Anne Elliott Morris Vanderhorst noted on Friday, November 9, "they have taken Walkers Battery . . . our men retreat with their wounded up to their waists in mud & water."[364] The entry continued as Vanderhorst noted how an acquaintance of hers had fallen into the hands of the enemy and how slaves from "all parts of the islands" ran away from their masters and towards Federal lines. "Sadness & gloom is throwing a dark cloud over our people," Vanderhorst noted, "Those who had wealth & comfort no longer have it, for homes are Desolated -- & negoes & enemies depredating on all

[363] The Reynolds family referenced consisted of Mary Cox (Chesnut) Reynolds, Mary's sister-in-law, and her daughters Emma, Sarah, Ellen, and Esther. Chesnut specifically mentioned the losses of Dunovant and DeSaussure's troops not only because they were acquaintances, but also because they led the Twelfth and Fifteenth S.C. Regiments respectively. Chesnut, therefore, not only express shock at the defeat incurred at Port Royal, but also the loss of life suffered by fellow South Carolinians. See; Woodward, *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, 228 n.1-2, 230 n.8 and Stout, *Upon the Altar*, 85.

[364] Vanderhorst, Ann Elliott Morris, 1795-1876. Ann Elliott Morris Vanderhorst papers, 1859-1882. (1169.02.09) South Carolina Historical Society.

their substance, What a dreadful storm."[365] On the same day that Vanderhorst wrote in her diary, Reverend John Hemphill Simpson did the same from his home in Chester, roughly sixty miles north of Columbia. "Father came over and gave me the sad news of the Federals defeating us at Port Royal," Simpson wrote, "Never spent such an uneasy day in all my life." The next day Simpson hardly fared any better as he noted that he could not seem to get anything accomplished because "my mind was too much engaged in the war which is going on in our once happy country." Simpson's melancholy would not soon abate and the young reverend found it a struggle to get back into his daily routines. On Monday, November 11, for example, Simpson gave up his academic pursuits for the day and simply confided to his diary that he was "Unfit to study on account of the war."[366] The aguish felt as a result of Port Royal's fall so influenced the consciousness of many white Carolinians that the *Charleston Daily Courie*r thought further coverage of the Confederate retreat could only make a bad situation worse and in their reporting four days later the paper expressed its desire not to "extenuate aught of the regret which we feel" as a result of the battle's outcome.[367] It is clear, therefore, that the invasion of Port Royal, as newspaper articles and personal diaries attest, produced not only a sense of sadness throughout the Palmetto State, but also generated an immense degree of psychological distress amongst its white citizens.

The invasion, aside from creating a climate a fear, also sent waves of panic throughout the state as citizens rushed to mobilize their forces to meet a potentially overwhelming Yankee threat. When the Federal attack began on November 7, Augustine T. Smythe, then a nineteen-

[365] Vanderhorst, Ann Elliott Morris, 1795-1876. Ann Elliott Morris Vanderhorst papers, 1859-1882. (1169.02.09) South Carolina Historical Society
[366] McCormick, Mary Law, comp. Diaries of Rev. John Hemphill Simpson, 1861-1866, 1978-1987. (34/640) South Carolina Historical Society.
[367] *The Charleston Daily Courier*, November 11, 1861.

year-old student at South Carolina College, wrote to his mother in Charleston asking for her permission, indeed blessing, to join his fellow classmates in forming a company to defend the Carolina Coast. The danger proved so urgent that Smythe informed his mother the company of cadets from the school would start "either to-morrow evening at 5 o'clock or the next morning & will proceed immediately to Port Royal." "Every man in college who is not lame," the letter continued, "except two or three have volunteered to go."[368] A sense of obligation to his state, especially as it experienced a moment of peril, and the pressure of peers ultimately pushed Smythe to join the cadets and write to his parents requesting they acquiesce to a course of action already chosen. Letters like Smythe's went out to parents, siblings, and spouses throughout the Palmetto State in early November 1861. The sense of alarm permeating the state as a result of the Union invasion only grew more acute as nearly all facets of society, from schoolboys like Smythe to those first deemed too old for service, were now regarded as essential to hold off a Yankee onslaught.

Two days after Smythe attempted to acquire his parent's consent, the *Charleston Daily Courier* printed an article, entitled "Our Enemies---Our Duties," meant to muster citizens throughout the state to meet the impending threat gathering in their proximity. "The enemy has at length made the first attempt at the invasion of our State," the paper informed its readers, "…Our time has come! Our destiny is in our own hands The God of Battles is the God of Justice, and under His eye we are to fight."[369] Residents of the Lowcountry, more so than anyone else, certainly understood the danger looming on their coast because, as William Wallace Miller made clear in a letter to his mother from his posting in Charleston, the bombardment of Port Royal

[368] Smythe, Augustine Thomas, 1842-1914. Augustine Thomas Smythe papers, 1853-1938. (1209.03.02.04) South Carolina Historical Society.
[369] *The Charleston Daily Courier*, "Our Enemies—Our Duties," November 9, 1861.

could be heard "very distinctly from the lower end of the city."[370] The paper attempted to turn panic into a sense of purposeful urgency by getting citizens ready, both mentally and physically, for a fight they were sure lay on the horizon. Unleashing a call like a Spartan war cry, the article concluded, "With hearts united, as with shields locked, at the summons let us go forth, with the firm, unshaken purpose of those who, conscious of the right which they are about with their lives to maintain… look upwards to their God, and ask that strength be given to their arms, and success to their cause."[371] Though the mass mustering of troops certainly made many white Carolinians feel at ease as scores rushed to defend the state, doubtless many remained restless that previous defenses proved wholly inadequate. The sheer numbers of troops being raised and the hasty manner in which regiments formed almost certainly raised questions concerning the magnitude of the Federal threat and the ability of Confederates to put up a sustained, successful, resistance. Many a white Carolinian doubtless wondered, like Mary Chesnut some months before, whether the victory at Manassas lulled Confederates "into a fool's paradise of conceit" that presently wrought serious consequences.[372]

In the days following the fall of Port Royal, South Carolinians feverishly scanned the headlines and articles of local newspapers to find the latest news coming from the coast. As citizens eagerly took in detailed accounts of the late bombardment and skimmed the news for the latest troops movements, they likewise saw a proclamation from their nation's chief executive calling for another day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer on November 15. On that day, Davis hoped his fellow Confederates and their clerical leaders would find their way into houses of public worship and "implore the blessing of Almighty God upon our arms; that He may give us

[370] Miller family letters, 1837-1894. (34/0723) South Carolina Historical Society.
[371] *The Charleston Daily Courier*, "Our Enemies—Our Duties," November 9, 1861.
[372] Woodward, *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, 111.

victory over our enemies; preserve our homes and altars from pollution, and secure to us the restoration of peace and prosperity."[373] Given their current circumstances, white Carolinians were all too happy to humble themselves and to beseech the Almighty to intervene and drive the Yankee scourge from their shores. The fast day provided residents of the Palmetto State, as well as Confederates more generally, with the opportunity to fervently pray for a disruption in Union designs while simultaneously acknowledging and thanking Providence for past blessings.[374]

In synthesizing the plethora of prayers, sermons, and editorials produced for the fast day in mid-November, historian George Rable argues Confederates demonstrated a willingness to indulge in collective self-satisfaction rather than communal supplication. Southern ministers and newspaper editors, for example, nearly universally declared the war represented a form of divine chastisement, yet their expositions on southern transgressions were remarkable diffuse and thus seemed to show, from Rable's perspective, Confederate clergymen simply "did not seem to have their hearts in it." All the discussion of southern sinfulness, therefore, rang hollow and a day meant to humble a people, instead, rather ironically, "fostered a dangerous overconfidence."[375] In the four months since the Battle of Manassas, therefore, the discourse of civil religion within the Confederacy underwent practically no change whatsoever. Citizens continued to revel in their recent successes while their civil religion merely reflected such attitudes and, in the end, served only to inflate southerners' own sense of ego.[376]

While Rable is certainly correct in pointing out that at a national level the discourse of civil religion within the Confederacy remained rather triumphal in nature, his analysis does not take into account how local conditions influenced the evolution and trajectory of the discourse,

[373] Stout, *Upon the Altar*, 85.
[374] Rable, God's *Almost Chosen Peoples*, 80.
[375] Ibid, 81-82.
[376] Ibid, 81-83

effectively creating variant versions. In South Carolina, as elsewhere in the Confederacy, secular and religious leaders attempted to project an air of confidence to their citizens and thus they crafted texts that, on the surface, would seem to lend credence to Rable's characterization. A careful reading of prayers and editorials emanating from the Palmetto State, however, illustrates that all the confidence merely belied a prevailing sense of nervous anxiety. In the wake of Port Royal's capture, white South Carolinians, for the first time, began to question the apparent infallibility of their nation and their cause. The fast day in mid-November sowed seeds of doubt that, while they would lay dormant for some time, would eventually yield a harvest of despondency in the latter stages of the war.

In many ways, the messages appearing in the *Charleston Daily Courier* on the morning of the fast seemed to fit the pattern established by Rable rather nicely. Much like countless other southern periodicals, the paper informed its readers that the turmoil presently enveloping the state was the direct result of individual and collective impropriety. "War is one of those heavy judgments which God sends upon a people as a punishment for sin," an article explained, "When he rises in wrath and shakes his rod, the terror-stricken inhabitant should fall down and cry aloud for mercy."[377] The paper's editors minced no words in telling their subscribers that Confederates had erred in their ways and wandered off the path of righteousness by indulging in "vicious habits" such as blasphemy, excessive drinking, and Sabbath-breaking. Interestingly, the publication acknowledged there existed a sort of hubris within the southern consciousness, but then instead of attempting to check such attitudes the editors actually seemed to reinforce this type of mentality. "We must come down from our lofty elevations and lay prostrate in the dust," the paper maintained, "We must forget that there is strength in our arms, courage in our hearts,

[377] *The Charleston Daily Courier*, "The Fast," November 15, 1861.

wisdom and knowledge in our minds."[378] Though the day required Confederates to humble themselves before Providence, it appeared as though a belief in southern superiority remained ever-present in the back of their minds. A cursory reading of the *Courier* would thus seem to confirm Confederate Carolinians, even on an occasion meant to instill humility, remained excessively confident and the discourse of civil religion only nurtured their vanity.

Looking deeper, however, the apparent arrogance on display represented a thinly veiled façade and confident words scattered throughout the *Courier's* pages attempted to cover-up, or mollify, an inner uncertainty. Encouraged by political and ecclesiastical leaders to interpret the war through the lens of religion, South Carolina's white citizens looked to the Federal occupation of their coast and reached the conclusion, much as the *Courier*, that God had withdrawn his divine countenance due to failings on the part of his chosen people. A recommended prayer printed on the day of the fast showed how the discourse of civil religion reflected such thinking, "O let not our sins cry against us for vengeance; but hear us Thy servants begging for mercy and imploring…Thy protection and power against those who have invaded our soil and our homes."[379] As evidenced by the prayer, Confederates still believed themselves God's agents on earth and thus the events at Port Royal did not represent a wholesale forsaking as much as a temporary castigation. Even a provisional punishment, however, could create a degree of anxiety within a society in the midst of war. The Union presence, in and of itself, represented a form of divine chastisement and until Federal forces were either defeated or fled, white residents of the Palmetto State believed it clear God had not removed his rod of retribution. With each passing day, therefore, Confederates grew increasingly anxious and unsure as to when they would experience their deliverance.

---

[378] *The Charleston Daily Courier*, "The Fast," November 15, 1861.
[379] Stout, *Upon the Altar*, 85-86, 479 n.11.

As days of invasion turned into weeks of occupation, the discourse of civil religion grew slightly more dire in nature. If Carolinians hoped to "extinguish the enkindled wrath of God, and cause Him to withdraw His chastening," the editors of the *Courie*r explained, then citizens needed to approach the Almighty earnestly and, as a people united, rend their hearts to find and destroy the false idols enshrined therein.[380] To simply go through the motions and appear contrite to achieve an "outward conformity to the services and sanctities of the occasion" would, in fact, prove deleterious because acting in such a way would only further offend or insult Almighty God and thus perpetuate the state's current calamities.[381] To glimpse the sense of unease, indeed frustration, that subtly seeped its way into the civil religion one need look no further than the aforementioned prayer printed in the *Courier*. "Defend, O Lord, and established our cause," the prayer read as it neared its conclusion, "Endue us with power and strength; give us victory…and make it appear that Thou are our Savior and mighty Deliverer."[382] In those last lines of the recommended prayer there exists two startling revelations that clearly refute Rable's accusations of overconfidence and arrogance. First, the entreaty pleads with Providence to make it evident, to both Confederates and their adversaries, that the Almighty is indeed marching with their armies. This illustrates that within the white Carolinian consciousness there existed a modicum of doubt as to whether God, at present or in the near future, was intent on protecting and, ultimately, delivering his chosen people. Second, and perhaps most significant, the prayer not only asks the Almighty to defend, but also to establish the southern cause. The invasion of Port Royal, therefore, produced such a psychological impact that many residents of the Palmetto State now came to believe their nation's foundation rested not upon on a fixed footing, but on ever-shifting

[380] *The Charleston Daily Courier*, "The Fast," November 15, 1861.
[381] Ibid.
[382] Stout, *Upon the Altar*, 85-86, 479 n.11.

grounds. The fast day in South Carolina thus illustrated not arrogance or egotism, but, rather, a sense of foreboding and consternation.

Looking at Charleston's most popular publication, the *Mercury*, it is even clearer that messages emanating from the Palmetto State projected, at best, a sense of measured apprehension. Unlike the *Courier*, the editors of the *Mercury* kept their fast day commentary relatively brief and chose neither to instill confidence nor despair in their readers, instead opting to approach the situation as pragmatically as possible. While the *Mercury* acknowledged the past year illustrated the Confederacy had plenty to be thankful for, such as achieving independence from a people "who hate and have striven to destroy us," its editors quickly reminded their subscribers that the times called for anything but the issuing of vainglorious platitudes. "With us, of South Carolina," the periodical argued, "the season is one for unrelaxing preparation and serious resolve." "The enemy is already upon our soil," the article continued, "and the State must at once brace herself for a desperate and bloody struggle."[383] The *Mercury* thus cast the future as one filled with peril and insinuated that even if citizens put an overriding trust and confidence in God, it remained an open question as to when, indeed if, Carolinians would ultimately remove the invader's yoke from their shoulders.

The reason one sees a relatively dramatic shift in messages coming out of South Carolina, especially in comparison to rhetoric emanating from the state just weeks or months earlier, is because projecting an air of overconfidence or displaying a sense of arrogance actually exposed religious and secular officials to criticism, indeed mockery, from their fellow statesmen. Ann Elliot Morris Vanderhorst, for example, would not stand for declarations of divine favor emanating from the state's leaders on the fast day when so many of her fellow Carolinians "will

[383] *The Charleston Mercury*, "The Day," November 15, 1861.

not be in the churches for families are flying with terror from the cruel & desolating foe."[384] Vanderhorst displayed a special scorn for clergymen who put on airs of confidence when they, unlike their flocks, neither experienced nor faced any real danger. In a somewhat mocking manner, she noted in her diary "How manly our pastors stand up like Martyrs & appeal to the Great God of Battles to come to our aid." Furthering her critique, Vanderhorst juxtaposed the attitudes expressed by South Carolina's leaders with her own inner apprehension. "It worries my very soul," she lamented, "to see my own people flying like frighted sheep."[385] Even those that experienced relative safety from their residences in the state's interior, such as Mary Chesnut, expressed similar criticisms and shared outlooks akin to Vanderhorst's. In the midst of the Federal assault on Port Royal in early November, Chesnut took to her diary and employed the use of a peculiar double negative to give her entry a distinctly derisive quality. "Not one doubt is there in our bosoms that we are not the chosen people of God. And that he is fighting for us," Chesnut noted, "Why not? We are no worse than Jews—past or present, nor Yankees."[386] Chesnut could not help but perceive an immense irony in the fact that politicians, newspaper editors, pastors, and even her fellow citizens could draw such conclusions when the preponderance of evidence, especially that emanating from the Carolina Coast, seemed to suggest otherwise. Confederate successes in the wake of the fast only seemed to reinforce the diarist's sardonic posture. Injecting a healthy sense of skepticism mixed with humor, Chesnut reflected, "We fast and prayed—and think our prayer are answered. . . . If prayers are to be so effective, let us all spend our days and nights on our knees."[387] The discourse of civil religion

[384] Vanderhorst, Ann Elliott Morris, 1795-1876. Ann Elliott Morris Vanderhorst papers, 1859-1882. (1169.02.09) South Carolina Historical Society.
[385] Ibid.
[386] Woodward, *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, 233.
[387] In the days immediately following the fast, Confederates experienced a number of relatively small successes around the region and citizens thus interpreted these as a sign God was beginning to withdraw his chastening. On November 16, Mary Chesnut noted how yet another ship carrying Confederate arms and ammunition managed to

within South Carolina could not appear unabashedly confident precisely because, as a result of the Union invasion, pronouncements of invincibility and divine favor did not seem to mesh with citizens' lived experiences. In order for their messages to appeal to the general public, therefore, the Palmetto State's ecclesiastical and political leadership made modifications to the discourse of civil religion so it remained poised on its face but did not fail to incorporate and address the degree of skepticism emerging within the minds of their compatriots.

The attitudes unleashed on the fast day in mid-November did not simply dissipate with the passing of time. With 1861 drawing to an end, South Carolinians once again gained an opportunity to reflect on the past year while simultaneously fixing their collective gaze ahead towards the next. The invasion, and later occupation, of Port Royal effectively created a polarization of opinion within the white Carolinian consciousness regarding the current state and future prospects of the nascent southern nation. Representing one strain of thought, an article printed in the *Mercury* at the end of the year argued that since Manassas, Confederates experienced nothing but success and the enemy "who once ridiculed our weakness, have been forced to confess our strength, and, as the year dies out, we see them in abject humiliation before the Nations."[388] Seeming to forget their own rather grim coverage of the past weeks, the paper's editors ended the article by arguing that readers not only possessed sufficient cause to thank the Almighty "who has so blessed us with success," but stressed subscribers should also continue "to rely with unfailing confidence upon Him, to guide our swords in carving out the great destiny

slip through the Federal blockade and land safety in Savannah. Ann Elliott Morris Vanderhorst, on November 23, took to her own diary to celebrate the news that a storm had supposedly caused the loss of some twenty vessels and roughly two thousand Federal troops. See; Woodward, *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, 237 and Vanderhorst, Ann Elliott Morris, 1795-1876. Ann Elliott Morris Vanderhorst papers, 1859-1882. (1169.02.09) South Carolina Historical Society.

[388] *The Charleston Mercury*, "Retrospect," December 31, 1861.

which is before us."[389] John Hemphill Simpson, who once felt such distress over the fall of Port Royal, likewise changed his tune and now felt exceedingly confident. "Thus ends 1861 with all its cares and tears and wars," Simpson wrote, "Many, many have had to part with the loved ones at home for the tented field, many have fallen in defense of their country." Despite all the loss and privation, the young reverend believed "God has been with us thus far," and made an end of the year entry in his diary hoping Providence would "continue to bless us with victory over our cruel enemies."[390] Often vacillating between bouts of hope and despair, it seemed the new year caught both Simpson and the editors of the *Mercury* favoring the former while not completely erasing the latter.[391]

Ann Elliott Morris Vanderhorst possessed little of the optimism sporadically displayed by either Simpson or the *Mercury*, and, instead, she continued to express the same sense of malaise first awakened in the aftermath of her state's invasion. "Alas is this what they call the happy New Year," Vanderhorst remarked in her diary, "Dull to me & silent as the Tomb." Continuing the dialogue of despair, Ann wrote, "Again & again the Echoing tomb tells of Death Death Death

[389] While the *Mercury* exuded confidence in its final issue of the year, even a cursory glance at articles published in the preceding two months illustrates the Janus-faced nature of their coverage. In an article published on November 30 entitled "The Crisis," for example, the *Mercury* admitted the attack on Port Royal proved a "decided success" that would almost certainly produce dire consequences for the state's citizens. Unless things drastically changed, the paper went on to postulate that soon the coastal areas of Georgia and "the whole of South Carolina" would be conquered and destroyed while Confederates, labeled traitors, would "be hung to the tune of Yankee Doodle." *The Charleston Mercury*, "Retrospect," December 31, 1861 and *The Charleston Mercury*, "The Crisis," November 30, 1861. For further articles that also expressed a less than cheery outlook, please see; *The Charleston Mercury,* "The Islands," November 21, 1861 and *The Charleston Mercury,* "The Twentieth of December," December 20, 1861.
[390] McCormick, Mary Law, comp. Diaries of Rev. John Hemphill Simpson, 1861-1866, 1978-1987. (34/640) South Carolina Historical Society.
[391] Much like the *Mercury*, Simpson's diary entries in the weeks following Federal attacks on Port Royal reveal someone in a degree of emotional disarray. In early December, after weeks of fighting and suffering on the part of his fellow Carolinians, Simpson grew to believe that the world was filled with nothing more than "strife and contention." Only a week before the year's end, on Christmas Day, the preacher made another morbid entry, "Spent last Christmas in the mountains of Virginia…I am at home but the country is drenched with the blood of our best men." See; McCormick, Mary Law, comp. Diaries of Rev. John Hemphill Simpson, 1861-1866, 1978-1987. (34/640) South Carolina Historical Society.

. . . how my heart sickens how wearisome seems the day."[392] In closing the entry, Vanderhorst made clear that, for her, the new year held only anguish and gloom. "Oh [Great] God to live in this way is misery. . . . Save & defend us from our Enemies & this heavy gloom."[393] Perhaps unsurprising, Vanderhorst was not alone in feeling dejected, as events in the preceding months caused many of her fellow Carolinians to likewise descend into a state of despondency. Writing from the state capitol in Columbia on the first day of the new year, Mary Chesnut noted how pessimistic attitudes proved a contagion that not only affected the southern nation's civilians, but also, more alarmingly, soldiers in the field. "We were told our men are losing hope and heart," Chesnut remembered hearing over tea at the home of Allen J. Green, Jr., "so many blunders on the coast."[394] Though the year 1862 held so much promise for white residents of the Palmetto State, indeed for Confederates more generally, it appeared the trepidations of the past would linger into the future.

Over the course of the next year and a half, the discourse of civil religion within the South Carolina Lowcountry would continue to reflect the measured skepticism, indeed cynicism, initially displayed by white residents in the wake of their state's invasion. Between January 1862 and June 1863, citizens of Charleston and Columbia observed no less than eight days of fasting, humiliation, and prayer, five national and three local. Whether proclaimed by Confederate President Jefferson Davis or by city authorities, the messages produced by religious and ecclesiastical leaders on these official days of supplication illustrate that, in terms of tone,

---

[392] Vanderhorst, Ann Elliott Morris, 1795-1876. Ann Elliott Morris Vanderhorst papers, 1859-1882. (1169.02.09) South Carolina Historical Society.
[393] In this entry, the misery and gloom Vanderhorst refers to is both of a national and personal nature. Not only does she feel depressed when looking at the state of her country, but she is also unhappy with the current dynamic at work within her marriage. Ann describes her husband, Elias, as silent and moody and expresses a sense of anger or frustration from having not heard "one kind word" from him for months. See; Vanderhorst, Ann Elliott Morris, 1795-1876. Ann Elliott Morris Vanderhorst papers, 1859-1882. (1169.02.09) South Carolina Historical Society.
[394] Woodward, *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, 273.

Confederate civil religion remained overwhelmingly dour in the Palmetto State as the Civil War entered its second and third years. The degree of continuity present in the nature of Confederate civil religion, however, should not obscure the emergence of new ideological and rhetorical motifs that would not only come to characterize the discourse in the final stages of the conflict, but would also represent essential elements of the Lost Cause in the postwar period. The collective and sustained pessimism engendered by the fall of Port Royal thus produced a discourse that grew increasingly more forward-looking and placed the theme of redemption at its core. Aside from attempting to focus the white Confederate gaze towards a future wherein they would supposedly achieve an ultimate salvation, the discourse of civil religion also sanctified, more so than ever before, the Confederate soldier in order to give meaning to their ever-mounting sacrifices and to further legitimize the cause, indeed the society, for which they fought.[395]

Fast days proclaimed in the winter and spring of 1862, one local and two national, set an ominous tone within the Palmetto State that would not only reverberate over the coming months, but also resonate years into the future. In their reporting on the first fast day of the year, called by local officials, the *Charleston Mercury* painted a rather bleak picture of the current state of affairs existing within their beloved city and its surrounding environs. "As a community," the paper's editors freely admitted, "we are surrounded by danger and trouble, incurred in achieving liberty and safety."[396] The *Courier* largely echoed their main competitor's assessment, as it argued that while the Confederacy certainly had much to be thankful for at present, such as being "preserved through the period of its nonage" by the Almighty, the young nation's course

[395] Quigley, *Shifting Grounds*, 15, 198; Rable, *God's Almost Chosen Peoples*, 72, 183; and Rubin*, A Shattered Nation,* 34, 42.
[396] *The Charleston Mercury*, "The Day," February 21, 1862.

undoubtedly lay "through fields of blood." "The days that are to come are wet with tears of bereavement," the *Courier* continued, "dark with the shadow of woes, dreadful for the cry of anguish."[397] The passage of time hardly improved the outlook either publication chose to portray to their respective readerships. The next week, in their reporting on 1862's first national day of fasting and prayer, the *Mercury* informed their readers that the time of peril was upon them and "all that strong arms and stout hearts can do will be necessary to save us from destruction."[398] Roughly two months later, as white Carolinians gathered together to observe another national day of supplication in mid-May, the *Courier* explained that although the progression of the war made present days seem dark and foreboding, "The face of the future is covered with a deeper darkness."[399] Instead of finding a sense of solace as they thumbed through the region's leading newspapers, white residents of the Lowcountry read publications like the *Daily Courier* and learned that their society was one suffuse with sorrow and that they were living through a time "when the fountains of worldly joy are dried up and the flowers of carnal pleasure are withered, and earth yields no happiness and no comfort."[400]

When searching for the ultimate cause of the Confederacy's recent reverses, clerics and newspaper editors were all too happy, as demonstrated in fast days past, to excoriate their fellow citizens and explain that their failure to live righteously engendered divine chastisement. In late February, the *Courier* informed their readers that early success in the war created a sense of pride and vanity that "provoked the righteous indignation of God" and consequently bred Confederate losses and woes. In vaunting their own valor, skill, and wisdom, the paper continued, white southerners effectively "defrauded Him of the glory of our successes" and

[397] *The Charleston Daily Courier*, "The Call to Prayer," February 21, 1862.
[398] *The Charleston Mercury*, February 28, 1862.
[399] *The Charleston Daily Courier*, "A Day of Prayer," May 16, 1862,
[400] Ibid.

collectively forgot their overriding dependence upon the Almighty. Since white Confederates "forgot Him, and neglected His worship and broke His laws," it should not be surprising, the *Courier's* editors noted, that God chose to deal with his chosen people by effectively giving them up to their enemies.[401] A prayer composed especially for the local fast day on February 21 likewise minced no words when placing blame for calamities then befalling the young southern nation. Intended for use in services both in Columbia and Charleston, the prayer suggested citizens' sinful ways produced the evils under which they now languished. If white Carolinians failed to cleanse their hearts of pride, malice, and bitterness, then the prayer implied citizens were right to fear for their futures, for providential punishments would not abate and citizens would surely experience more "dreadful judgments."[402] By the spring, it seemed Confederate citizens only sunk deeper into the mire of sin, as the editors of the *Courier* added haughtiness, indolence, ingratitude, rebellion, profanity, and covetousness to the laundry list of transgressions requiring repentance.[403] Much as they had in the wake of Manassas, secular and religious leaders claimed white Confederates had strayed from the path of righteousness and the only antidote for their current maladies was earnest entreaty and supplication. Far from instilling a sense of confidence or comfort, the constant criticism coming from the pages of the popular press and from the pulpit bred still more anxiety and fear as the Confederacy's continued travails apparently demonstrated citizens inability, at both an individual and a communal level, to expunge themselves of sin and regain the Almighty's favor.

In order to counter a precipitously declining morale and steel their citizens resolve, civil and ecclesiastical officials within the Palmetto State incorporated new ideological motifs into the

[401] *The Charleston Daily Courier*, "A Solemn Fast," February 28, 1862.
[402] *The Charleston Daily Courier*, "To the Clergy of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Charleston and Columbia," February 20, 1862.
[403] *The Charleston Daily Courier*, "A Day of Prayer," May 16, 1862.

Confederate civil religion. Casting contemporary calamities and misfortunes as fleeting in nature, clerics, newspaper editors, and government officials urged white Confederates to focus their gaze on an indistinct future wherein they would achieve an ultimate salvation. In their reporting on the first local fast day of 1862, the editors of the *Mercury* argued that since nothing fell outside the purview of the Almighty any tribulations experienced certainly occurred as part of a plan orchestrated by divine hands. The article in question then encouraged white Carolinians to put their trust in God and look towards a future when "in His good providence" the Almighty would remove his rod of chastisement and Confederates would subsequently experience the end of their distresses and the beginnings of their peace and prosperity.[404] Jefferson Davis's fast day proclamation published on the same day contained remarkably similar sentiments. Much like the editors of the *Mercury*, the Confederacy's President informed his fellow countrymen that as long as they maintained an unwavering faith in Almighty God and learned from their current suffering and hardship then the Lord would almost certainly "perform His promise, and encompass us as with a shield."[405] Less than three months later, on the May 16 fast day, the *Mercury* once again invoked this burgeoning ideological and rhetorical theme. Although acknowledging that as the spring unfolded their nation's afflictions intensified and proved "protracted beyond expectation," the publication informed their subscribers that they should take solace from the fact that if they retained their faith and resolve they could steadfastly believe "a just cause will prevail at last." Continuing on, the paper's editors assured white Carolinians that while they currently encountered "disaster and desolation," they would, in time, experience a final deliverance and ultimately "go forth to conquer and achieve our great destiny."[406] In the end, the editors of the

[404] The *Charleston Mercury*, "The Day," February, 21, 1862.
[405] *The Charleston Daily Courier*, "From Richmond," February 21, 1862.
[406] *The Charleston Mercury*, "Day for Humiliation and Prayer," May 16, 1862.

Mercury and the Confederate Chief Executive invoked this motif, continually in the case of the former, in the hopes of combating a growing sense of despondency while simultaneously bolstering white citizens' fortitude. Dwell not on the problems of the present, Confederate officials and newspaper editors advised their compatriots, for just over the horizon, at some indeterminate time in the future, lay a final and absolute deliverance.

Along with becoming more forward-looking in nature, another new motif began to emerge in the early days of 1862 that evolved into a central tenet of the Confederate civil religion throughout the remainder of the war and beyond. Just as the invasion and occupation of the Carolina Coast forced white residents to rethink their prevailing assumptions regarding the infallibility of the Confederate cause, so too did it compel citizens to confront death and suffering on a scale not seen since the days of the Revolution.[407] Historian Drew Gilpin Faust argues that by the midway point in the Civil War loss became commonplace and "death was no longer encountered individually; death's threat, its proximity, and its actuality became the most widely shared of the war's experiences."[408] In the South Carolina Lowcountry, this intimate familiarity with loss, both in terms of men and property, began much earlier when, in November 1861, Federal activity on the Sea Islands unleashed a level of devastation that stirred up images of Sir Henry Clinton, Lord Charles Cornwallis, and Banastre Tarleton.[409] Much like during the

[407] See; Bass and Poole, *The Palmetto State*, 15-19 and Edgar, *South Carolina*, 226-44.
[408] Faust, *This Republic of Suffering,* xiii.
[409] Sir Henry Clinton represented the architect of the capture of Charleston in 1780 and almost immediately after gaining a foothold in the region he began confiscating the estates of leading revolutionaries and tacitly, through his failure to curb his subordinates, allowed Loyalists to engage in a campaign of retribution throughout the Lowcountry. Clinton's successor, Lord Cornwallis, continued to try and wipe out any remnant of the rebellion by whatever means necessary. As British forces moved into the state's interior they harassed civilians, wantonly executed suspected rebels or parole violators, and even burned Presbyterian meetinghouses because some commanders believed them "sedition shops" due to their reputation for fomenting revolutionary sentiment. Tarleton, for his part, acquired the nickname "Bloody Tarleton" because he pursued a scorched earth policy throughout the Carolina Upcountry and oftentimes failed to give quarter to surrendering colonial forces. See; Bass and Poole, *The Palmetto State*, 16 and Edgar, *South Carolina*, 233-34, 620 n.18.

Secession Crisis and the early days of the Civil War, white Carolinians attempted to ascribe meaning to, and fit their experiences within, an overarching, largely religious, framework. Confederates citizens in South Carolina thus began, in a more concerted and sustained way, sanctifying the Confederate soldier while simultaneously sacralizing a cause and a society that those soldiers, in ever-increasing numbers, risked their lives to defend. Historian Lloyd A. Hunter points out that although sanctification and sacrilization are similar phenomena in that each elevates elements of a culture, people or things, "to some sort of sacred, inviolable standing," there does exist a degree of nuance because in the latter process "the society itself becomes sacred—or at least an instrument in God's hands for carving out humanity's ultimate destiny."[410] Ecclesiastical and religious leaders took the Confederate soldier, in the abstract, and created him into a symbol of and for southern society. In so doing, a multitude of clerics, newspaper editors, and politicians hoped to create, in the words of Hunter, a focal point of the community that would not only "evoke intellectual or emotional responses from its followers," but also prompt them into action.[411] Infusing their suffering with transcendent meaning, southern leaders elevated the Confederate soldier to sacred status to inspire devotion and continued resistance while also fostering the construction of a more sentimental or emotional connection between the Confederate nation and its white citizenry.[412]

One can see the inauguration of the twin processes of sacralization and sanctification at work in the Palmetto State as early as the first national fast day held in late February 1862. Aside from endeavoring to inform their readers of the necessity of the day by arguing white Carolinians

[410] Hunter, "The Immortal Confederacy," 187-88.
[411] Ibid, 188.
[412] Historian Ann Sarah Rubin argues a nation is not just an ideological, but also an emotional and a sentimental construct. Examining nationalism as a "felt experience," Rubin shows the complexity a people's attachment to their polity as a state, an ideal, and, potentially, as a memory. Rubin, *A Shattered Nation,* 1-5.

needed to "heed the warning voice of the outstretched rod, lest more direful calamities come upon us," Charleston's *Daily Courier* also sought to inspire citizens who appeared to have lost their zeal for the fast and, potentially, for the cause it attempted to bolster. "By the blood of our martyrd brothers which has dinted so many glorious battlefields," the paper proclaimed, "by the nature of the cause we are engaged…we urge the patriot to observe the solemn rites and perform the sacred duties of this National fast."[413] In these lines, the *Courier's* editors consecrated the sacrifice of Confederate soldiers while they simultaneously sacralized the nation and the society it represented. The war's suffering, as Paul Quigley asserts, infused southern nationalism and citizenship with new meanings and a new sense of urgency and effectively brought "the individual and the nation closer together in sacred bonds of blood sacrifice."[414] The blood spilt by Carolina's soldiers and civilians, in the Lowcountry and elsewhere, served as a "sacred adhesive" that bound citizens more closely to each other and, perhaps more importantly, to their incipient polity.[415] As the *Courier's* coverage seems to suggest, white Carolinians who once conceptualized of their responsibilities towards the nation and its soldiers primarily in civil or secular terms, now began viewing those same obligations as religious, indeed sacred, in nature.

The correlation between Confederate soldier and Christian martyr grew increasingly more prevalent within the minds of white Carolinians and throughout the pages of the popular press as the 1862 military campaign season progressed. In late June, Ann Elliott Morris Vanderhorst made such a connection shortly after walking through the streets of downtown Charleston and witnessing the slow progression of hearses ushering a number of Confederate dead to their final resting places. "Ay they have played their brief part [and] died martyrs for

[413] The *Charleston Daily Courier*, "A Solemn Fast," February 28, 1862.
[414] Quigley, *Shifting Grounds*, 15.
[415] Ibid, 200.

their country," Vanderhorst mused, "They are quiet now no fears for wife children or friend, The Cruel Yankee can no longer torment them."[416] The matter-of-fact manner in which Vanderhorst wrote these lines in her diary illustrates how this burgeoning facet of the discourse of civil religion, by the late summer, ingrained itself deeply within the consciousness of the Lowcountry's white residents and began to capture the popular imagination as never before. This ideological and rhetorical theme gained ever-more exposure and appeal as newspaper editors increasingly utilized and disseminated such sentiments to their readers throughout the state. In early September 1862, for example, the *Daily Courier* printed an article entitled "Youthful Martyrs" in which it listed the names of a few prominent members of society recently "snatched away by war's ruthless hand." With each passing month, the publication argued the telegraph "added precious names of young martyrs to our death list" as some of the state's brightest and most ingenious "poured out their blood on the altar of Southern patriotism."[417] Explications on the sanctity of the Confederate soldier's sacrifice became a recurrent theme within the pages of the *Courier*, as some weeks later the paper printed yet another article, simply entitled "Our Martyrs," which added still more names to the pantheon of southern heroes.[418] Aside from elevating the Confederate soldier's sacrifice from the realm of the secular to that of the sacred, conceptualizing of southern soldiers as martyrs provided a sense of hope and inspiration to a weary white population who began to question the nature and, to a certain extent, the possible futility of their suffering. Paradoxically, therefore, the twin process of sanctification and sacralization rose to prominence and offered a counter to a discourse whose tenor, by late 1862, seemed to reach a nadir.

[416] Ann Elliott Morris Vanderhorst papers, 1859-1882. (1169.02.09) South Carolina Historical Society.
[417] *The Charleston Daily Courier*, "Youthful Martyrs," September 6, 1862.
[418] *The Charleston Daily Courier*, "Our Martyrs," September 30, 1862.

One factor that certainly contributed to the dour nature of, and subsequently prompted the ascendency of new ideological motifs in, the discourse of Confederate civil religion within the Palmetto State was the founding of a Union newspaper in occupied Port Royal. Established by Union Postmaster Joseph H. Sears and costing five cents, the *New South* published its inaugural copy on Saturday, March 15, 1862. In the paper's salutation, editor Adam Badeau minced no words in explaining the main goals of his publication. First and foremost, the paper endeavored "to strengthen the hands of the government and those who represent it, to incite the courage and fortify the endurance of its defenders," and to dampen discord amongst a population who were themselves "battling against the results of discord."[419] A secondary, but perhaps equally important, aim of Badeau's was to demonstrate the futility of the Confederate cause to the very citizens whose support buoyed the rebellion. "And if an occasional copy of a Union paper should find its way to the deluded and unfortunate people with whom we are contending," the *New South* explained, "some idea of the hopelessness of their effort may be afforded them." Once Confederates discovered Unionists "so firmly established here as to issue and support newspapers," Badeau hoped they would "perhaps see how desperate is their own condition," and thus more readily submit to the Federal Government.[420] It is apparent, therefore, that from its inception Sears's publication had a southern audience in mind and placed the goal of eroding Confederate morale on nearly equal footing with that of supporting the Union war effort.

Although the degree to which the Unionist paper circulated within Confederate society is nearly impossible to gauge, its very existence was important because the *New South* added yet another chord to the cacophony of voices disparaging the southern nation's prospects and instilling a sense of anxiety or discontent. Even those who wanted to dismiss Sears's creation as

[419] *The New South*, "Inaugural," March 15, 1862.
[420] Ibid.

nothing more than propaganda could not help but peruse the pages of the publication, or learn about it secondhand, and draw dire conclusions from its contents. The very title of the paper, the *New South*, signaled to the region's white population that Federal forces meant not only to occupy, but also to completely reconstruct the social, economic, and racial foundations of the Carolina Coast and, eventually, of the Confederacy at large. While the ever-widening Union sphere of influence certainly worried white Carolinians, what concerned them even more was the destruction of the slave labor regime, along with all its accompanying degrees of dependence, and the reorganization of their socioeconomic system based on free labor ideologies.[421] In the pages of the *New South*, Confederate citizens discovered how their former slaves "grew entirely accustomed" to their new condition as free laborers and went about working "vigorously and willingly" for the Federal Government.[422] To show the size and scope of the tremendous transformation taking place within the Lowcountry, the paper proudly printed statistics compiled by northern officials showing how, after less than a year of Union occupation, there were roughly 3,800 "effective" black laborers cultivating well over 10,000 acres on the coast of South Carolina.[423] In the white southern mind these events were unfathomable because a population believed to be docile, compliant, and, above all, loyal to the planter class now engaged in acts of

[421] Historian Eric Foner argues adherents of free labor held there existed a dignity in labor precisely because, through hard work, a laborer or wage earner could experience social mobility and achieve the goal of becoming economically independent. The free labor system proved patently superior to its southern counterpart, acolytes of the ideology believed, because it offered the average laboring man economic choices, provided workers with the opportunity to join the ranks of the self-employed middle-class, and presented a path towards national prosperity. The slave labor system, in contrast, degraded labor, produced economic stagnation, and all but closed any avenues to social advancement. See; Eric Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party Before the Civil War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 9, 11, 13, 16-17, 29, 40, 43, 50.
[422] *The New South*, "The Situation," March 15, 1862.
[423] *The New South*, "Statistics of Negro Labor," September 6, 1862.

open betrayal by working alongside the enemy to fill the coffers of a government determined to eradicate the Confederacy and the foundations upon which it stood.[424]

All of this, however, paled in comparison to the shock and horror that crossed the minds of countless white Carolinians when they learned of Major General David Hunter's General Orders, No.11, in which he announced that as of May 9, 1862, all those formerly held as slaves in occupied areas of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida were henceforth "forever free."[425] Since the successful slave rebellion on Saint Domingue in the last decade of the eighteenth century, emancipation conjured up a multitude of fears withinin the white southern imagination.[426] In the days before the election of 1860, for example, the *Charleston Mercury* painted a distressing picture of what would come if the Republican Party won and imposed their emancipationist schemes throughout the entirety of the Republic. "The midnight glare of the incendiary's torch, will illuminate the country from one end to another;" the paper claimed, "while pillage, violence, murder, poisons and rape will fill the air with the demoniac revelry, of

---

[424] Kenneth M. Stampp, *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South (*New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956), 87, 92, 144-48, 322-24, 327, 379 and Elizabeth Fox-Genovese and Eugene D. Genovese, *The Mind of the Master Class: History and Faith in the Southern Slaveholders' Worldview* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 365, 368-70.

[425] In terms of scope, almost immediately after the Federal bombardment and occupation of Port Royal in November 1861, Union Flag Officer Samuel Du Pont reported that there were over ten thousand former slaves on the South Carolina Sea Islands alone. When Hunter issued his orders, therefore, he was effectively freeing tens of thousands of former bondsmen and women who resided in, or subsequently fled to, Union occupied areas. See; Rose, *Rehearsal for Reconstruction*, 20 and *The New South*, "General Orders," August 23, 1862.

[426] Historian Alyssa Goldstein Sepinwall argues that for slaveowners and their allies, even the mere mention of St. Domingue "conjured up a terrifying alternative universe in which whites could lose their power, their fortunes, and even their lives." The Lowcountry felt the impact of the slave revolt especially acutely because, as the closest American port, Charleston received a disproportionately large number of white refugees fleeing St. Domingue. Stories of atrocities committed by former slaves abounded in the region and as a result the connection between emancipation and racial atrocity became deeply ingrained within the white Carolinian consciousness. See; Alyssa Goldstein Sepinwall, "The Specter of Saint-Domingue: American and French Reactions to the Haitian Revolution," in *The World of the Haitian Revolution*, eds. David Patrick Geggus and Norman Fiering (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009), 317-18, 330, 399 and Robert Alderson, "Charleston's Rumored Slave Revolt of 1793," in *The Impact of the Haitian Revolution in the Atlantic World*, ed. David P. Geggus (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2001), 95. Also see; David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Emancipation* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2014), 46, 48-49, 78-80.

all the bad passions of an ignorant, semi-barbarous race."[427] In enacting emancipation, Union officials seemingly fulfilled the grim prophecies put forth by the *Mercury* and countless other southern periodicals since the days of the early antebellum era. From the white Carolinian perspective, what began as a conflict between two belligerent nations now, largely due to Federal policies, escalated into a war of the races and could only end with either a mass exodus or a total extermination of the South's white population. Mary Chesnut perhaps summed up white fears best when, roughly two months prior to the official declaration of emancipation by General Hunter, she noted how Union officials and congressmen claimed they were occupying and governing Port Royal in much the same way as Carolina's colonial settlers when they wrested control from the region's native inhabitants.[428] Such a comparison prompted Chestnut, and many others like her, to draw a dreadful conclusion. "So," Chesnut lamented within the pagers of her diary, "we are to be exterminated and improved á l'Indienne---from the face of the earth."[429]

In the writings of Anne Elliott Morris Vanderhorst one can attain further insight into how Union civil and military policies, along with their subsequent reporting, continued to erode Confederate resolve by instilling a deep-seated sense of anxiety within the minds of the Lowcountry's white residents. In late May 1862, with her slaves seemingly fleeing en masse to Federal lines to seek freedom and the prospect of wage labor, Vanderhorst took to her diary to express the overwhelming sense of despair she felt when surveying her family's future. "Poverty seems closing fast upon us," Vanderhorst lamented in the wake of losing the chattel to which her financial future remained tethered; "The structure of an ancient family gradually tumbling down

[427] *The Charleston Mercury*, "Slaveholders and Non-Slaveholders of the South," October 31, 1860.
[428] Woodward, *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, 301.
[429] Ibid.

and there is nothing to stay the impending injury."[430] Although twenty-five of her slaves had fled to the Yankees in the recent past, Ann had no doubt that the rest were simply "waiting their opportunity" to make good their own escapes. Time only confirmed Vanderhorst's suspicions, as a few days later seven of her strongest slaves absconded to Union lines and thus destined the family to "endure poverty such as we have never known."[431] For Vanderhorst and others of the Lowcountry's planter class, developments on the coast highlighted the precarious nature of the southern economy and demonstrated the degree to which Federal policies could upend, in a matter of days or weeks, an aristocratic order established over generations.[432] Additionally, Federal activities along the Carolina Coast, and their accompanying advertisement in both Unionist and Confederate publications, undermined southern citizens' faith in a government that seemed, at best, unable and, at worst, unwilling to protect its citizens and their property. It is no surprise, therefore, that Confederates like Ann Vanderhorst experienced a profound sense of angst when their individual, as well as national, prospects looked increasingly perilous. "I cannot see thru the vista of time one solitary ray of hope," Vanderhorst wrote as she reached the conclusion of her musings for the year 1862, "all is Dark Dark."[433] It is this individual sense of malaise, once aggregated, that gave the discourse of civil religion its own unique character within the South Carolina Lowcountry.

As the summer slowly faded into the fall, white Carolinians experienced a slight reprieve from the distress and despondency that characterized the discourse of civil religion within their

[430] Vanderhorst, Ann Elliott Morris, 1795-1876. Ann Elliott Morris Vanderhorst papers, 1859-1882. (1169.02.09) South Carolina Historical Society.
[431] Ibid.
[432] Much like Vanderhorst, British-born planter Walter Blake likewise faced financial ruin as a result of nearly three hundred of his slaves fleeing his Beaufort District residence for Union lines by early July 1862. See; Woodward, *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, 407.
[433] Vanderhorst, Ann Elliott Morris, 1795-1876. Ann Elliott Morris Vanderhorst papers, 1859-1882. (1169.02.09) South Carolina Historical Society.

state. The last fast day observed in 1862, occurring in mid-September, represented the final resurgence of a civil religion whose tenor came anything close to the halcyon days of the spring and summer of 1861. The precipitating factors leading to the proclamation of a fast day were a string of Confederate military victories in late August and early September in nearly every major theatre of combat. In the Mississippi Valley, Edmund Kirby Smith and his 21,000 troops beat a significantly smaller Union force near Richmond, Kentucky, and subsequently occupied Lexington with plans to install a Confederate government at the nearby capitol at Frankfurt. At practically the same time, Confederate forces in the East under the command of General Robert E. Lee met another Federal force, this time led by General John Pope, near the fields surrounding Manassas Junction. What began as a confident Federal offensive that came within twenty miles of capturing the Confederate capitol at Richmond turned into a staggering defeat and a hasty defense of Washington, D.C. from rapidly advancing rebel troops. Only two weeks later, when it seemed as though things could not get any better, General Thomas J. Jackson rather effortlessly captured Harper's Ferry with all of its supplies and the roughly 12,000 Union soldiers stationed therein.[434] The cavalcade of Confederate victories sent waves of joy throughout a southern nation that, until recently, had experienced an inordinate amount of defeat and disaster.

In the Palmetto State, recent triumphs provided white Confederates, at least temporarily, with a much-needed sense of confidence and relief. "Are we not hearing splendid news now coming from Virginia," Charles Petigru Allston wrote to his sister Adele in late September; "I hope that the pressure upon them will oblige them to withdraw their gunboats from our southern

[434] McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 513-17, 527-32, 536-38; David Silkenat. *Raising the White Flag: How Surrender Defined the American Civil War* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2019),56-59; and Eicher, *The Longest Night*, 314-33

coast, and then we will be in peace for the next winter at least."[435] Langdon Cheeves, writing to his wife Charlotte from Columbia, shared a similar sense of optimism because he likewise believed "our glorious successes in Va and Kenty" made it extremely unlikely Federal forces would threaten Charleston any time in the near future. "They dare not send a fleet in Sepr," Cheeves explained, "[and] in their present military condition they cannot send an army."[436] For the first time in a long while, Cheeves could survey the future and see a ray of hope instead of glimpsing only desolation and continued suffering. As Cheeves worked diligently to shore up Charleston's coastal defenses he informed his wife that "things are looking up now," and by October he ardently asserted, "our game will be very much changed for the better."[437] In the writings of Allston and Cheeves, one can see the faint traces of the confidence and bombast that, not so long ago, prevailed within the white Carolinian consciousness. The fast day in mid-September, therefore, offered Confederate Carolinians a rare opportunity to experience an unprecedented sense of cathartic release.

The newfound sense of self-assurance, not surprisingly, found its way into the discourse of civil religion and thus further highlights how popular perceptions and beliefs filtered their way from the bottom-up and subsequently influenced secular and religious leaders. In a service created specifically for the fast day, Episcopalian Bishop Thomas Davis created a program that exuded a sense of jubilation. The Morning Prayer set the tone for the day, as it began, "Make a joyful noise unto God, all ye lands: sing forth the honor of his name: make His praise glorious."[438] Taking things a step further, Davis informed his flock that they would depart from

[435] Allston, Charles Petigru, 1848-1922. Charles Petigru Allston letters, 1860-1897. (1164.02.05) South Carolina Historical Society.
[436] West, Langdon Cheves. Papers, 1941. (1167.03.04) South Carolina Historical Society.
[437] Ibid.
[438] *The Charleston Mercury*, "Thanksgiving Service," September 17, 1862.

their normal routine by dispensing with the chanting of "Venite" after the last "Sentences of Scripture" and, instead, sing the "Psalm of Praise and Victory."[439] Although rather subtle, the changes Davis instituted illustrate the degree to which morale seemed to change within the Palmetto State as a result of the Confederacy's recent triumphs. Davis, for his part, crafted a service that simultaneously channeled and reflected the attitudes of his parishioners and white Confederates more generally. Especially when compared to a prayer Davis composed for the fast day immediately following the capture of Port Royal, it is clear the Episcopalian Bishop kept popular perceptions in mind when constructing his discourses.[440] Echoing the new sense of optimism present within the white population, Charleston's leading periodicals called on their readers not to observe a solemn fast, but to heartily celebrate a day of thanksgiving. A people who so often beforehand heeded the call to "penitential sorrow" now joined together, as the *Mercury* proclaimed, "in grateful homage to Almighty God, for the splendid triumphs, with which, under His providence, our arms have everywhere been crowned."[441] "We gather together in temples of the Lord to-day not to sigh and groan and lament," the *Daily Courier* explained to their subscribers, "but to sing and make merry; not to murmur over disastrous and humiliating reverses, but to rejoice over brilliant and decisive successes."[442] In juxtaposing the current fast day with those of the recent past, both the *Courier* and the *Mercury* hoped to show the amount of positive progress made over the previous weeks and months and thus instill a feeling of buoyancy and pride within their respective readerships. For Carolinians who began to seriously question the rectitude of the cause and who believed that God had withdrawn his divine

[439] *The Charleston Mercury*, "Thanksgiving," September 18, 1862.
[440] See prayer discussed on pages 27-28. For source, see; Stout, *Upon the Altar*, 85-86, 479 n.11.
[441] *The Charleston Daily Courier*, "Thanksgiving," September 18, 1862 and *The Charleston Mercury*, "Thanksgiving," September 18, 1862.
[442] *The Charleston Daily Courier,* "Thanksgiving," September 18, 1862.

countenance due to Confederate arrogance and deceit, recent victories did a great deal to allay many doubts and reinforce the confidence of the Palmetto State's white citizens.

The self-confidence on display during the fast day in mid-September ultimately proved illusory as white Carolinians and their civil religion rather quickly returned to bemoaning their current circumstances and expressing a more pessimistic outlook. In a prayer printed in Charleston's *Daily Courier* on a state-wide day of prayer declared by Governor M.L. Bonham for early March 1863, the author begged Almighty God to remove the rod of chastisement and deliver the Confederacy from its sustained suffering. "O Lord…we beseech Thee," the prayer read, "let thine anger be turned away from this city, this State, and the Confederacy, and cause Thy face to shine upon whatsoever is desolate therein."[443] In proclaiming the first national fast day of the new year a few weeks later, Jefferson Davis informed his fellow citizens that, once again, they should take to their places of worship because Union forces "threaten us with subjugation, and with evil machinations." The danger posed by the Yankees seemed even more dire at this stage of the war, according to the Confederate Chief Executive, because "even in our own homes and at our firesides" the enemy diligently worked "to pervert our men-servants and our maid servants into accomplices of their wicked designs."[444] No longer simply facing dangers from without, the southern nation, largely due to Lincoln's enacting the Emancipation Proclamation, now needed to deal with a restive and highly motivated slave population that could cripple the Confederacy from within. Concurring with Davis's sentiments, the *Courier* reminded their readers that they were, at present, "passing through a crisis, the importance of which cannot be overestimated." "We are hemmed around with large and powerful armies," the

[443] *The Confederate Baptist*, "Day of Prayer," March 4, 1863 and *The Charleston Daily Courier*, "A Prayer for our Country," March 5, 1863.
[444] *The Confederate Baptist*, "Proclamation," March 18, 1863.

paper continued, "our seaport cities are menaced by the most formidable vessels of war ever constructed by the ingenuity and muscle of man, the prime necessities of life are growing more scarce and more dear, our privations and hardships are increasing in weight."[445] Confederates, it seemed, mollified their anxieties and trepidations by pinning nearly all their hopes on the approaching military campaign season. "Momentous issues hang upon the results of the upcoming battles," the *Courier* explained, "If success reward our valor we may reckon upon the termination of this contest before the leaves begin to fall. . . . If the enemy is triumphant then will come woes and miseries, compared with those which we are now bearing will be as a clear moonlight night to the preternatural darkness that fell upon the land of Egypt."[446]

Charleston's citizens would not have long to wait to see if their hopes concerning upcoming military operations were well-placed. Less than two weeks after the conclusion of the fast day in late March, four Union Monitors, led by the flagship *Ironsides*, sailed into the city's harbor attempting to destroy the elaborate ring of defensive forts and finally capture what Federal forces called "the nest of the rebellion."[447] Ultimately, Federal gunships failed to reach the inner portions of Charleston's harbor and the Union commander, Admiral DuPont, withdrew his forces after realizing a direct sea assault was untenable.[448] White Carolinians briefly breathed a sigh of relief, for, as the *Courier* explained, the result of the recent battle "increased the confidence felt in our ability to frustrate the devices of the foe, and protect our fair city from the pollution of his presence."[449] Although buoyed by the stout defense of their city's harbor, white Charlestonians realized, in the words of the *Mercury*, that as yet they had "but entered upon the

---

[445] *The Charleston Daily Courier*, "A National Fast," March 27, 1863.
[446] Ibid.
[447] Kelly, *America's Longest Siege*, 302-03; *The Charleston Mercury*, "The Attack on Charleston Opened," April 8, 1863; *The Charleston Daily Courier*, "The Attack on Charleston," April 8, 1863; and *The Charleston Mercury*, "Charleston Must Not Fall!" July 23, 1863.
[448] Kelly, *America's Longest Siege*, 302-03.
[449] *The Charleston Daily Courier*, "The Attack on Charleston," April 8, 1863.

ordeal" because Union troops occupied nearby Folly Island, already abandoned by Confederate defenders by early spring 1863, and set up a base of operations from which to harass and besiege Charleston into submission.[450]

Over the ensuing four months, a military campaign season that initially seemed to offer a sense of hope and relief ended in frustration and consternation. In early May, Confederate forces under the command of General Robert E. Lee achieved a signal victory over General Joseph Hooker's Federal forces at Chancellorsville. Although an astounding triumph that greatly boosted southern morale, the victory came at a grievous cost. Not only were 13,000 men, roughly twenty-two percent of Lee's total force, killed or wounded, but one of the Confederacy's greatest generals, Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson, died as a result of wounds sustained from friendly fire.[451] Two months later, in early July, Confederate forces experienced major setbacks in each of the war's major theatres of combat. In Pennsylvania, the Army of Northern Virginia became a victim of their own hubris and suffered a staggering defeat at Gettysburg that cost roughly 28,000 southern lives and quickly checked prevailing notions concerning the invincibility of Confederate arms.[452] Along the banks of the Mississippi River, Union forces under General Ulysses S. Grant finally forced the capitulation of Vicksburg after trying for the better part of a year to seize what many believed to represent the "Gibraltar of the West."[453] In South Carolina, the *Mercury* resolutely declared the fall of Vicksburg "the greatest disaster which has befallen the arms of the Confederates States since the fall of New Orleans."[454] Even in

---

[450] *The Charleston Mercury*, "The Attack on Charleston Opened," April 8, 1863, and Kelly, *America's Longest Siege*, 303.
[451] McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 638-645; Stout, *Upon the Altar*, 223-226; and Eicher, *The Longest Night*, 475-89.
[452] McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 645, 664-65 and Bell Irvin Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb: The Common Soldiers of the Confederacy* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978), 183.
[453] McPherson, *Battle Cry of* Freedom, 577-79, 586-590, 626-638 and Eicher, *The Longest Night*, 438-43, 457-73, 555-59.
[454] *The Charleston Mercury*, "The War in Mississippi," July 9, 1863.

the ranks of the Confederate Army, Vicksburg's surrender seemed to shake southern morale more so any other previous defeat. Less than two weeks after the city's fall, Major William Gildersleeve Vardell, then serving as a member of the 23 South Carolina Infantry Regiment in the Trans-Mississippi, wrote a letter to his wife Jennie in which he stated, "I feel very doubtful about affairs out here; we lose ground all the while and see nothing now to prevent Grant's occupying the West . . . thus gloom pervades everywhere here." The passage of time only seemed to reinforce a pessimism taking hold within the minds of Vardell and his fellow soldiers. "We are still on the retreat, our army quite demoralized and all things look very unpromising," Vardell wrote a few days later near Brandon, Mississippi, "I feel really depressed—I hope and trust God will see fit to give us some success and lighten our present dark prospects."[455] The psychological stress and anxiety induced by events in early July, therefore, stretched from the streets of the homefront to the campfires of the battlefield.

The despair and dejection on display in pages of the *Mercury* and in the letters of soldiers like Vardell following the fall of Vicksburg came to define the discourse of civil religion in South Carolina for the remainder of the war. "The campaign that promised such signal advantages and such brilliant successes for the righteous cause in which we are engaged, closed with reverses and disasters," the *Daily Courier* editorialized on a fast day declared in late August, "We were prepared to celebrate victories. We are called to bemoan defeats." Continuing with on with their rather disheartening reporting, the paper claimed, "Despondency took the place of exultation, joy was turned into sorrow, and gloomy forebodings expelled joyful expectations from our darkened and disquieted minds."[456] In a sermon delivered before the

[455] Vardell, William G. (William Gildersleeve), 1829-1897. William G. Vardell letters, 1862-1863(271.00) South Carolina Historical Society.
[456] *The Charleston Daily Courier*, "Fast Day," August 21, 1863.

General Assembly of South Carolina on a statewide fast day nearly four months later, Reverend Benjamin Morgan Palmer likewise painted a dire picture of the Confederacy's present predicament. In his sermon, Palmer acknowledged the day of prayer occurred during "an hour of public peril" when the Almighty's chastening hand fell "so severely upon our common country." A little later in the discourse, the Presbyterian cleric continued to project a somber air when he solemnly begged God "who hast scattered us in they displeasure" to once more "hear the prayers of thy people this day, and turn thyself to us again."[457] Although Palmer never lost his conviction that the Confederacy fought for the prerogatives of Almighty God and thus enjoyed his providential blessing, his sermon did display a degree of anxiety and trepidation as he recognized the results of the previous year indicated a form of forsaking that could potentially be long-lasting in nature. Reading through the pages of the Lowcountry's leading publications in early April as they observed the first national fast of 1864, white residents surely found no relief from their mounting worries and woes. Charleston's *Mercury*, for example, merely compounded a prevailing sense of distress when it printed an article in which the editors argued a "future the most awful that the imagination can contemplate" surely awaited Confederates if southern forces failed to turn the tide of war over the ensuing weeks and months.[458] As the year came to a close, it appeared that the grim prophecy proffered by the *Mercury* was on the verge of becoming reality. "Large sections of our territory have been given up to desolation and destruction," the *Daily Courier* decried on a fast day in mid-November, and since the Confederate military seemed completely unable to check the enemy's advance the "relentless hate of the foe" expanded and expounded untold amounts of men and resources. White Carolinians who were

[457] B.M. Palmer, D.D., *A Discourse Before the General Assembly of South Carolina, on December 10, 1863, Appointed by The Legislature as a Day of Fasting, Humiliation and Prayer* (Columbia, S.C.: Charles P. Pelham State Printer, 1864), 3, 5.
[458] *The Charleston Mercury*, "Day of Fasting and Prayer," April 7, 1864.

once filled with sanguine hope, the periodical explained, now found themselves afflicted by "mortifying disappointment" as peace no longer seemed within reach, but "had withdrawn into the darkness of the future."[459] The Confederate civil religion, therefore, continued to project a pessimistic and dispirited air that had become a hallmark since the fall of Port Royal in late 1861. Although the messaging and tone stayed remarkably consistent over the course of three years, the disastrous series of reverses suffered in the latter half of 1863 added a new level of intensity and subsequently plunged the discourse into even more depressing depths.

Unfortunately for white residents of the Lowcountry, the airing of disheartening evaluations of the Confederacy's immediate and long-term prospects were not limited to fast days alone. As the Civil War continued to drag on with no visible end in sight, the rather dismal tone and demoralizing assessments found within the pages of the popular press on fast days grew increasingly more ubiquitous and thus aggravated or amplified the sense of alarm existing within the white Carolinian consciousness. "The months that are to compose this year are red with human blood," the *Daily Courier* lamented in their first edition for the year 1864, "they are to uncover scenes of carnage to our sight, and from the bosoms of the coming days proceed groans, shouts, and wails." "There are no signs of peace visible to our gaze," the editorial continued, "…There is more suffering in reserve for us, greater dangers, more terrible woes."[460] Nearly one year later, in late December, the *Confederate Baptist* painted an equally bleak picture of the upcoming year and told their subscribers to prepare themselves for the worst.[461] "If there ever

[459] *The Charleston Daily Courier*, "A Day of Prayer," November 16, 1864.
[460] *The Charleston Daily Courier*, "The New Year," January 1, 1864.
[461] A number of factors led the popular press in the Confederacy to paint a rather dire picture of the future as the year 1864 reached its conclusion and 1865 loomed large on the horizon. From a military standpoint, Confederates had every reason to feel uneasy as Robert E. Lee and his illustrious Army of Northern Virginian remained trapped in the trenches surrounding Petersburg and William Tecumseh Sherman's forces swept rather effortlessly through the heart of Georgia and fixed their eyes on neighboring South Carolina. For those that believed the military situation proved less than ideal, political developments taking place outside of the Confederacy only compounded the southern nation's woes. In late 1864, Abraham Lincoln won reelection and thus crushed any lingering hopes that northerners

was a time when every Christian, every patriot, every friend of his country ought to pray," the publication's editors maintained, "it is now!" "The ship in which we are embarked," the *Baptist* continued, "with our wives and children, and all our precious things, is just plunging into the Eurocyden, and fast driving upon the breakers." Perhaps more alarming, from the reader's perspective, was the fact that the Columbia-based paper argued Confederates could do nothing, save pray for the Almighty's intervention, to rescue the southern ship as it weathered what looked like its final storm. "We cannot be at the helm," the paper explained, "and if we could, not one of us in a thousand is capable of holding the rudder, or standing by the masts or handling the ropes."[462] In early January 1865, just a few short weeks after the *Baptist's* article appeared to the people of South Carolina, the *Charleston Mercury* printed its own exposé that exacerbated the degree of disquiet by lamenting how military mismanagement and poor leadership "brought despondency upon the people" and worked to thin the ranks of those defending the country to a dangerous extent. Although the publication possessed no doubt that the Confederacy could carry on the war "to a successful termination," its editors also instilled within the general populace the belief that if no remedy to the prevailing incompetence was found then the southern nation would continue on its current trajectory and, ultimately, find itself in utter ruin.[463] Scanning the pages of the Lowcountry's local newspapers, therefore, proved much more effective at raising questions and stoking fear than providing answers to an increasingly perilous present.

---

would elect a Peace Democrat who would then call an immediate cessation to hostilities and ultimately negotiate Confederate independence. Less than three months after the election, the Confederacy sustained yet another blow when a peace conference held at Hampton Roads, Virginia stalled and subsequently ended in abject failure. See; McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 720-21, 739-42, 756, 758-60, 807-11, 821-24, 844-45; Gary W. Gallagher, *The Confederate War: How Popular Will, Nationalism, and Military Strategy Could Not Stave Off Defeat* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 95; and Stout, *Upon the Altar*, 349, 393-94, 397-401, 403, 406.

[462] *The Confederate Baptist*, "Let Us Pray," December 21, 1864.

[463] *The Charleston Mercury*, "Whom God Would Destroy They First Make Mad," January 3, 1865.

The relatively incessant negative news coverage concerning the war and the state of southern society coupled with the lack of large-scale military success from June 1863 onwards left so many within the beleaguered southern nation disheartened and disillusioned that citizens began to lose faith in the ability of temporal actors to influence events and thus they increasingly placed the survival or destruction of the Confederacy solely within the purview of the Almighty. In the South Carolina Lowcountry, this type of outlook began infusing the discourse of civil religion with a newfound sense of fatalism. With the progression of time, therefore, it became increasingly clear "the usual affirmations that all rested in God's hands sounded more fatalistic than hopeful."[464] In a presidential proclamation declaring a national day of fasting and prayer for late August 1863, Jefferson Davis seemed to set the tone when he argued recent reverses demonstrated to Confederates, once and for all, that "to Him, and not to our own feeble arms, are due the honor and the glory of victory; that from Him, in His paternal providence, come the anguish and sufferings of defeat." The amount of faith and confidence white southerners previously placed in their generals and in their own abilities represented a form a folly from Davis's perspective precisely because, in the end, it was the Almighty and not temporal agents who possessed the power and omniscience to govern or control the progression of events.[465] Days later, the *Charleston Mercury* largely concurred with and parroted Davis's interpretation of events. While the paper acknowledged "human instrumentality" certainly played a role in bringing about the Confederacy current troubles, it reminded subscribers "that men, good or bad, wise or foolish, are God's agents, by whom He carries on the transactions of the world according to His sovereign will and pleasure." "Without his permission," the editors continued, "bad, weak

[464] Rable, *God's Almost Chosen Peoples*, 307.
[465] *The Confederate Baptist*, "Day of Prayer," August 12, 1863.

men could not injure is, or good men assist us."[466] In essence, the publication informed their readers that Confederates, one and all, represented pawns in a cosmic game and every minute aspect of their actions followed a divine plan already orchestrated.

Illustrating the rapidity with which such attitudes spread and gained prominence within the white Carolinian conscience, on the statewide fast day in early December 1863 the editors of the *Mercury* printed an article in which they seemed to reverse course by urging readers not to overlook or completely disregard the impact of human agency on the trajectory of the war. Apparently enough Confederate Carolinians exhibited an attitude of indifference when it came to temporal events and their ability to alter their circumstances that the publication felt it necessary to excoriate citizens who relied too heavily, indeed wholly, upon the whims of the Almighty to end their tribulations.[467] The writings of Mary Chesnut further demonstrate the degree to which the fatalism emanating from the pages of the popular press influenced the outlook and disposition of the Lowcountry's white residents. Writing from Richmond at the end of December 1863, Chesnut took stock of the condition of her country and could not help but find a sense of irony in how herself and her friends celebrated the opening of a new year. Chesnut likened her actions to those of a sailor who, with his fellow servicemen, broke into their vessel's liquor cabinet after hearing their ship was bound to sink. Like the sailors on the allegorical ship, Chesnut believed that, for the first time, Confederate citizens seemingly embraced the fact that their fate was ultimately out of their control and thus they exhibited "a resolute feeling to enjoy the brief hour and never look beyond the day."[468] The stoicism displayed within the pages of Chesnut's diary is rather remarkable and illustrates how a despondency engendered by adverse

[466] *The Charleston Mercury*, "The Day of Prayer," August 21, 1863.
[467] *The Charleston Mercury*, "Days of Fasting, Humiliation and Prayer," December 10, 1863.
[468] Woodward, *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, 519.

political and military developments was easily compounded by persistent melancholy press coverage and consequently bred a sense of resignation or even defeatism within a weary, worn-torn, population.

Adding to white residents' sense of despair and discouragement, secular and religious leaders within the Palmetto State continued to fill the pages of the popular press with searing indictments concerning citizens' behavior and the deleterious effect such actions produced throughout the nation. As in the past, civic and ecclesiastical officials argued white Carolinians failure to comport themselves in a dignified and decorous manner directly led to the misery and catastrophe currently befalling the Confederacy. By late summer 1863, however, excoriations focused increasingly, indeed primarily, on temporal or civic transgressions. This slight shift in emphasis reveals that the people's supposed lack of piety, while certainly worrisome to South Carolina's leaders, no longer represented the gravest threat to the struggling southern nation. On a national day of fasting and prayer observed in late March 1864, for example, the *Confederate Baptist's* editors bemoaned the fact that, as the war progressed, white Confederates only became "more selfish, extortionate, oppressive, gay and frivolous." Since the populace experienced a declension in their moral aptitude and seemed adamantly opposed to reforming their ways, the paper told their readers they should resign themselves to the fact that the future likely held "no relief from the calamities under which the nation groans."[469] One month later, the very same paper printed an article entitled "Change for the Worse" that juxtaposed the behavior of Confederates when they began their struggle for independence with their attitudes in the latter stages of the conflict. According to the article, at the outset of the war a spirit of patriotism "hitherto unexampled seemed to pervade all classes" and as a result the Confederacy not only

[469] *The Confederate Baptist*, "National Humiliation," March 30, 1864.

gained the admiration of other nations while filling "the bosoms of our invaders with misgivings and fears," but the southern people also secured the favor of heaven through their impressive display of collective unity. "Three years have passed---and what do our eyes behold," the publication bewailed, "Selfishness supplanting patriotism; hard labor exchanged for inglorious ease, and generous sentiment expelled by the greed of gain." In the end, the *Baptist* reached the same conclusion as it had previously when it lamented how white Carolinians moral and civic failings seriously undermined the war effort and left many to take stock and inquire "in doubt and dismay, whether Providence has any good in store for us."[470]

Perhaps the most egregious transgression, from the point of view of Charleston's leading publications, was the level of disregard and apathy demonstrated by white Carolinians on fast days as they war entered its third and fourth years. "The fact that but few will keep this day of humiliation and prayer in a proper manner," the *Daily Courier* opined in an article published on the statewide day of fasting in early December 1863, "is the source of grief and apprehension." "Many will not give a moment's thought to the occasion," the paper's editors noted, "and of those who seem to worship there are few whose confessions and supplications will move the potent pity of God."[471] Three months later, the Columbia-based *Baptist* did not know whether the declaration of another national fast day should be met with glee or regret, for white residents of South Carolina no longer seemed earnest in their observations and, instead, "many have valued the day merely as a recess from business." The publication even went so far as to argue it would be better to just go on with the secular affairs of the country rather than to "insult the majesty of Heaven by proclaiming a day sacred to Him, only to show how generally our people disregard

[470] *The Confederate Baptist*, "Change for the Worse," April 27, 1864.
[471] *The Charleston Daily Courier*, "The Duty of the Day," December 10, 1863.

it."[472] The relative indifference with which the fast days were met at this stage of the war alarmed the editors of both newspapers for a number of reasons. From a theological standpoint, citizens' failure to humble themselves before the Almighty would ultimately prove deleterious because the collective callousness on displayed by white Carolinians would neither remove the rod of correction nor lessen God's wrath which, according to the *Courier*, "now burns fiercely against us."[473] More alarming, from the editors' point of view, was the perceived degree of disrespect displayed towards the nation and its secular leadership. Whether held on a national or local level, fast days represented high holy days within the Confederacy and ignoring one's obligation to observe the occasion earnestly not only illustrated a lack of devotion of the Almighty, but it also, perhaps more seriously, demonstrated a disdain of civil authority and an abandonment of one's civic responsibilities.

The ideological motifs established in the waning days of 1861, and appearing with ever-greater frequency as the war progressed, continued to remain prevalent within the discourse of civil religion as white Carolinians struggled to comprehend the course of the conflict. In order to instill a sense of confidence within or, at the very least, provide consolation to weary white Confederates, secular and religious leaders further refined the discourse of civil religion and made it ever-more forward looking. In his sermon delivered during the statewide fast day in December 1863, Benjamin Morgan Palmer attempted to reassure his audience of the rectitude and long-term viability of the cause by characterizing current travails as transitory in nature and placing Confederate deliverance in an indistinct future. Speaking directly to those who, unlike himself, lacked confidence and subsequently succumbed to a feeling of despondency, Palmer asserted it was a form of weakness "to shrink from the discipline to which all nations are subject

[472] *The Confederate Baptist*, "National Humiliation," March 30, 1864.
[473] *The Charleston Daily Courier*, "The Duty of the Day," December 10, 1863.

in working out their allotted destiny." In the grand scheme of things, Palmer explained, present tribulations represented fleeting bumps on the long road to salvation. "Let us but *do*, and *endure*," Palmer declared, "til the hand upon the dial-plate touches the last second of appointed time, and sounds the final note of our redemption."[474] Nearly a year later, the *Charleston Mercury* disseminated similar sentiments to their subscribers as they prepared themselves to observe a fast day in mid-November 1864. Although white Carolinians currently found themselves "breasting a cruel sea of suffering and blood," the publication told their readers they should not disparage in the slightest because "God's ways are not as our ways." Since human reason was woefully incapable of reconciling the ways of God to man, the publication explained that "humility, submission, and trust, are the height of wisdom."[475] Although the Almighty chose to chastise his chosen people and inflict previously unimaginable woes, the paper suggested there existed no reason to think the rod of correction would not eventually be removed. All the pain and suffering thus served a purpose that, while unintelligible at the moment, would make sense when God, at some distant date, chose to make his intentions known. At that future time, after Confederates demonstrated their faith and devotion, the *Daily Courier* explained white Carolinians would find themselves "wonder struck at the exceeding largess" of the blessings Providence would ultimately bestow. "Our desires will be more than gratified," the paper's editors continued, "our expectations will be vastly exceeded, and we shall stand overwhelmed with adoring gratitude and ecstatic awe at the great things God will do for us."[476] Though the path proved arduous and grueling, the Palmetto State's white citizens could rest assured that

[474] Palmer, *A Discourse Before the General Assembly*, 8, 23.
[475] *The Charleston Mercury,* "The Day," November 16, 1864.
[476] *The Charleston Daily Courier*, "The Day of Preparation," November 12, 1864.

when their errand ended at some ill-defined point in the future, they would find both personal and collective salvation.

A letter written from a Spartanburg Country resident to the editors of the *Daily Courier* in early January 1865 illustrates how such ideas filtered their way into the consciousness of the white populace and consequently affected their outlooks. The letter's author, known to readers only as "L," argued his fellow citizens should not give into despondency because in a battle to deliver the Confederacy from the "intolerable evils" perpetrated by the United States, it should have been expected that the young southern polity would go through innumerable trials and tribulations. The author then explained that if one took even a perfunctory look through Scripture, the one inviolable conclusion that could be drawn was that "He that endureth to the end shall be saved."[477] Though never certain when the end would exactly come, the message from the writer and the editors who chose to publish the letter was crystal clear, in withstanding the onslaughts of apostates and infidels, white Confederates could look forward to a time in which they would find themselves not living in the shadow of war, but, instead, basking in the light of peace and prosperity.

The ideological and rhetorical theme that eventually eclipsed all others in terms of its frequency and its prominence within the discourse of civil religion was the beatification of the Confederate soldier. In sanctifying the soldier's sacrifice and characterizing southern armies as composed primarily of pious Christians, the popular press hoped to achieve a number of goals. First and foremost, the Palmetto State's publications wanted to reinforce the belief that the Confederate military apparatus fought not only for short-term secular or political reasons, but to achieve far-reaching religious ends as well. In casting the war as one for national independence

[477] *The Charleston Daily Courier,* "Endure to the End," January 4, 1865

and for safeguarding the Almighty's sovereignty over temporal affairs, secular and religious leaders could thus make ever-greater levels of sacrifice and privation appear requisite and, from both a personal and collective standpoint, a demonstration of fidelity. Secondly, in describing how Confederate soldiers courageously met the horrors of war and accepted death with cheerful resignation, effectively achieving what Drew Faust refers to as "the Good Death," the popular press attempted to assuage the fears of families whose men were presently still engaged in the fight while also providing a sense of comfort to those whose relatives already made the ultimate sacrifice.[478] Depicting southern soldiers as Christian martyrs thus potentially made it easier for a mother to give up a son, a wife her husband, or a sister her brother because they believed their loved ones met their fates happily and achieved salvation through their service under the banner of Christ.

Operating out of Charleston, the South Carolina Tract Society (SCTS) was incredibly adept at promulgating the image of the Confederate soldier as a Christian martyr and thus helped entrench such a correlation within the popular imagination. In an effort to get men to enlist and fight for the southern cause as the war entered its latter stages, the SCTS printed a tract that read as a rallying cry to gather the Army of Christ for a holy conflict. In opening, the tract's author, known simply as "A Young Lady," steadfastly proclaimed that she had been given a commission "by the King of kings to procure recruits for His army" and that she wished nothing more than for the reader to answer the Savior's call and enlist with all do haste. Whether joining presently or having been in the ranks for some time, those serving in the Confederate military deserved adoration, indeed veneration, the tract made clear, precisely because each and every sacrifice

[478] Faust, *This Republic of Suffering*, 5-31. Also see; Schantz, *Awaiting the Heavenly Country*, 2-3, 9, 18-28, 30-34, 36.

made brought nearer "the glorious triumph of the King of kings."[479] Published around the same time and incredibly popular amongst the South's fighting men, the aptly named *Soldier's Hymn Book* attempted to bolster the resolve of those then serving in the military by reminding them that they not only fought for family and for country, but also for Almighty God.[480] In a section entitled "The Christian," one such hymn alluded to the fact that there existed an equivalence between Confederate combatants and Christian saints:

Shrink thou not, nor be faint-hearted
In untoward circumstance—
Fires are quenched and waters parted
For the saint's deliverance;
Fear thou not, what may befall thee,
Boldly go where duties call thee.

Making an even more explicit connection, another hymn in the "Confidence and Hope" portion of the book read:

The Lord's my banner! forth I go,
And dread no danger, fear no foe;
Though death, though hell beset my path,
I scorn their power, I brave their wrath;
Where'er I turn, whate'er betide,
My Lord shall combat by my side![481]

Whether by design or simply serendipitous, the writings published by the SCTS can be read as companion pieces. The tract supposedly authored by the young woman used religious language and imagery to augment the ranks of the Confederate military and then the *Hymn Book* worked to keep those ranks filled by provided readers a source of secular and religious motivation.

[479] A Young Lady. "An Appeal to Young Soldiers," Published by the South Carolina Tract Society (Charleston, S.C.: Evans and Cogswell, 186-), 1, 3.
[480] Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb,* 186.
[481] The South Carolina Tract Society, *The Soldier's Hymn Book*. Second Edition (30,000) revised. (Charleston, S.C.: Evans and Cogswell, Printers, 1863), 124, 216.

As the war's intensity and ferocity escalated exponentially, it became abundantly clear that the use of this ideological motif would not soon abate. In early December 1863, during the same sermon in which he perpetuated a narrative in which the Confederacy would achieve a final triumph in a future that seemingly lay forever on the horizon, Benjamin Morgan Palmer also sacralized the sacrifice of the Confederate soldier. With his discourse reaching its dramatic dénouement, Palmer urged his listeners not to lose hope and to remain devout, for, at that exact moment, "Our martyrs are upon the battlefield plain, undergoing the fearful baptism of blood."[482] Less than two months later, in early February 1864, the *Confederate Baptist* printed an article entitled "God's Conscript" that likewise sought to canonized, while also attempting to humanize, the sacrifice of the Confederacy's fighting men. The piece, composed by one known only as "A Sister" and meant to be read as a benediction from a father to his son departing from home for the front, began as follows:

Come forth, my precious first-born, come.
Away with weeds of soft delight;
Adieu to joys of peaceful home—
Come, we must dress thee for the fight;
For at my gate
God's heralds wait,
And claim thee for His warring host;
Heaven's Conscript, haste, and take thy post.[483]

The poem continued on as the figurative father prepared his son, both mentally and physically, for his departure while also explaining how in fighting for the Confederacy one simultaneously fought to secure to supremacy of the Almighty. In the writing's final stanza, as the boy looked one last time upon his home, the father quite literally urged his son to forsake the temporal bonds

[482] Palmer, *A Discourse Before the General Assembly*, 23.
[483] *The Confederate Baptist*, "God's Conscript," February 3, 1864.

that acted as a tether and, instead, fight for a sacrosanct cause alongside, and with the opportunity to join the ranks of, God's saintly legions:

> Now thou hast had my last embrace,
> Hast heard thy father's last command,
> Turn, turn from thy home thy longing face,
> Go, take in God's bright host thy stand
> The battle's din
> Comes rolling in,
> God's saints are shouting, hie the hie,
> March boy, and share their victory.[484]

With the Confederacy fighting desperately for its survival from late 1864 through early 1865, the pages of the popular press continued to invoke the image of the Confederate soldier as a Christian martyr to make continued sacrifice and loss more intelligible and, to a certain degree, easier to accept. Interestingly, writers increasingly used stirring vignettes of soldiers' experiences of and with death as a vehicle through which to propagate this ideological and rhetorical theme. In early January 1865, for example, the *Confederate Baptist* ran an article entitled the "Dying Soldier Boy" that relayed the story of a man walking over a battlefield soon after an engagement and coming across a young man in the final throes of life. After asking the young soldier if he would like any final words carried to his mother, the narrator explained that the boy nodded and said, "Tell my mother I've read my Testament, and put all my trust in the Lord. . . . Tell her to meet me in heaven . . . I'm not afraid to die."[485] The story continued in explaining how several soldiers who had gathered around to witness what the article called "the patient heroism of the boy" felt compelled, as strong men, to turn away and hide their tears after witnessing such a compelling scene. At the article's conclusion, the narrator described the deceased boy as an exemplar of courage and patriotism and argued citizens should not be shocked at the soldier's

[484] *The Confederate Baptist*, "God's Conscript," February 3, 1864.
[485] *The Confederate Baptist*, "The Dying Soldier Boy," January 4, 1865.

bravery, "for he was sustained by more than earthly fortitude."[486] Roughly one week later, the *Baptist* printed yet another piece in which an observer of battles then taking place in Virginia commented that the religious comportment of soldiers and the army more broadly were made manifest "in the very large proportion of the wounded who express a calm confidence in Christ which renders them happy in their affliction." "I have talked with poor fellows," the article continued, "dreadfully mangled and about to die, who were as composed and happy as if about to fall asleep under the parental roof."[487] Some weeks later, the *Daily Courier* argued the war's traumas and soldier's nearly continual encounters with death were responsible for the further spread of religious fervor within the ranks of the Confederate military. The publication explained that many who once showed little concern with religious matters, now, as a result of their experiences, counted themselves "God fearing and praying men."[488]

Confederate citizens needed not look only to newspaper articles, sermons, or religious tracts to confirm beliefs that their armies represented the militant arm of God sweeping away apostasy. Starting in late 1862 and building in intensity throughout the spring and summer of the next year, a series of religious revivals swept through the Confederate armies. In late June 1863, William Gildersleeve Vardell commented on the changing comportment of his fellow Confederate soldiers in a letter written to his wife Jennie from Madison County, Mississippi. "Oh! My dearest wife," Vardell began his correspondence, "you know not how more possibly touching it was to see the strong men, who had gone through the smoke of fire and battle with downcast, reverent mien, hanging heads and tearful eyes, wait upon the man of God, to pray for their souls and salvation and then the prayer running over with tender entreaty, tearful pleading,

[486] *The Confederate Baptist*, "The Dying Soldier Boy," January 4, 1865.
[487] *The Confederate Baptist*, "Christian Soldiers in Death," January 11, 1865.
[488] *The Charleston Daily Courier*, "A Day of Prayer," January 18, 1865.

yet joy in experiencing god's presence." Soldiers who once laughed and talked loudly as their chaplain, John L. Girardeau, preached, now came "with quiet tread and earnest looks and take their seats reverently."[489] George Rable argues that as summer 1863 began fading into fall the phenomena experienced by Vardell and his compatriots grew more widespread because "revivals extended to at least eleven of the army's twenty-eight brigades."[490] Writing nearly a decade after the war ended, William W. Bennett, a Methodist preacher and former Confederate chaplain, went so far as to contend that in the wake of the horrific engagement at Chickamauga in September 1863, "there was scarcely a spot where soldiers were gathered where the revival did not manifest itself."[491] The importance of the revivals, however, is not in the sheer numbers of men supposedly swayed or converted to evangelical Christianity. The revivals, rather, seemed to confirm what many white Confederates already believed, mainly that rebel forces represented the instruments of God intervening in temporal affairs. As historian Anne Rubin argues, Confederates soldiers and civilians learned of the revivals and believed they were witnessing "the creation of a divine army and thus the hand of God."[492]

The association of Confederate soldiers with Christian Crusaders grew so embedded within the white Carolinian conscious that another, largely converse, connection, that between apostasy and desertion, began to gain ideological and rhetorical traction as well. If southern soldiers exhibited virtue and devotion through their service to the nation and the Lord, those who

---

[489] Vardell, William G. (William Gildersleeve), 1829-1897. William G. Vardell letters, 1862-1863(271.00) South Carolina Historical Society.

[490] Historian Garnder H. Shattuck, Jr. argues revivalism within the Confederate military continued on into the next year and actually reached its peak in the summer of 1864 as southern soldiers encountered yet more death and defeat. Rable, *God's Almost Chosen Peoples,* 311 and Gardiner H. Shattuck, Jr., A *Shield and a Hiding Place: The Religious Life of the Civil War Armies (*Macon: Mercer Unuversity Press, 1987), 100.

[491] Bennett, *A Narrative of the Great Revival,* 320.

[492] Rubin, *A Shattered Nation,* 36; Also see; Kurt O. Berends, "Confederate Sacrifice and the 'Redemption' of the South," in *Religion in the American South: Protestants and Others on History and Culture,* eds. Beth Schwinger and Donald G. Mathews (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 112.

fled the ranks committed the highest crime of the Confederacy by rejecting, indeed abandoning, their secular and sacred duties. The *Confederate Baptist's* editors helped perpetuate such ideas when, at the end of 1864, they made clear to their readers that they "concurred most heartily" with the opinion of one of their fellow associations that believed "deserters from the army should be arranged before the Churches of which they are members, and expelled." The Columbia-based religious paper argued expulsion represented the proper course of action precisely because desertion was, at the same time, a rebellion against God and Caesar and thus, "No man, who deserts the flag of his country is fit for membership in a Baptist Church."[493] The label of infidel and apostate, once reserved for the supposedly godless Yankee foe, now fell upon those who absconded from their posts at the hour of greatest peril.[494] While no name possessed prouder prominence than that of Confederate soldier and "no other citizen is contemplated, with such admiration and affection," it appeared there existed few who were detested more strongly than deserters.[495] It should not be surprising that a society that sanctified their soldiers, indeed consecrated their sacrifice, would likewise grow to demonize desertion because it represented the antithesis of actions and values white Confederates, for utilitarian purposes, chose to venerate. At the outset of the war, the effective excommunication of congregants for their refusal to bear arms and kill their fellow man may have seemed inexplicable or excessively extreme, but in a nation that continually required its citizens to endure more suffering and loss, there could no longer exist any form of clemency and malefactors would thus receive their just rewards by being cast out of or ostracized from their secular and religious communities.

---

[493] *The Confederate Baptist*, "Church Treatment of Deserters," November 9, 1864.
[494] Rable, *Damn Yankees!* 49-50, 52, 56-57, 59-60 and Kurt O. Berends, "'Wholesome Reading Purifies and Elevates the Man:' The Religious Military Press in the Confederacy," in *Religion and the American Civil War*, eds. Randall M. Miller, Harry S. Stout, and Charles Reagan Wilson (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 144. Also see; *The Confederate Baptist*, "Christ Looking At Us While We Fight," April 15, 1863 and Palmer, *A Discourse Before the General Assembly,* 22.
[495] *The Confederate Baptist*, "The Soldier," December 7, 1864.

The melancholy that came to define the discourse of civil religion within the borders of the Palmetto State and subsequently spawned the emergence of new ideological themes began growing more national in nature from late summer 1863 onwards. In a fast day sermon delivered at the end of August, for example, Episcopalian cleric Stephen Elliott informed his congregation assembled in Savannah, Georgia that recent reverses caused days of "darkness and gloominess" to unexpectedly settle upon the beleaguered southern nation and its white citizenry. Much as in neighboring South Carolina, a prevalent sense of pessimism facilitated the growth of a degree of fatalism and subsequently aggravated the levels of despair and distress within the white southern consciousness. Elliott's congregation, located just over forty miles from Federally-occupied Beaufort, certainly felt no sense of comfort after hearing their pastor argue the progression of the war revealed the futility of Confederate actions and thus demonstrated that present success and final victory ultimately depended "altogether upon his [God's] presence and his favour."[496] Some months later, the Confederate capitol's leading periodicals used similar language in their final issues of the year as they offered their readers a rather bleak assessment of the previous twelve months while holding out little hope for the days and weeks to follow. "Today closes the gloomiest year of our struggle," the *Richmond Enquirer* lamented, "No sanguine hope of intervention buoys up the spirits of the Confederate public. . . . No brilliant victory like that of Fredericksburg encourages us to look forward to a speedy and successful termination of the war as in the last weeks of 1862." From the *Enquirer's* perspective, Federal action in the interior coupled with financial instability effectively replaced unreasoning confidence with "depression as unreasoning."[497] Richmond's other major publication, the *Whig*, largely echoed the outlook of

[496] Stephen Elliott, "Ezra's Dilemma," (Savannah: Power Press of George N. Nichols, 1863), in David B. Chesebrough, ed., *God Ordained This War: Sermons on the Sectional Crisis, 1830-1865* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1991), 247.
[497] *The New South*, "A Richmond View of the Rebel Situation," January 16, 1864.

its main competitor. As the year came to a close, the paper informed its subscribers that their future appeared "exceeding dark at this time" and although unfathomable just months beforehand, the idea that "the South will be overrun, seems now not impossible."[498] The sense of malaise emanating from the pages of the *Enquirer* and the *Whig* extended up into the highest echelons of the Confederate government, showing how a sizeable segment of society exhibited analogous feelings. In describing a recent conversation with Confederate President Jefferson Davis roughly one week into the New Year, Mary Chesnut noted that although she understood the nation's chief executive knew more so than anyone else "the difficulties which beset this hard-driven Confederacy," she was still struck by the fact that Davis could not conceal, despite his best efforts, "a melancholy cadence" that unconsciously took over when he talked "of things as they are now."[499]

Just as new ideological motifs, such as redemption and martyrdom, emerged within South Carolina to combat an increasingly dreary disposition within the white populace, so too did such themes achieve ascendency more nationally to counter a precipitously dropping morale engendered by Confederate military defeat.[500] In his fast day sermon in late August 1863, Reverend Stephen Elliott sounded remarkable similar to many of the Palmetto State's civic and ecclesiastical leaders who continually urged their white charges to remain steadfast in the face of

---

[498] *The New South*, "The Handwriting on the Wall," January 2, 1864.
[499] Woodward, *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, 532.
[500] Gary Gallagher argues that as the Civil War progressed, Confederate citizens increasingly looked to their armies, rather than the central government, to build morale. By the midpoint of the conflict, Gallagher asserts, Lee and his Army of Northern Virginia became the largest source of hope and resolve as they came to symbolize the Confederate struggle for independence and sovereignty. While Gallagher maintains one should not chart Confederate moral in a "gloomy curve declining toward Appomattox after the summer of 1863," he does not discuss how reverses were just as likely to sap moral as successes were likely to buoy southern citizens' fighting spirit. Although white Confederates could take comfort from the fact that Lee and his forces remained in the field and thus kept the flame of southern independence alive, they could not ignore the fact that the army, with each campaign, hardly remained intact and thus represented a shell of its former self with each passing month. While these realizations certainly did not destroy southern morale, they neither helped completely diffuse nagging trepidations and doubts. See; Gallagher, *The Confederate War*, 8, 36, 85, 111.

overwhelming odds and look to a nebulous future wherein the Almighty would, in the words of the *Daily Courier*, "vouchsafe us victory and deliverance."[501] To those who fell into cycles of despondence and questioned the sacrosanct nature of the cause, Elliott asked, "Are we faithless the moment that God withdraws himself for a little while from us?" Even though the enemy currently reigned triumphant, Elliott argued the Almighty remained the Confederacy's most ardent supporter precisely because, "Those of whom God is intending to make a nation to do his work upon earth, are precisely those whom he tried the most severely." "His purpose is not merely to give them victory," Elliot maintained, " but character; not only independence, but righteousness; not peace alone, but the will to do good, after peace shall have been established."[502] Getting to the heart of the matter, Elliott posed yet another question by asking if his congregation truly believed God would "permit crime, falsehood, wickedness, unmercifulness, to be triumphant in the end?" "Impossible," Elliott boldly proclaimed, "he is only biding his time while he chastens us for our sins and tries our faith, while he ripens them for slaughter and vengeance."[503]

Confederate Chaplain Charles Todd Quintard echoed many of Elliott's sentiments, and subsequently supplemented the growth of similar ideological motifs, in a tract he published the very next year. Entitled "A Balm for the Weary and the Wounded," Quintard wrote the piece specifically for soldiers who, due to either combat injuries or disease, were forced "to exchange active service in the field for the harder and more wearying service in the hospital, or on the bed of sickness and pain."[504] For those still enduring the horrors of war, and for their families back

[501] *The Charleston Daily Courier,* "The Duty of Prayer," January 27, 1865.
[502] Elliott, "Ezra's Dilemma," 255-56.
[503] Ibid, 254.
[504] Reverend C.T. Quintard, "Balm for the Weary and the Wounded," (Columbia: Evans and Cogswell, Printers, 1864), 3.

home, the tract attempted to focus the reader's attention not on a perilous present, but on a fantastic future that awaiting them when the conflict finally ended. "The skirmish is sharp, but it can not last long," Quintard's tract noted, "The cloud, while it drops, is passing over thy head; then comes fair weather, and an eternal sunshine of glory."[505] As "Soldiers of Christ," which could have been interpreted more broadly by readers to include the South's fighting men as well as those contributing to the war effort behind the lines, Quintard maintained white Confederates could look forward to an ultimate salvation wherein they would find rest and repose "in thy Savior's joy" as a reward for their devout service. The Confederacy as a nation, moreover, would likewise achieve a final redemption at a time of the Almighty's choosing, or, as a fellow chaplain put it in a February 1864 sermon to a North Carolina regiment, when "the ends of His providence are accomplished."[506]

The other major ideological theme that rose to prominence and consequently became central to the discourse of civil religion within the Confederacy more broadly was the characterization of the Confederate soldier as a Christian crusader. One need look no further than Quintard's aforementioned tract to see how this motif worked its way into the pages of the popular press. Throughout the piece, Quintard made an explicit effort to repeatedly remind his readers that in fighting and suffering, Confederate troops fulfilled their Christian duty and furthered the prerogatives of Providence. Whether defending the struggling southern nation on the homefront or on the battlefield, Quintard asserted soldiers, perhaps unknowingly, represented Christ's temporal agents and were, in fact, specifically put in their various positions by the Savior himself. Those leafing through Quintard's tract would thus be left with the impression

[505] Quintard, "Balm for the Weary and the Wounded," 11.
[506] John Paris, "Funeral Discourse," in David B. Chesebrough, ed., *God Ordained This War: Sermons on the Sectional Crisis, 1830-1865* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1991), 272.

that every duty Confederate soldiers performed and every trauma they suffered ultimately demonstrated, and indeed advanced, the will of God. [507]

One of the most popular, indeed quintessential, pieces of writing that both augmented and propagated this ideological theme was a tract composed by the editor of the Richmond-based religious newspaper the *Army and Navy Messenger*, Reverend Philip Slaughter. Although the tract, published in 1864 and entitled "A Sketch of the Life of Randolph Fairfax," focused on a single soldier, many of the conclusions and arguments made by Slaughter could easily be applied to all those serving in the ranks of the Confederate military. In opening, Slaughter lamented how officers reaped nearly all the honors of war because their names and deeds were preserved for posterity while the common soldier passed relatively unnoticed "save in the narrow circles of his company."[508] Slaughter believed this an egregious slight and argued, instead, that if honor is to be given to anyone "let us render everlasting honor to 'the noble army of martyrs' whose blood cries to heaven from the ground on which they fell, and to those who have yet fill the ranks of the Confederate Army."[509] From Slaughter's perspective, it was the common foot soldier who bore the burdens of war most heavily and thus their names, more so than any general's, deserved remembrance, praise, and reverence. In focusing on Fairfax, someone the tract acknowledged was imperfect and flawed, Slaughter hoped to show that the Confederate military was indeed an instrument of the Almighty because so many, like the young man who fell in late 1862, "daily looked unto Jesus" as they waged a war for a nation and a cause held in esteem by Providence. In the end, the tract not only offered comfort to those whose family members likewise fell upon the

[507] Quintard, "Balm for the Weary and the Wounded," 17, 21.
[508] Reverend Philip Slaughter, "A Sketch of the Life of Randolph Fairfax: A Private of the Rockbridge Artillery, Attached to the "Stonewall Brigade" and subsequently to the 1st Regt. Va. Light Artillery, 2nd Corps, Army of Northern Virginia; Including a Brief Account of Jackson's Celebrated Valley Campaign" (Richmond, Va.: Tyler, Allegre and McDaniel, 1864), 4-6.
[509] Slaughter, "A Sketch of the Life," 4-6.

battlefield by fitting their deaths within a religious framework and insinuating they too remained faithful and courageous until the very end, but Slaughter also, more pragmatically, used Fairfax's sacrifice as a catalyst to spark a resurgence in morale. In closing, the tract hoped fellow Confederates would follow Fairfax's example and that his life, indeed his death, would "inspire them with renewed devotion to the cause which drew from his bleeding heart its last libation."[510]

With the dawning of 1865, it appeared Confederate prospects within the Palmetto State had improved little from one year beforehand. Writing a letter to his family on January 2, Augustine Smythe began his correspondence by relaying his satisfaction with being on duty all night on New Year's Eve and having the opportunity to see "the old year out and the new one in." From his posting in the steeple of St. Michael's Church, located at the intersection of Broad and Meeting Streets, Smythe noted the night was one of the coldest he ever felt and although he prepared a fire "the wind was so high and keen that it did me precious little good."[511] Rather quickly, however, Smythe transitioned from providing colorful commentary concerning the bitter cold that enveloped Charleston to disclosing the degree of anxiety he felt as he contemplated his city's future fate. As Federal shells continued to enter the city and the siege neared its five hundred and fiftieth day, Smythe distinctly understood that "the question about Charleston is still undecided" and the situation would remain so unless Confederates could favorably turn things around and, as the young soldier wrote, "lay it on the table!"[512] Less than two weeks later, however, it seemed the hopes for a change of fortune Smythe carried into the New Year were all but frustrated. Writing in his journal in mid-January, Smythe noted that he could not understand

[510] Slaughter, "A Sketch of the Life," 36-38, 47-48.
[511] Smythe, Augustine Thomas, 1842-1914. Augustine Thomas Smythe papers, 1853-1938. (1209.03.02.04) South Carolina Historical Society.
[512] *The Charleston Daily Courier*, "Siege of Charleston," January 4, 1865 and Smythe, Augustine Thomas, 1842-1914. Augustine Thomas Smythe papers, 1853-1938. (1209.03.02.04) South Carolina Historical Society.

why the Yankees continued to lob shells into his fair city, for, "Certainly they must know the state of affairs here and they might as well save their powder."[513] Although Confederate forces continued to skirmish on James Island and in other surrounding areas, Smythe could see the writing on the wall and realized it was only a matter of time before Charleston fell to the foe. In the same journal entry, written as if a letter to his wife Louisa, Smythe took some sense of solace from the fact that southern forces still held out and kept the enemy at bay, but, in the end, he realized it only delayed the inevitable since "the work of evacuation" went on apace and all stores were being shipped out "as fast as possible."[514] Although Smythe's faith in the Confederate cause more generally remained relatively unscathed, he could not help but disparage as his birthplace, as well as the rest of his native state, faced an increasingly direct and dire threat from Federal forces.

One of the principle factors creating an environment rife with fear and apprehension was the fall of Savannah in late December 1864. From that point onwards, white Carolinians increasingly worried William Tecumseh Sherman would turn his sights from Georgia to the Palmetto State and bring with him levels of destruction and devastation unparalleled in the annals of history. "The unscrupulous Sherman has maroled, like another Norman Conqueror, through the heart of bordering Georgia," the *Daily Courier* told their readers, "and may, at this very hour, be renovating his jaded ruffians for that blow which is to place the coveted 'scorpion nest of rebels' in his grasp."[515] The *Confederate Baptist* likewise told their subscribers of the horrors that would follow if Federal forces captured the state and ultimately defeated the Confederacy. "The consequences, which will follow the triumph of our foes, are such as we

[513] Smythe, Augustine Thomas, 1842-1914. Augustine Thomas Smythe papers, 1853-1938. (1209.03.02.04) South Carolina Historical Society.
[514] Ibid.
[515] *The Charleston Daily Courier*, "Random War Thoughts," January 3, 1865.

could not pray to be visited even upon them," the paper declared, "crimes at which morality shudders, and cruelties from which humanity shrinks with horror."[516] What worried Confederate Carolinians even more than the specter of Sherman, however, was the belief that, due to the longevity and scale of the war, the state could no longer adequately organize a defense and protect its territory or its citizens. In mid-January, writing from Columbia, Mary Chesnut noted in her diary that she felt "abject terror" at the news of Sherman's advance towards the Palmetto State, so much so that she wrapped herself up on the sofa and declared the day "too dismal for moaning, even."[517] Although Chesnut argued southern soldiers were not yet demoralized, she could not help but feel a great deal of anxiety from the fact that, after such a protracted conflict, there simply were not enough fighting men left to defend the state from such a fearsome and numerous foe. "We have fought," Chestnut lamented, "until maimed soldiers and women and children are all that is left to run."[518] Another Lowcountry resident expressed a similar sense of despair and dread when she informed her friend on January 14 that every man capable of bearing arms was currently being mustered into service and organized at Branchville, located in Orangeburg County. The letter's author knew things were getting increasingly desperate because boys as young as sixteen and even her "old grey headed uncle" were being carted off by Confederate officials and readied for the fight.[519] The *Courier*, in the same article in which it warned of the atrocities that surely awaited Carolinians if Sherman entered the state, certainly failed to inspire a great deal of confidence in the Confederacy's ability to put up a staunch defense when its editors suggested Charlestonians create a myriad of Thermopylaes by erecting barricades at every avenue leading into the city. Instead of being manned by stalwart Spartan

[516] *The Confederate Baptist*, "The Times," December 21, 1864.
[517] Woodward, *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, 702.
[518] Ibid, 703.
[519] Johnson family. Johnson family papers, 1813-1973. (25/063-064) South Carolina Historical Society.

warriors, however, "the feeble and the sickly" would be taught how to become efficient soldiers and thus represent the last line of defense entrenched behind Charleston's impromptu breastworks.[520]

On February 1, 1865, General Sherman brought the nightmares of Chesnut and countless other white Carolinians to life when he finally crossed the Savannah River into South Carolina with a contingent of roughly 60,000 troops hoping, as one Union soldier put it, to make the state suffer and teach it "that it isn't so sweet to secede as she thought it would be."[521] Except for battles at River's Bridge, located in Barnwell District, and Aiken, Union forces swept through the Palmetto State rather effortlessly as ill-equipped and undermanned Confederate units could not mount a sustained defense.[522] On February 7, Governor A.G. Magrath, then entering only his second month in office, issued a declaration urging all men in every town and in every district throughout the state to take up arms and oppose the "insolent foe" in an attempt to avoid the dreadful destiny of succumbing to the torch and the sword.[523] Within four days of the proclamation, however, Union forces continued their advance unabated and crossed the Edisto River poised to strike a fatal blow to a state that had once, according to Sherman himself, so callously taunted the United States "with paltroonery and cowardice" and effectively "forced us to the contest."[524] On February 17, Confederate forces evacuated Columbia while the city's

---

[520] *The Charleston Daily Courier*, "Random War Thoughts," January 3, 1865.
[521] Edgar, *South Carolina*, 372, and McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 825- 826. For quote, see; McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 186, n.35
[522] Edgar, *South Carolina*, 372 and McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 825-26.
[523] *The Charleston Mercury*, "The Inauguration of Governor Magrath," December 22, 1864 and *The Charleston Mercury*, "The Governor of the State to the People of South Carolina," February 11, 1865.
[524] Sherman's sentiments are found in a letter to Caroline Petirgru Carson dated January 20. A native of Charleston, Carson was in New York City at the beginning of 1865 and heard rumors circulating that Sherman planned to invade her home state. Sherman wrote the letter because Carson, an acquaintance before the war, inquired in early January as to whether the Union general could, to the best of his ability, extend his protection to her property within the Palmetto State while also keeping an eye out for her son, James, then serving in a Confederate Army regiment. Sherman felt obliged to help Carson not only because of their friendship, but because she was the daughter of famed Unionist James Louis Petigru. "There is not an officer in my army but knows that Mr. Petigru stood almost alone a Rock which the Waves of Treason beat in vain," Sherman wrote, "but swept all that was near and dear to him into

Mayor, Thomas Jefferson Goodwyn, rode out to meet advancing Union troops to formally surrender the state's capitol and prevent the further effusion of blood.[525] Although officials had urged non-essential personnel to evacuate Charleston as early as mid-January, Confederate troops held out until February 15 when they withdrew and left the official surrender, which took place three days later, to Mayor Charles Macbeth.[526] Writing from nearby St. John's Parish, Thomas P. Ravenel described the rushed nature of the Confederate withdrawal when he noted, on February 17, that the army was in a state of disarray and presently found itself "hastening through the country" to regroup near the Santee River, located over forty miles north of Charleston.[527] The evacuation proved so chaotic that Ravenel and his unit were simply abandoned "within enemy lines," seemingly left to fend for themselves until they could rejoin the main body of Confederate troops currently on the move.[528] After four long years of internecine warfare, forsaking Charleston to the enemy proved a tough pill to swallow. Writing in his journal one day before the evacuation, Augustine Smythe summed up the feelings of many white Charlestonians as they prepared to hand the enemy one of the Confederacy's most symbolic cities. "Dear old Charleston, My heart is very sad," Smythe noted, "to leave her now to those wretches after she has so long withstood their assaults . . . indeed, it is a bitter cup to drink."[529] Although Ravenel and Smythe would continue the fight over the coming weeks, for white residents of the South Carolina Lowcountry the war was effectively over.

---

ruin." *The Charleston Daily Courier*, "Sherman's Movements," February 11, 1865 and Carson, Caroline Petigru, 1820-1892. Caroline Petigru Carson papers, 1853-1892. (1169.03.02.02) South Carolina Historical Society.
[525] Edgar, *South Carolina*, 373.
[526] *The Charleston Daily Courier*, January, 18, 1865 and *The Charleston Daily Courier*, February 20, 1865.
[527] Ravenel family. Ravenel family papers, 1695-1925. (1171.00) South Carolina Historical Society.
[528] Ibid.
[529] Smythe, Augustine Thomas, 1842-1914. Augustine Thomas Smythe papers, 1853-1938. (1209.03.02.04) South Carolina Historical Society.

A little less than three weeks after first setting foot on South Carolina's soil, General Sherman and his army began their march out of the Palmetto State with their sights set on neighboring North Carolina. In their wake, the state's principle cities of Columbia and Charleston lay in ruins and white Carolinians were left to helplessly watch, in the words of William Gilmore Simms, as "Humiliation spread its ashes."[530] The Federal occupation of the Lowcountry, along with the accompanying Upcountry, left white citizens to contemplate and subsequently shoulder the weight of their tremendous, indeed complete, failure. On plantation after plantation throughout the state, chaos reigned supreme as ex-slaves consciously spurned their former owners' authority, leaving their self-esteem and sense of self-worth in shambles. Charles Manigault, a merchant and rice planter with extensive land holdings in the South Carolina Lowcountry and in neighboring Georgia, could not fathom the "recklessness and ingratitude" displayed by his former charges as they broke into his residences and "stole or destroyed everything therein."[531] In late March, nearly four thousand blacks in Charleston took part in a raucous parade that celebrated emancipation by holding a mock funeral procession with

[530] In Columbia, Walter Edgar argues the combination of drunken troops, gusty winds, wooden roofs, and cotton bales created an atmosphere ripe for disaster. Around dusk on February 17, as Union forces began their occupation, a firestorm broke out and consumed over thirty-six square blocks, nearly one-third of the entire city. In the end, much of the business district and large swaths of the city's prime residential real estate were no more. Although white Confederates would ultimately blame Sherman's troops for starting the fires, many of the blazes resulted from retreating Confederate troops, on orders from General Wade Hampton, setting the city's remaining cotton stores ablaze to deprive the enemy of the lucrative resource. In late March 1865, Lowcountry Resident F.C. Cramer noted in his diary that is was relatively common knowledge that, at the very least, Hampton set his own property aflame before leaving Columbia. Fires also ravaged large portions of downtown Charleston, so much so that the *Daily Courier* remarked a "conflagration raged with great intensity" in western portions of the seaside city. Unlike in the state capitol, where rather remarkably not one single Columbian had been killed, in Charleston nearly 150 lost their lives when, according to the *Courier*, an "accidental explosion of powder" blew up the Northeast Railroad Depot, then crowded with citizens attempting to flee Federal forces. Once again, Adolph Cramer took note of events and called the explosion, which he claimed killed over 200 citizens, an "awful catastrophic loss of life."
Edgar, *South Carolina*, 373-74; Poole, *Never Surrender*, 50; *The Charleston Daily Courier*, "Evacuation of Charleston," February 20, 1865; and Cramer, Adolph F.C. Adolph F.C. Cramer diary, 1865-1868. (34/45) South Carolina Historical Society. For quote, see; Poole, *Never Surrender*, 216 n.37. Also see; Bass and Poole, *The Palmetto State*, 50.

[531] Poole, *Never Surrender*, 50 and Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2014,), 71-72. For quotation, see; Foner, *Reconstruction*, 70 n.72.

the centerpiece being a coffin with the phrase "Slavery Is Dead" meandering its way through the city's streets followed by a long procession of female "mourners."[532] In the immediate weeks and months that followed defeat, therefore, white Carolinians struggled to cope with the collapse and rapid decay of a society they learned to venerate and thus deemed sacred.

Over the preceding four years, countless newspaper editors, government officials, clerics, and even Confederate citizens themselves fashioned and disseminated a discourse that attempted to make the conflict's course more intelligible while also providing a mechanism to cope with a war that grew more protracted and calamitous. In framing the war as one not only secular, but also as one largely religious in nature, the discourse of civil religion allowed Confederate citizens to see the hand of God actively engaged in every aspect of the conflict, down to the most minute of details. Initially bombastic and vainglorious, Confederate civil religion reflected popular beliefs that early successes represented signs of divine approval and served as confirmation of southern martial and cultural superiority. In the wake of the Federal invasion and subsequent occupation of Port Royal, however, the discourse of civil religion grew more dejected and developed new ideological motifs to help white Carolinians understand how, as a chosen people supposedly fighting a sacrosanct cause, they could experience such bitter and sweeping reversals. In order to revitalize Confederate morale and allay any lingering doubts, secular and religious leaders in the South Carolina Lowcountry interpreted defeat not as a form divine desertion, but as a temporary chastisement induced by the Almighty to test Confederate devotion and to prepare white southerners, both mentally and physically, for the rigors and responsibilities associated with independence. The discourse of civil religion thus grew more forward-looking and attempted to inspire a degree of confidence by papering over current

[532] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 72.

calamities and placing Confederate redemption in a nebulous, indeed indistinct, future. Along with focusing the Confederate gaze forward and emphasizing the theme of redemption, the discourse also increasingly sanctified the Confederate soldier as the Federal foothold expanded and ever-greater levels of sacrifice and suffering were required to mount a stalwart defense of the state. In effect, secular and religious leaders in the Lowcountry created an image of the southern soldier, to borrow a term from Charles Reagan Wilson, as a Crusading Christian Confederate who, individually and collectively, represented one of the last vestiges of virtue and fought in the name of both morality and evangelical Christianity.[533] In characterizing southern troops and their actions in such a way, Confederate leaders hoped to vindicate or, at the very least, contextualize the soldier's sacrifice while also assuaging a sense of sorrow that proved prevalent in a state with exceedingly high rates of mobilization and mortality.[534] The general tenor of civil religion within the Palmetto State, along with the accompanying ideological themes developed to curb an evolving skepticism, initially set South Carolina apart from her sister states in the Confederacy and illustrated how civil religion could exist and operate, sometimes in harmony and sometimes in dissonance, at both a local and a national level. In the latter stages of the conflict, what once represented a point of divergence evolved into an element of convergence as many of the ideological themes present within, along with the general tone of, the discourse of civil religion became more widespread or national in nature as a result of an increasingly perilous Confederate political and military situation. Until the final days of the Confederacy, therefore, the discourse

[533] Wilson, *Baptized in Blood*, 37, 43.

[534] Walter Edgar argues there can be no question that participation in the Civil War was "extraordinarily high" in the state of South Carolina. In 1860 there were roughly 60,000 men of military age, then eighteen to forty-five, within the Palmetto State and in 1864 a Confederate conscription office report noted 60,147 men then serving in the military. "By the midway point of the war," Scott Poole and Jack Bass argue in their own history of South Carolina, the Palmetto State "achieved close to full enlistment of its white male population of military age." When the war finally ended, roughly thirty to thirty-five percent of South Carolina's adult white male population, somewhere between 18,500 and 21,100 men, would be left dead. See; Edgar, *South Carolina*, 358, 375; Poole, *Never Surrender*, 50; and Poole and Bass, *The Palmetto State*, 47.

of civil religion operated as an ideological and rhetorical crutch supporting weary white Confederates as their nation, indeed their world, foundered and ultimately imploded.

Just as during the Secession Crisis and the Civil War itself, ex-Confederates would turn to their secular and religious leaders, as well as their faith more generally, for comfort and meaning in a postwar world historian George Rable argues was rife with "dramatic changes, deep fears, and unrealized hopes."[535] White Carolinians, however, would not have to look long and hard for ideas and beliefs to buoy their spirits and thus provide a balm to the immense spiritual and psychological wounds created by the experience of defeat.[536] The civil religion the Lowcountry's white residents looked to in times of trial did not, much like their identity as Confederates, simply evaporate as their recently-deceased nation and the armies that once stood in its defense.[537] In searching for answers for a problematic postwar period, white Carolinians could thus look to their recent past and find an ideological and rhetorical template that proved readily available and incredibly malleable. The discourse of civil religion proved so powerful and prevalent at war's end that many ex-Confederates would not find it unreasonable to think that defeat merely marked the inauguration of a new phase of the struggle because many white Carolinians came to believe, as the *Confederate Baptist* argued in one of its final issues, that even the final success of the enemy "would prove nothing against our cause."[538]

[535] Rable, *God's Almost Chosen Peoples*, 387.
[536] Wilson, *Baptized in Blood*, 36.
[537] Rubin, *A Shattered Nation*, 3.
[538] *The Confederate Baptist*, "Present Depression," January 11, 1865.

CHAPTER THREE
"South Carolinians Never Surrender:"
The Lost Cause and the Transformation of a Military Defeat into a Cultural Victory

In late-April 1865, Thomas Levingston Bayne, a lawyer from New Orleans turned Confederate soldier, took a few moments to write a letter to his sister-in-law Mary Aiken, then living in Winnsboro, South Carolina, concerning the alarming state of affairs within the collapsing Confederacy. "The truth is," Bayne noted, "all of us are now afloat, we scarcely know where it is most desirable to turn our faces to." Acknowledging that all military forces had been disbanded and there existed little to no possibility that the government would be reestablished, Bayne determined to follow the example of others and seek a parole. "It makes me sad dear sister Mary to think of doing this," Bayne explained, "After such parole I shall no longer be a free man—my energy and strength will be curbed by a chain that will [fell] me all my life." Towards the end of his correspondence, Bayne expressed a sense of grief and melancholy that absorbed so many within the former Confederacy as their beloved nation met its demise. "But for my darling wife and children," Bayne wrote, "I had rather fallen on the field where your brave husband fell then to have lived to witness the events of the last six or eight weeks." Though thoroughly convinced that the postwar world held nothing but sorrow and servitude, Bayne could retain a measure of optimism, as he eagerly hoped Confederate surrender would not lead to an ultimate, indeed permanent, submission. "I believe that the blood of the brave dead will yet arouse the

hearts of our people," Bayne wrote as his letter reached its conclusion, "and make them cart off the tyranny now being prepared for them."[539]

While Bayne begrudgingly accepted defeat with hopes for a future redemption, other Confederates vehemently rejected the notion of capitulation and, instead, displayed both an antipathy towards any degree of reconciliation and a deep desire to spurn the new social, political, and economic systems their former foes were preparing to install. One such Confederate was South Carolina's Martin Witherspoon Gary. Born in Cokesbury, Abbeville District, in late March 1831, Gary graduated from Harvard University in 1854 and subsequently set up a law practice in Edgefield.[540] An avid secessionist, Gary served in the South Carolina House of Representatives in 1860 and immediately joined Wade Hampton's Legion after the Palmetto State declared itself an independent republic. After beginning his military career as an infantry captain and fighting with the Legion in every major battle in which they were engaged, Gary quickly rose through the ranks and by the spring of 1864 he found himself a Brigadier General commanding the 7th South Carolina Cavalry outside the Confederate capitol at Richmond. When news of Lee's surrender reached Gary and his unit, they could hardly believe

---

[539] Papers of the Aiken and Robertson Families, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina.

[540] Gary originally enrolled at South Carolina College in Columbia in 1850, but he withdrew roughly two years later due to his participation in a dispute with the college's faculty and trustees. Known as the "Biscuit Rebellion," the conflict largely revolved around student disaffection with the quality of food served on campus and a rule requiring them to eat at the college's dining facility. In 1852, 109 students out of a total class of 199 signed "an honor-bound agreement that if the compulsory system was not abolished they would quit the college." Although the school's trustees did not want to lose such a large number of students, they were even more averse to giving in and reinforcing the college's reputation for failing to quell campus unrest and properly discipline their pupils. Although the school's president, James Henry Thornwell, sympathized with student complaints and agreed the food was subpar at best, he adamantly believed that "to grant the request was to yield to the spirit of rebellion." As a result of the school's intransigence, Gary and seventy-six other students left the college. While the student's may have lost the battle, they seem to have won the war because one year later, in 1853, South Carolina College returned to a more voluntary arrangement that existed in decades past and allowed their pupils to eat either on campus or at licensed boarding houses. For quotes, see; Conor Friedersdorf, "How Students Protested Dining Hall Food in an Honor Culture," in *The Atlantic*, published December 27, 2015, accessed January 20, 2019, https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2015/12/how-students-protested-dining-hall-food-in-an-honor-culture/421752/. Also see; Henry H. Lesesne, "Gary, Martin Witherspoon" in *The South Carolina Encyclopedia*, ed. Walter Edgar (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2006), 361.

their ears. While many of his hardened veterans wept, Gary cursed and encouraged his troops to keep up the fight by riding with him away from Appomattox without turning in their arms to nearby Union forces. As his plea reached its crescendo and his men cheered him on, Gary defiantly declared "South Carolinians never surrender."[541] Soon thereafter, Gary and roughly two hundred of his troops escaped Virginia and joined Jefferson Davis, with members of the Confederate Cabinet in tow, at Greensboro, North Carolina, in an effort to protract the southern struggle in the face of increasingly insurmountable odds. After escorting Davis and his cabinet as far as his mother's home in Cokesbury, Gary realized the futility of continued military resistance and decided to turn over his command, effectively ending his career as a Confederate soldier.[542]

Over the course of the next decade, the cultural phenomenon known as the Lost Cause would provide a source of solace for people like Bayne while simultaneously offering the likes of Gary a means through which to actively resist a perceived assault upon southern society and culture. At first, the Lost Cause aided in the process of bereavement and acted as a salve for the emotional and psychological wounds generated by defeat. In her own work on how the Civil War and its accompanying death toll fundamentally transformed the American nation and the lives of the Republic's citizens, Drew Faust argues that the conflict's fatalities ultimately belonged to the survivors because it was they who were forced to undertake the work not only of rebuilding "but also of consolation and mourning."[543] The "waves of misery and desolation" Faust describes as being sent into the worlds of those who lost loved ones reverberated throughout much of white southern society as ex-Confederates struggled to cope not just with the deaths of individuals but

[541] For quote, see; Poole, *Never Surrender*, 18. Also see; Lesesne, "Martin Witherspoon Gary," 36; Edgar, *South Carolina,* 374, and Poole and Bass, *The Palmetto State*, 52, 214 n.4.
[542] Lesesne, "Martin Witherspoon Gary," 361.
[543] Faust, *This Republic of Suffering*, xi-xviii, 143, 266-68.

also with the demise of their incipient nation.[544] The Lost Cause thus enabled white Carolinians, indeed white southerners generally, to more effectively deal with and find meaning in their loss and grief. Although continuing to fulfill these functions throughout much of its early existence, the development and implementation of Congressional Reconstruction from late 1866 through early 1867 infused the Lost Cause with a new sense of purpose.[545] White Carolinians watched in horror and dismay as the Republican majority in Congress passed new legislation that placed the state under military rule and stripped white male residents of their political power while simultaneously enfranchising and empowering the region's African American population.[546] No longer able to oppose Federal encroachment militarily or politically, white citizens of the South Carolina Lowcountry mounted an ideological and rhetorical resistance via the guise of the Lost Cause. In honoring, indeed vaunting, their Confederate past, white Carolinians attempted to stymie Federal efforts to annihilate any remaining vestiges of the antebellum order and, with it, the supposed source of southern cultural distinctiveness. The Lost Cause, in preserving the memory of the fallen and their now defunct southern nation, thus ultimately became a means of cultivating continued resistance to "northern domination and to the reconstruction of southern society."[547]

At the heart of the Lost Cause was the Confederate civil religion that had, until recently, helped white Carolinians contextualize and cope with the traumas produced by roughly four years of intensive internecine warfare. The beliefs white residents of the Lowcountry carried through the war, along with the ideological and rhetorical motifs that rose to prominence as the

[544] Faust, *This Republic of Suffering*, 143.
[545] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 271-80.
[546] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 272-91; Janney, *Remembering the Civil War*, 138, 148; Poole, *Never Surrender*, 117; Poole and Bass, *The Palmetto State*, 53, 55-56; and Edgar, *South Carolina*, 384-86.
[547] Faust, *This Republic of Suffering*, 243. Also see; Kristina Dunn Johnson, *No Holier Spot of Ground: Confederate Monuments and Cemeteries of South Carolina* (Charleston: The History Press, 2009), 13.

conflict progressed, effectively formed the underpinnings of the Lost Cause. Throughout the immediate postwar period, white Carolinians clung to their conviction that the cause in which they fought was righteous and that they represented a divinely chosen people tasked with safeguarding, indeed advancing, providential designs. This outlook, as Charles Reagan Wilson argues, rested upon the assumption that white southerners were a people whose integrity and obligations, supposedly bestowed by the Almighty and marking them as a distinctive community, "were untouched by temporal success or failure."[548] Much as during the war, religious and secular leaders within the Palmetto State framed Confederate defeat and the travails that followed in its wake as merely another form of divine chastisement preparing white Carolinians for a future in which they would eventually experience an ultimate redemption. The special or, as Stephen Elliott described it in a fast day sermon in August 1863, "sacred relationship" existing between the Almighty and the southern people thus remained very much intact and although white Confederates were forced to abandon their political aspirations, they could not and did not relinquish their status as God's elect.[549]

Along with continuing to believe that they remained a chosen people involved in a reciprocal relationship with Almighty God, another major element of ideological continuity existing between the wartime Confederate civil religion and the postwar Lost Cause was the centrality of the image of the Confederate soldier as a Christian martyr. During the war, civic and ecclesiastical officials within the Palmetto State consecrated the sacrifice of the Confederate soldier to reinforce the perceived rectitude of the cause and the society for which they fought while simultaneously hoping to provide a wellspring of comfort and motivation to an increasingly weary white citizenry. After Appomattox, the veneration of the South's fighting

[548] Wilson, *Baptized in Blood*, 70-71.
[549] Elliott, "Ezra's Dilemma," 256. Also see; Wilson, *Baptized in Blood*, 77, 80.

men achieved unparalleled primacy within the discourse of civil religion and the common foot soldier's status was elevated, in the words of historian Lloyd Hunter, from that of a martyr to that of a saint.[550] Once again, the Confederate soldier became a symbol of and for a white southern society experiencing immense amounts of change and disorder.[551] Religious and secular leaders argued that in emulating the example of the Confederate soldier and protecting, indeed perpetuating, the values and structures of power they supposedly gave their lives to protect, white citizens would thereby ensure that all the suffering and sacrifice of the past was not made in vain.[552]

In the immediate aftermath of Confederate defeat, the task of commemorating and giving meaning to the past would fall primarily into the hands of the Palmetto State's middle- and upper-class white women. In local communities throughout the state, a relatively elite corps of southern ladies formed memorial associations and effectively inaugurated the traditions of the Lost Cause.[553] Protected by the cloak of mourning and the prevailing conviction that women were "apolitical in their very essence," the Lowcountry's ladies organized elaborate Memorial Day celebrations and thereby established the rituals and the rhetoric that not only fostered a residual devotion to the Confederacy, but also bolstered the belief in southern distinctiveness.[554] With the cemetery serving as their central locus, white women eagerly and energetically

[550] Hunter, "The Immortal Confederacy," 186.
[551] Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy*, 6; Connelly and Bellows, *God and General Longstreet*, 23-24; and Janney, *Burying the Dead*, 3.
[552] Wilson, *Baptized in Blood*, 16, 30, 38, 57.
[553] 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), 252; Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 9; Janney, *Burying the Dead*, 2-4, 6, 13, 40, 52, 55, 68, 98, 198-99; Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 256; Blair, *Cities of the Dead*, 6, 83, 97; Janney, *Remembering the Civil War*, 135; and Neff, *Honoring the Civil War Dead*, 146-47.
[554] Nina Silber, *Gender and the Sectional Conflict* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 71, 73-75; Faust, *This Republic of Suffering*, 242, 247; Janney, *Burying the Dead*, 2, 5, 6, 40, 55, 98; and Blair, *Cities of the Dead*, 78.

developed the theological and ideological framework of the Lost Cause as they mourned their late southern polity and the soldiers who fell in its defense.

On the afternoon of Monday, May 16, 1866, roughly thirteen months after southern surrender, a group of over thirty women met in the drawing room of the Mills House Hotel, located on Meeting Street between Queen and Broad Streets, and formed the "Ladies Association of Charleston to Commemorate the Confederate Dead."[555] Before getting to the task at hand, the ladies unanimously carried a motion allowing Reverend John Bachman, the very same cleric who presided at South Carolina's Secession Convention, to act as "Chair of the Meeting." After graciously accepting the position, Bachman commenced the ceremonies with the reading of a prayer and the deliverance, according to the ladies, of a "very chaste and appropriate address." Perhaps more important, however, after offering up what the *Charleston Courier* called "a feeling Prayer," Bachman chose to read the Thirty-first Psalm to his assembled audience.[556] Not only did the Psalm, specifically chosen for the occasion, set the tone of the meeting that would follow, but it also relayed that ex-Confederates remained convinced that they represented a chosen people and thus they maintained an unwavering faith that the Almighty would ultimately deliver them from their temporal travails. "In you, Lord, I have found refuge," the hymn begins, ". . . . You are my rock and my stronghold; lead and guide me for the honour of your name." Continuing on, the Psalm reads, "I for my part put my trust in the Lord. . . . for you have seen my affliction and have cared for me in my distress. . . . You have not abandoned me to the power of the enemy."[557] Bachman chose the passage precisely because it reflected many of the attitudes

[555] Ladies' Memorial Association (Charleston, S.C.). Ladies' Memorial Association records, 1866-1916. (34/116) South Carolina Historical Society, 1 and *The Charleston Courier*, "Ladies Memorial Association to Commemorate the Confederate Dead," May 16, 1866.
[556] LMA (Charleston, S.C.) Records, 1 and *The Charleston Courier*, "Ladies Memorial Association to Commemorate the Confederate Dead," May 16, 1866.
[557] *Revised English Bible,* 479-80.

and outlooks white Carolinians possessed as they struggled to survive in a turbulent postwar world. Although white residents of the Lowcountry, much like the individual described in the Psalm, felt as though their eyes were "dimmed with grief" and that they lived in a world "worn away with sorrow," Bachman believed this segment of Scripture would provide a measure of comfort to suffering citizens by reminding them that, in the end, the Lord would extend his protection to and eventually redeem the faithful and the stout-hearted.[558]

Following Bachman's readings and address, the ladies wasted no time in discussing their goals and formulating a plan of action. The primary purpose of the Ladies Association, according to its assembled members, was to "perpetuate the martyrdom of the Confederate dead."[559] In order to achieve this end, the women decided they would visit the graves of fallen southern soldiers on June 16, the anniversary of the Battle of Secessionville, to commemorate and memorialize their sacrifice.[560] At their second meeting held just five days later at St. John's Lutheran Church, located on Archdale Street, the ladies more fully expounded on the nature of their work. Arguing the state of South Carolina held within its bosom "the sacred dust of thousands who perished in defense of her liberty," the women believed themselves obligated not

---

[558] *Revised English Bible,* 480.
[559] LMA (Charleston, S.C.) Records, 1.
[560] Although the Civil War produced larger battles with far heavier casualties, Pat Brennan argues the Battle of Secessionville "remains one of South Carolina's most important." The engagement's origins go back to April 1862, when Union Generals David Hunter and Henry Benham decided to conduct an assault upon Charleston as soon as such an operation could be managed. The initial plan was for two contingents of troops to simultaneously attack and then occupy both Johns and Battery Island. If successful, the two columns would then combine forces and sweep across James Island and subsequently set up a series of batteries at the mouth of Charleston Harbor from which to pummel the city into submission. The first phase of the plan, launched in early June, was met with overwhelming success, but as Federal forces attempted to take James Island they were surprised by stiff and spirited Confederate resistance. Before returning to Hilton Head, Hunter warned Benham not to push the attack further because he argued an advance would most likely end in frustration and, ultimately, failure. On the morning of June 16, Benham ignored Hunter's advice and assaulted a Confederate position near the planter village of Secessionville. After roughly three hours of fighting, and suffering some 700 casualties, Benham reluctantly withdrew his forces. The victory of a significantly smaller southern force, roughly 1,000 men compared to the Union's 4,500, not only buoyed Confederate spirits, but it also "blunted what proved to be the North's best chance to capture Charleston." See; LMA (Charleston, S.C.) Records, 1 and Pat Brennan, "Secessionville, Battle of," in *The South Carolina Encyclopedia*, ed. Walter Edgar (Columbia, The University of South Carolina Press, 2006), 853-54.

only by patriotism but also by "Christian sentiment" to duly honor and venerate the Confederate dead.[561] Continuing on with this sort of language, the Ladies Association noted that they drew their inspiration from "a sacred love" for the fallen and such sentiments required that they, to the best of their ability, assemble and unite women throughout whole of South Carolina on the appointed day in mid-June "for the purpose of refitting and decorating with garlands, accompanied with suitable services, the cherished resting places of the brave and noble martyrs of the State."[562] Hoping to further propagate the image of the Confederate soldier as a Christian martyr and inculcate within the wider populace a similar "spirit of sacred and tender regard" for the dead the fast approaching Memorial Day, Charleston's ladies increasingly reached out to the city's ecclesiastical leadership and requested they us their pulpits as a platform from which to arouse a corresponding sense of devotion.[563]

In mid-July, less than three months after the ladies of Charleston initially formed their organization to commemorate the Confederate dead, forty-nine women residing in and around the state's capitol likewise gathered together to found the Columbia Memorial Association (CMA).[564] Much like their seaboard sisters, the ladies of Columbia opened their inaugural meeting with a prayer by a local clergyman, Reverend William Martin, in the hopes of symbolically imparting the ensuing proceedings with a degree of rectitude. Aside from following

[561] LMA (Charleston, S.C.) Records, 4.
[562] Ibid.
[563] Ibid, 6-7.
[564] It is important to offer a point of clarification in regards to the name of the organization the ladies of Columbia formed in mid-July. In reading the minutes of the first meeting of the Association, it is clear there existed some level of debate concerning the official name of the organization. At first, the assembled ladies decided to call their group the Columbia Memorial Association. After further thought and discussion, however, the women eventually attempted to give their organization slightly more appeal by instead naming what they referred to as "a society" after the county rather than the city. Although initially called the Richland Memorial Association, the organization's name was quickly changed within the next twelve months. As it was known as the Columbia Memorial Association for nearly the entirety of its existence, the author, to avoid any confusion, will refer to the group as such throughout the entirety of the present study. See; Record of the Young Ladies' Hospital Association (Columbia, S.C.), South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina.

a remarkably similar itinerary, the CMA possessed an analogous understanding of their responsibilities towards those who died in defense of the Confederacy. Utilizing comparable, though not as explicitly religious, rhetoric, the Association expressed their steadfast belief that "it is the duty and privilege of a magnanimous and honorable people to cherish the memory and perpetuate the names, as far as they are able, of the heroic men who borne their standards on the field of battle and yielded up their lives . . . or perished by hardship and disease incurred in our cause." To accomplish their stated objective, the women of Columbia pledged not only to exhume the bodies of deceased soldiers "scattered throughout the city" and move them to Elmwood Cemetery, but they also dedicated themselves to repairing and adorning "at stated times the graves of the Confederate soldiers who are interred in this vicinity." Finally, looking more long-term, the CMA hoped that "in due time if Providence shall favour us" they would be able to erect a fitting monument and thus preserve the soldier's memory for posterity.[565]

The degree of ideological and rhetorical continuity displayed in the words and actions of the Palmetto State's women during the postwar period should not be surprising since the memorial associations established in Charleston and Columbia both evolved from wartime aid societies. In Columbia, for example, the local memorial society was built on the foundations of the Young Ladies' Hospital Association (YLHA) established almost exactly five years earlier in late July 1861. At least sixteen of the original forty-nine members of the CMA, just over thirty-

[565] Although the present study focuses on Columbia's Memorial Association, another organization that emerged within the city to honor the Confederate dead was the South Carolina Monument Association. Founded in November 1869, the Association's appeal, much like that of Charleston's LMA, was suffuse with religious language and imagery. In their initial plea to the public, for example, the organization declared the cause in which they were engaged sacred and requested that the women of the Palmetto State unite to fulfill the "holy duty" of erecting a monument to perpetuate the memory of the slain. See; Record of the Young Ladies' Hospital Association (Columbia, S.C.), South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina and *The South Carolina Monument Association: Origin, History and Work* . . . Edited by the recording secretary of the Association, and published through the courtesy of the proprietors of the News and Courier, Charleston, S.C. (Charleston, S.C.: The News and Courier Book Presses, 1879), 7-11.

two percent, are also found on the rolls of the YLHA.[566] In Charleston, there existed a consistency not only in membership but also in association leadership. At precisely the same time that the women of Columbia gathered together to form their Hospital Association, the ladies of Charleston likewise met and founded the Soldiers Relief Association of Charleston (SRAC) in the hopes of providing clothing, medical supplies, and "other comforts" for the Confederacy's soldiers. Acting as the Association's Vice-President was one Mrs. Mary Amarinthia Snowden.[567] Born in Charleston in September 1819, Snowden, née Yates, belonged to a family whose roots in South Carolina stretched back to the years before the outbreak of the American Revolution. After the untimely death of her father in March 1821, the young Miss Yates spent the next five years living in Philadelphia with her mother and brothers. Upon returning to the Palmetto State, Yates was sent to a seminary near Columbia run by Dr. Elias Marks. According to an early eulogist, the education she received there was of a "high grade" as the school, for the better part of sixty years, was known for opening its doors to "the daughters of the best families of the State." In 1857, the thirty-eight-year-old Yates married William Snowden, M. D., a member of a highly respected and influential planter family. Snowden's first foray into the world of memorialization occurred in the early 1850s when she joined, and subsequently played a prominent role in, an association dedicated to erecting a monument to honor one of South Carolina's most prominent statesmen, the late John C. Calhoun. The amount of success achieved in and the level of exposure generated from her work with the Ladies' Calhoun Monument Association made Snowden a rather natural choice to assume an executive position within the SRAC from its inception. The conclusion of the war did not mark the end of Snowden's civic engagement, for in

[566] Record of the Young Ladies' Hospital Association (Columbia, S.C.), South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina.
[567] Sketch of the Soldiers Relief Association, ca. 1864. (43/2119) South Carolina Historical Society, 1,4

the early weeks and months of 1866 she took the lead in organizing and forming Charleston's local Ladies' Memorial Association. In recognition of her past work and her present efforts, Snowden was fittingly elected to serve as the Association's first President, a position she would hold until her death in February 1898.[568] It is important to understand, therefore, that LMAs did not simply emerge ex nihilio in the years immediately following Confederate defeat. The speed and relative ease with which women's memorial organizations formed, not to mention their effectiveness and influence, attest to their success in utilizing and building upon the experiences obtained during the years of the Civil War.

In reading the minutes of the Lowcountry's LMAs it is apparent that the ladies considered the proper burial of southern soldiers, along with the appropriate maintenance of their graves, a primary task and a work that needed to be undertaken "regardless of the financial burden or logistical hardships."[569] In the years following the Civil War, the Federal Government, expanding upon policies first developed during the conflict itself, launched a massive effort to locate, collect, and properly inter within an incipient national cemetery system the bodies of Union soldiers scattered throughout the South.[570] By purposefully leaving the Confederate dead where they lay, Federal officials effectively communicated the message that it was Union soldiers alone who offered up their lives for a noble cause and thus only they deserved to be buried in the newly-founded national cemeteries with all the accompanying honors.[571] If it is true, as historian Gary Laderman argues, that the ways in which a body is cared for and disposed

---

[568] *Memorials to the Memory of Mrs. Mary Amarinthia Snowden: Offered by Societies, Associations and Confederate Camps. Published by the Ladies Memorial Association of Charleston, S. C.,* edited by James G. Holmes (Charleston: Walker, Evans & Cogswell Co., Printers, 1898), 4, 6-9;
Ladies' Calhoun Monument Association Records, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina; and LMA (Charleston, S.C.) Records, 1-2.
[569] Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy*, 39; Johnson, *No Holier Spot of Ground,* 32.
[570] Faust, *This Republic of Suffering*, 99-101 136, 212-23, 225-37, 241. Also see; Janney, *Burying the Dead*, 45 and Blair, *Cities of the Dead*, 52-53.
[571] Janney, *Burying the Dead*, 46.

of can tell us a great deal about how a society understands and ascribes meaning to death, then the stark contrast in the treatment between the Confederate and Union dead spoke volumes.[572] While the Union dead were lauded and given burials that imbued their sacrifice with purpose, fallen Confederates were effectively cast out or excised, both physically and symbolically, from the body politic and their deaths were thus deprived of any import. One southern editor put it best when he argued the disrespect shown towards the region's slain signaled that the nation "contemns our dead" because they were "left in deserted places to rot into oblivion."[573] The blatant disregard displayed towards the Confederate dead produced a great deal of spiritual, psychological, and emotional anguish amongst the white southern population. In an 1874 address at the Hibernian Hall in Charleston, Reverend Charles Wallace Howard not only commented on the shock produced by the death of so many of South Carolina's men on the battlefield, but he also discussed the trauma engendered by the failure to properly bury and honor the fallen. Howard stated that during the conflict many found it unfathomable that "the manly form upon which we gazed with delight, may be stricken down in an instant in its might . . . then thrown hastily into an unknown grave or be suffered to lie undistinguished until the whitened bones are the only remnants of humanity."[574] With the demise of the Confederacy, the Lowcountry's ladies increasingly stepped in to fill the void and act as surrogates of a defunct government. In referring to the dead as "our soldiers" who fought for "our cause," LMA members in both Charleston and Columbia effectively took possession of the fallen and assumed the obligations and responsibilities associated with caring for the deceased.[575] The ladies of the Lowcountry's LMAs

[572] Laderman, *The Sacred Remains*, 1, 7-10. Also see; Neff, *Honoring the Civil War Dead*, 5, 37, 55.
[573] For quote, see; Blair, *Cities of the Dead*, 53, 233 n.7.
[574] Reverend Charles Wallace Howard. "The Women of the Late War." An Address Delivered in Hibernian Hall, Charleston, SC. February 11, 1874 in Behalf of the Confederate Home, Charleston (Charleston, S.C.: A.J. Burke, 1875), 10.
[575] LMA (Charleston, S.C.) Records, 5 and Record of the Young Ladies' Hospital Association (Columbia, S.C.), South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina.

placed such an emphasis on reburial and grave maintenance precisely because they wanted to demonstrate to themselves and their former adversaries that the Confederate soldier had not died in vain and although the fight for southern independence ultimately failed, the citizens of the Palmetto State would not allow their memories slip into oblivion.

After all the organizing, planning, and coordinating, the exhaustive efforts expended by the Lowcountry's ladies finally culminated with the annual celebration of Confederate Memorial Day. It is through the exercises and aesthetic displays associated with the day that the Palmetto State's women gave public expression to their beliefs and further incorporated the local citizenry into their ideological and rhetorical world. In the weeks leading up to Charleston's inaugural Memorial Day, the local LMA not only reached out to local clergymen, as already discussed, but they also approached the state's leading newspapers and asked that they "publish several times" both the preamble outlining the organization's stated purpose and the initial resolution detailing their commemorative plans. In urging the region's leading publications to repeatedly print and "call special attention to" the LMA's primary motivations and methods, Charleston's ladies hoped to inspire a sense of devotion to the work of the organization and a renewed reverence for the fallen.[576] Just as secular and religious officials within the Palmetto State cast the fast day as a high holy day within the wartime Confederacy, so too did the women of Charleston's LMA desire that newspaper publishers and clergymen would use their influence to similarly characterize Confederate Memorial Day and allow it to occupy an analogous position in the postwar period. In reading Charleston's principle periodical, the *Courier*, on the morning of June 16, it is clear that Confederate Memorial Day rather seamlessly replaced the fast day on the Lowcountry's liturgical calendar. "This, the sixteenth of June," the paper proclaimed, "is

[576] LMA (Charleston, S.C.) Records, 4.

henceforth to be consecrated to the memory of our heroic dead." "We are to exercise the melancholy privilege of shedding our tears over the graves of our martyrs," the *Courier* continued, "and adorn their tombs with the marks of our gratitude and love."[577] Much as before the myriad number of fast days held during the war, the publication hoped to inculcate within their readership a sense of obligation to observe the day "in a manner befitting the occasion." To approach the day with solemnity, according to the *Courier*, would go a long way in impressing "our recent antagonists, as well as ourselves, with the conviction that South Carolina will never forget her children who have fallen for her."[578]

All the prodding by ecclesiastical officials and the leaders of the popular press apparently worked wonders as the *Courier* reported that long before the exercises began a "large assemblage" had already gathered at Magnolia Cemetery. As the crowd eagerly awaited the start of the ceremonies, which were scheduled to begin at roughly five in the afternoon, they were treated to a powerful and inspiring aesthetic display. The graves of the roughly six to seven hundred Confederate soldiers buried at Magnolia had recently been cleared, raised, and beautified with fresh mounds by the ladies and their surrogates. In front of the graves, there stood a small stage covered with evergreens and a frame "surmounted by a draped Palmetto shield bearing the inscription: 'Though in mourning not dishonored.'" Additionally, at the foot of the stage the ladies placed a wreath, enclosed by a bent palmetto tree, with an inscription underneath reading; "Bent, but not broken." Meticulously planning every minute facet of the day's proceedings, Charleston's Memorial Association intended their assembled audience to take visual cues not only from their physical surroundings, but also from the dress and decorum of the ladies directing events. While many of the women were attired in deep morning, the *Courier*

[577] *The Charleston Courier*, "The Exercises of To-day," June 16, 1866.
[578] *The Charleston Courier*, "Exercises To-day," June 16, 1866.

noted a larger number of the Association's younger members were "arrayed in white."[579] In the end, both the placards and the ladies' attire relayed the message that while white Carolinians certainly had reason to feel a sense of sadness when recollecting their collective past, they should also take a measure of solace from knowing that the cause and the men who died in its defense remained unsullied.

At the appointed hour, Charleston Mayor P. C. Gaillard, LMA President Mary Snowden, and Speaker of the South Carolina House of Representatives C. H. Simonton led a procession in front of and on to the stage to formally begin the day's proceedings. The opening prayer, offered by Reverend W. B. Yates, not only framed the exercises that followed, but it also helped preserve and further propagate central facets of the Confederate civil religion. After thanking God for allowing those assembled to pay tribute to the fallen and acknowledging the instrumentality of the ladies in organizing the events, Yates, through the prayer, reminded the audience that all the woe currently enveloping the city and the state were part of a divine plan and if white Carolinians remained resolute in the face of adversity and possessed an unfaltering faith then the Almighty would almost certainly grant them an ultimate deliverance. Yates, moreover, attempted to impress upon his listeners the importance of "humbly and submissively" bowing to the will of God, for in doing so white citizens would demonstrate a level of obedience and hopefully convince the Almighty to cease his chastening and finally, in the words of the prayer, dispel "the dark clouds that now hover over us." "Behind those dark clouds we saw the silver lining gleaming through," the prayer proclaimed as it neared its end, "assuring us of a Savior's kindness."[580] In uttering these sentiments, Yates sounded remarkably similar to the multitude of religious and secular leaders during latter stages of the Civil War who repeatedly

[579] *The Charleston Courier*, "Our Honored Dead," June 18, 1866.
[580] Ibid.

characterized temporal travails as transitory and attempted to focus white citizen's gaze towards a nebulous future in order to palliate the effects of the Confederacy's rapid political and military deterioration.

As the Memorial Day unfolded, it became abundantly clear that Yates was not the only one who ascribed to this interpretation of events and held such an outlook. A little later in the program, for example, Reverend John L. Girardeau expressed similar sentiments as he delivered the day's first address. Although white Carolinians were dissatisfied with the results of the recent conflict and subsequently felt a sense of discontent, Girardeau explained that an all-wise Providence chose to deny success to the Confederate cause to fulfil a divine purpose and thus citizens needed to reverently accept "the decision of His sovereign will."[581] While unintelligible at the moment, Girardeau assured his audience that at some point in the future the Lord would provide a degree of clarification and make clear his intentions. All that was required on the part of the Lowcountry's white residents was for them to "remit the whole case to His wisdom and His mercy, and quietly and patiently await its ultimate developments." From Girardeau's perspective, therefore, the defeat suffered at Appomattox neither severed the tie between the Almighty and the southern people nor fully ended the fight they inaugurated roughly four years prior. In order to attain the deliverance they so desired, Girardeau argued white Carolinians were not only expected to cheerfully accept their situation, but he also claimed they needed to uphold the sanctity of their oaths by meeting the obligations and discharging the duties required of God's elect. Much like the setting sun, though white residents of the Lowcountry found themselves sinking "beneath a horizon of darkness and an ocean of storms," Girardeau insisted

[581] *The Charleston Courier*, "Our Honored Dead," June 18, 1866.

that one day the Almighty would permit the light to reappear and thereby allow his chosen people to experience "the morning glory of an unclouded day."[582]

Aside from maintaining its forward-looking nature, the single largest aspect of ideological and rhetorical continuity in the discourse of civil religion displayed during Charleston's first Confederate Memorial Day was the veneration, indeed canonization, of the southern soldier. In his speech, Reverend Girardeau referred to the site of the day's proceedings as a "sacred spot" and described the slain as "sacrificial victims" whose blood was "poured out like water in defense of principles which we avowed, and which we counselled and exhorted them to maintain to the last extremity."[583] In an address delivered later in the day, Reverend W. S. Bowman echoed the language utilized by Girardeau when he likewise argued that it was not only natural but also admirable to regard "as religiously sacred" the places wherein the Confederate dead now reposed. Continuing on, Bowman asserted Christianity taught that the dust in the graves beneath their feet was both sacred and immortal and that, much like the saints of Scripture, "when the Archangel's trump shall sound the *reveille* of God Almighty's day," the Confederate dead would "burst their sandy cerements and awake with joy" to see the hollowed principles for which they fought and died reign eternally triumphant. Nearing the end of his prepared remarks, Bowman once again invoked this ideological motif by expressing his hope that long after the crowd dispersed and vacated the cemetery's grounds they would remember, indeed continually consider, "*the debt of gratitude we owe to these martyred heroes*."[584]

The type of imagery and rhetoric contained within the speeches presented by Girardeau and Bowman came to suffuse nearly the entirety of the day's proceedings. An ode composed by

[582] *The Charleston Courier*, "Our Honored Dead," June 18, 1866.
[583] Ibid.
[584] Ibid.

one Mrs. Caroline A. Ball and sung by a choir under the direction of Professor Thomas P. O'Neale, for example, began as follows:

No orphans mourn, nor mothers weep,
No sister's tears are shed;
O'er the graves where calmly sleep,
Our loved and martyred dead.
But woman's heart a blessing breathes,
And woman's hands are twining wreathes,
Above each lowly bed.[585]

A little later in the program, the choir sang yet another ode that disseminated similar sentiments. Written by South Carolina native Henry Timrod and described by Charleston's *Courier* as "beautiful and soul-stirring," the ode's first and last stanzas read:

Sleep sweetly in your humble graves,
Sleep martyrs of the fallen cause,
Though yet no marble column craves
The pilgrim here to pause.

Stoop, angels, hither from the skies!
There is no holier spot of ground
Than where defeated valor lies
By mourning beauty crowned![586]

In analyzing the first major Confederate Memorial Day held within the South Carolina Lowcountry it becomes rather obvious that the correlation drawn between southern soldiers and Christians martyrs, an ideological theme that rose to prominence during the war, remained preeminent within the discourse of civil religion during the initial postwar period. In the years following Appomattox, therefore, the sacralization of the Confederate soldier only intensified and attained increased prevalence within the southern consciousness.[587]

[585] *The Charleston Courier*, "Our Honored Dead," June 18, 1866.
[586] Ibid.
[587] Hunter, "The Immortal Confederacy," 187, 200.

At the conclusion of the day's exercises, after all the speeches and the singing of odes, the ladies of the Memorial Association visited each grave and placed upon the fresh mounds beautiful wreathes, bouquets, and evergreens. The editors of the *Courier* described the scene as "one of indescribable loveliness" and went so far as to claim that the spectacle was so sublime that it "can never be forgotten by those who witnessed it." Taking stock of the occasion in its entirety, the publication could not help but laud the work of Charleston's ladies, for it was their tireless and patriotic efforts that led to a degree of success the *Courier* acknowledged was "far beyond the most sanguine expectations."[588] The level of success achieved, however, should not be measured only in the number of and aesthetic impression left upon attendees. The Memorial Day organized under the auspices of Charleston's LMA established the rituals that enabled white Carolinians to enact their grief and, to a certain degree, assuage their psychological and spiritual sorrow.[589] Moreover, the development of commemorative rituals also allowed the Lowcountry's white residents to give meaning to and begin the process of overcoming their suffering. Through ritual, Lloyd Hunter argues, "participants are able to act out the ideals precious to them, keep those ideals alive, and reinforce them by their own actions."[590] The ceremonies held at Magnolia Cemetery in mid-May proved incredibly important, therefore, because ex-Confederates were able to honor and perpetuate the memory of the fallen while simultaneously safeguarding a distinctive cultural identity by preserving, indeed affirming, the principles and beliefs that lay at the core of their sense of self. Although their recent military defeat made it feel as though, in the words of Reverend Girardeau, the "precious blood" of their fellow statesmen was "drunk by the earth in vain," commemorative activities provided a degree of consolation and allowed for the

[588] *The Charleston Courier*, "Our Honored Dead," June 18, 1866.
[589] Faust, *This Republic of Suffering*, 153.
[590] Hunter, "The Immortal Confederacy," 189. Also see; Wilson, *Baptized in Blood*, 24-25.

mollification of grief because, in continuing to sanctify the cause and the soldiers who fell in its defense, white Carolinians walked away from the Memorial Day ceremonies with the impression that theirs was a moral and cultural victory.

In the twelve to eighteen months immediately following southern surrender, the architects of the Lost Cause within the South Carolina Lowcountry developed a discourse to facilitate the process of bereavement and to act as a balm to the profound emotional scars engendered by defeat. At least initially, therefore, Gaines Foster's contention that memorial ventures "genuinely expressed southern attitudes" and primarily focused on helping white citizens assimilate or internalize the reality of their individual and collective losses is correct when looking at this region of the Palmetto State. The white Charlestonians who gathered at Magnolia Cemetery certainly engaged in no acts of "clever subterfuge" and offered neither criticism of the Federal Government nor condemnations of the standing order.[591] "The act which we have assembled to perform is suggested not by acrimony towards the living, but by affection for the dead," John Girardeau declared in his Memorial Day address, "Simply retrospective in its character, it has no covert political complexion, and no latent references to the future."[592] In the lead up to the Memorial Day, the ladies of Charleston's Memorial Association made sure to communicate with local officials, publicize their objectives, and publish programs in order to dispel any hint of impropriety and to dismiss any notion that their commemorations might challenge Federal authority. Apparently, the ladies proved so successful that Federal officials likewise viewed the day as one designed principally for mourning and thus took little notice of the event. "It is especially gratifying, in closing our reporting," the editors of the *Courier* remarked, "that no accident nor the slightest interruption occurred to mar the harmony of the proceedings, or

[591] Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy*, 44-45.
[592] *The Charleston Courier*, "Our Honored Dead," June 18, 1866.

prevent the full carrying out of the program previously announced." "No military nor even a city policeman were on duty on the ground" the paper continued, "but everything passed off in the most quiet manner and with perfect order."[593]

The reason citizens of the Lowcountry could concentrate almost solely on working through the grieving process was because the relative lenience of Andrew Johnson's Reconstruction program effectively allowed white Carolinians, by the end of 1865, to reestablish their control over the state and to reconstruct, to the degree possible, much of the antebellum order.[594] In late May, just over a month after General Joseph E. Johnston surrendered the last large contingent of Confederate troops to General William Tecumseh Sherman in North Carolina, Johnson issued two proclamations that gave insight into how he proposed to rebuild the once-shattered Union.[595] The first decree offered a general amnesty and pardon, including the full restoration of property rights except in slaves, to former participants and supporters of the late rebellion if they took an oath affirming their loyalty to the Union, repudiated secession, and vowed to accept emancipation. Attempting to humiliate and break the hegemony of the "slaveocracy" he largely held responsible for inaugurating the war, Johnson required fourteen classes of southerners, including high-ranking Confederate officials and those possessing taxable property valued at over $20,000, to apply personally to receive their Presidential pardons. The second proclamation, released publicly the same time as the first, made clear the President's strategy for readmitting former insurrectionary states back into the Federal Union. Using North Carolina as a schematic template that would then be imposed throughout the rest of the region, Johnson appointed a provisional governor and instructed him to call a convention to amend the

[593] *The Charleston Courier*, "Our Honored Dead," June 18, 1866.
[594] Zucek, *State of Rebellion*, 11, 13-16, 18, 21 and Edgar, South Carolina, 382-85.
[595] Silkenat. *Raising the White Flag,* 226-36.

state's prewar constitution to recognize, much as was required of individuals, the reality of emancipation and the illegality of secession. Once the state rewrote and ratified its constitution it was then considered "reconstructed" and subsequently welcomed back into the Union with all the attendant rights and privileges.[596] Underlying and informing Johnson's policy, historian Richard Zucek argues, was a firmly-held belief that secession and the Civil War was cause by "*individual* disloyalty rather than *state* disloyalty."[597] Presidential Reconstruction, therefore, aimed to punish and exclude from governance the political and economic elite of the antebellum South while allowing the region's Unionist yeomanry to assume control and rather quickly guide their states back to their proper places within the national fold.

In South Carolina, the man tasked with enacting Johnson's plans for Reconstruction was Benjamin Franklin Perry. Born in the Upcountry district of Pickens in November 1805, Perry was a lawyer, journalist, and leading Unionist who adamantly argued secession would ultimately endanger, not safeguard, the institution of racial slavery. Although decrying secession and describing calls for disunion as "madness and folly," Perry remained loyal to his home state throughout the course of the war and even held the positions of district attorney, assessment commissioner of impressed produce, and district judge, in that order, under the Confederate government.[598] Johnson chose Perry for the post, one of the most important and symbolic in the eyes of northerners according to Eric Foner, principally because he was a political moderate who "had long opposed planters' domination of the state's politics."[599] Shortly after his appointment

---

[596] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 183 and Zucek, *State of Rebellion*, 11. Also see; *The Charleston Courier*, June 5, 1865; *The Charleston Courier*, June 7, 1865; *The Charleston Courier*, "The Duty of South Carolina," June 20, 1865; and *The Charleston Courier*, "Reconstruction," June 23, 1865.
[597] Zucek, *State of Rebellion*, 11.
[598] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 187-88; Zucek, *State of Rebellion*, 12; Paul R. Begley, "Perry, Benjamin Franklin," in *The South Carolina Encyclopedia*, ed. Walter Edgar (Columbia: The University of South Carolina Press, 2006), 712-13; and *The Charleston Courier*, "Our Provisional Governor," July 8, 1865.
[599] Serving eleven terms in the South Carolina House of Representative and two in the state Senate, Perry became a champion of judicial and legal reform, pushed to democratize the state government, and advocated for Upcountry

to the position, the *Courier* praised Perry's installation and argued that although he "differed from the State on most of the past political issues, he is yet animated by a warm love for her people and an ardent desire for their welfare." Continuing on in this vein, the publication informed their subscribers that an objective analysis of Perry's past proved his character was both beyond reproach and without stain and thus citizens should rest assured that he would carry out his future duties "without political vindictiveness or partisanship."[600]

Any lingering trepidation white Carolinians possessed concerning the appointment of Benjamin Perry soon dissipated when, after only a month on the job, the Provisional Governor issued a proclamation that effectively reestablished the antebellum status quo within the Palmetto State. In his sweeping decree, Perry announced all laws existing and operating within the state before secession were to be fully restored, he declared that all those who held public office at the war's end could reclaim their positions upon taking Johnson's oath of allegiance, and he sanctioned the formation of volunteer militia companies, composed of whites only, to help quell the rise of what he called "lawlessness."[601] Although Perry's proclamation failed to identify the exact source of the supposed lawlessness that pervaded the Palmetto State, the pages of the Lowcountry's popular press displayed no hesitancy in pinpointing the problem. In an article published in late May, for example, the *Courier* argued one of the greatest threats to the safety and security of the state, as well as one of the primary sources of annoyance to its citizens, were "the depredations committed by roving bands of idle and dissolute people, the majority of whom are colored."[602] One of the volunteer militia's primary functions, as envisioned by the state, was

---

economic interests in the face of Lowcountry intransigence and opposition. See; Foner, *Reconstruction*, 187-88; Zucek, *State of Rebellion*, 12; and Begley, "Perry, Benjamin Franklin," 712-13.

[600] *The Charleston Courier*, "Our Provisional Governor," July 8, 1865. Also see; *The Charleston Courier*, "Gov. Perry and Reconstruction," July 18, 1865.

[601] Zucek, *State of Rebellion*, 12-13, Begley, "Perry, Benjamin Franklin," 713. For quote see; Zucek, *State of Rebellion*, 13, 22 n.11.

[602] *The Charleston Courier*, "The Planters and the Freedmen," May 31, 1866.

to act as an additional mechanism through which to police the recently-emancipated African American community and to undercut, through violence or intimidation, any attempts to challenge or erode white supremacy. Much as during the antebellum era, the militia muster allowed the state's white men to gather together and enact, indeed affirm, their masculinity while simultaneously restoring and strengthening their commitment to prewar racial and social hierarchies.[603] The localized and relatively ad hoc attempts to rehabilitate antebellum structures of power became codified in December 1865 when the South Carolina General Assembly passed some of the first, and arguably the most discriminatory, set of laws aimed at reviving the slave system "in fact if not in name."[604] The draconian legislation, referred to collectively as the "Black Codes," restricted employment opportunities for freed people by requiring them to pay exorbitant license fees to engage in certain trades, barred interracial marriage, limited travel, prohibited persons of color from owning weapons, and created what Walter Edgar calls a "judicial ghetto" by establishing a system of district courts in which only blacks could be tried.[605] Furthermore, the laws made use of the terms "master" and "servant" and thus not only "transposed the vocabulary of slavery into the postbellum world," but also demonstrated a determination on the part of their architects to "re-create the institution . . . under another guise."[606] The foundation upon which the Black Codes were built, therefore, was the firmly-held belief, as stated most succinctly by Lowcountry native Edmund Rhett, that the "general interests of both the white man and the negro requires that he should be kept as near to . . . the condition of slave as possible, and as far from the condition of the white man as practicable."[607]

---

[603] Poole, *Never Surrender*, 25-27. Also see*; Foster, Ghosts of the Confederacy*, 28.
[604] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 199-200; Edgar, *South Carolina*, 383; Poole, *Never Surrender*, 60; and Bass and Poole, *The Palmetto State*, 53.
[605] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 200; Edgar, *South Carolina*, 383-84; Zucek, *State of Rebellion,* 15-16; Poole, *Never Surrender*, 60; and Poole and Bass, *The Palmetto State*, 53.
[606] Poole, *Never Surrender*, 60 and Edgar, *South Carolina*, 384.
[607] Edgar, *South Carolina*, 377.

The latitude granted to white Carolinians under Presidential Reconstruction not only impacted the economic, social, and political progression of the state, but it also intimately influenced the nature of the burgeoning Lost Cause movement. From the summer of 1865 through much of 1866, white residents of the Lowcountry watched with pleasure and satisfaction as members of the *ancien régime* slowly reestablished their control of the state and incrementally undermined the changes unleashed by war and emancipation. While it is certainly true, as Scott Poole points out in his analysis of the Upcountry, that the Lost Cause inspired or nurtured a level of defiance as it asked celebrants to look upon the ruins of antebellum society and contemplate the past, it is important to understand that in its early manifestations this cultural movement did not explicitly or overtly advocate resistance.[608] In the year or two immediately following the cessation of hostilities, the rhetoric and ideologies associated with Lost Cause in the South Carolina Lowcountry focused almost exclusively on allaying the grief and despair that suffused large segments of white society precisely because religious and secular leaders, along with the women of the region's LMAs, saw no immediate threat looming on the horizon that would prompt the development of grassroots resistance. The ease and speed with which white Carolinians regained legitimate control of their state seemed to demonstrated to local residents that the Federal Government posed no threat because they were either ineffectual or uninterested in enacting meaningful change. Even when white Carolinians openly flouted Federal policies they rarely ever experienced any consequences to their actions. In mid-September 1865, for example, the state legislature headed by Provisional Governor Perry assembled at the First Baptist Church in Columbia and instead of declaring the Ordinance of Secession "null and void" as required by Johnson, the delegates merely repealed it and thus tacitly expressed that their past

[608] Poole, *Never Surrender*, 59.

actions were both legal and legitimate.[609] In the end, neither Johnson nor the Federal Government seemed to care much about this and many other acts of recalcitrance and white Carolinians were once again allowed to largely control their own destinies.

The days of the Federal officials coddling, conciliating, and cajoling the state's white population came to an abrupt end in the weeks and months directly following their passage of the Black Codes. The harbinger of things to come came in the form of actions undertaken by the newly-appointed commander of the Department of South Carolina, General Daniel E. Sickles. Just ten days after the South Carolina General Assembly passed their restrictive legislation and adjourned in December 1865, Sickles declared the laws invalid and went further by stating that all laws within the state needed to apply equally to all Carolinians, regardless of race.[610] The situation went from bad to worse from the white Carolinian perspective as the year 1866 unfolded and Radical Republicans within Congress consolidated their power and consequently gained the upper over President Johnson. In March, the Radicals overrode the President's veto of the Civil Rights Act and in June they passed and then sent to the states for ratification a Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution that explicitly defined citizenship, guaranteed all Americans equality before the law, and, among other things, punished southern states who denied male citizens the right to vote by reducing their representation in Congress in proportion to the number of those disenfranchised.[611] The congressional elections of 1866, thanks largely to Johnson, became a referendum on Reconstruction and in November northern voters went to the polls and handed Republicans an overwhelming electoral, indeed ideological, victory. Believing the election bestowed them a mandate, Radical Republicans quickly went to work and passed the

[609] Edgar, *South Carolina*, 384; Poole, *Never Surrender*, 60; and Zucek, *State of Rebellion*, 13-14.
[610] Edgar, *South Carolina*, 384.
[611] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 243-61; Edgar, *South Carolina*, 384, Zucek, *State of Rebellion*, 32, 36-37.

Reconstruction Act in March 1867. The legislation not only declared all state governments established under the Johnson regime, with the exception of Tennessee, illegitimate, but it also split the former Confederacy into five military districts to be administered by duly appointed commanders. The law then laid out the process by which states would be readmitted to the Union and their elected representatives recognized within the halls of Congress. Each state was required to write a new constitution that provided for universal male suffrage, ratify the Fourteenth Amendment, and disband all military organizations then existing within their borders.[612]

In a last-ditch effort to maintain their stranglehold on power, white Carolinians attempted to exploit a loophole contained within the Second Reconstruction Act passed a few weeks later. The supplemental act stated that in order for a constitutional convention to be held a majority of the state's registered voters had to cast their ballots in favor of such an action. White citizens of South Carolina realized that if the vote was somehow defeated, if a majority voted "no" or abstained, then the state could avoid Congressional Reconstruction and stay under military control until, hopefully, either northern opinion shifted or the nation's legislative branch developed a new Reconstruction program. White Carolinians subsequently developed a strategy to register in large numbers to swell or overinflate the voter rolls and then boycott the election to prevent the requisite majority from being reached.[613] Writing in his journal in the lead up to the vote, Henry W. Ravenel noted that there existed a "general disposition among the whites to take any part in the election" and that eligible citizens were determined to remain resolute and stick by the chosen course of action by absenting themselves from the polls.[614] After all was said and

---

[612] Foner *Reconstruction*, 276-77; Edgar, *South Carolina*, 385; Zucek, *State of Rebellion*, 38; Bass and Poole, *The Palmetto State*, 53; and *The Charleston Mercury*, "The True Nature and Effect of the Military Act," February 26, 1867.
[613] Edgar, *South Carolina*, 385-86; Zucek, *State of Rebellion*, 39; *The Charleston Mercury*, "Registration of Voters," May 10, 1867; *The Charleston Mercury*, "The Commencement of Registration," August 12, 1867; and *The Charleston Mercury*, "The Past and the Future," August 20, 1867.
[614] For quote, see; Zucek, *State of Rebellion*, 41, 46 n.64

done, 56,000 voters, roughly forty-four percent of the registered total, stayed home on the day of the election.[615] Reminiscing about the election some time later, Thomas Pickney Lowndes argued that so many white Carolinians decided to steer clear of their polling places because they were ultimately motivated both by a fear of social ostracism and a desire to uphold white supremacy.[616] The boycott, however, ended in failure because roughly eighty-five percent of registered black voters showed up and cast ballots calling for the convening of a constitutional convention. In the month between the election and the opening of the convention in Charleston in mid-January 1868, white Carolinians could feel their hegemony slipping away and were left aghast when they saw the composition of the delegates and realized that their scheme to avoid Congressional Reconstruction had backfired tremendously. Out of the 124 delegates at the convention, seventy-three, just under fifty-nine percent, were African American.[617] The state's black population, it seemed, seized the opportunity offered by the election and guaranteed that they would play a prominent role in molding the future while white Carolinians, alternatively, squandered their chances and subsequently found themselves on the outside looking helplessly in.

The events from late 1866 through early 1868 forever changed the trajectory of South Carolina's social, political, and cultural development. White Carolinians looked on in terror as everything they had built over the preceding two years was swept away and they were threatened, once again, with permanent subjugation.[618] The editors of the *Mercury* perhaps summed up the feelings of the Lowcountry's white residents best when, in their paper published

[615] Edgar, *South Carolina*, 386.
[616] See; Zucek, *State of Rebellion*, 41, 46 n.65.
[617] Edgar, *South Carolina*, 386. Also see; Zucek, *State of Rebellion*, 41-42 and Bass and Poole, *The Palmetto State*, 53-54.
[618] Zucek, *State of Rebellion*, 47.

on January 1, 1868, they halfheartedly wished their subscribers a happy new year while commenting that there existed little hope that such prayers would ultimately be realized. The *Mercury* found the tidings of happiness accompanying the opening of a new year rather ironic because its editors believed that, at present, "sorrow, poverty and terror occupy the chief places at every fireside."[619] What made matters worse, according to the publication, was the building sense of anxiety and fear that resulted from anticipating, but having no ability to stop, the "miserable caprices of despotism" subverting and overturning the very foundation upon which their society rested. "We are literally at the mercy of the winds," the *Mercury* explained, "winds of passion and despotism–reckless of law, justice and humanity."[620] Although feeling forlorn, many white Carolinians had no intention of respecting and submitting to what Sumter County resident Henry D. Green called "*a negro constitution, of a negro government, establishing negro equality*."[621] White reactions to the imposition of Radical Republican policies and the writing of a new state constitution predominantly by black hands represented what Walter Edgar called "the opening salvos" in an incessant and unrelenting nine-year war to overthrow the newly-installed Reconstruction regime and restore white rule.[622] The sentiments expressed by then Mayor P. C. Gaillard at a dinner party in late February 1868 best encapsulate the growing groundswell of resistance building within the Lowcountry's white citizenry. Recounting the entire affair in a letter to his sister, Augustine T. Smythe noted that Gaillard gave a "very warlike speech" at supper and not only defiantly declared "that there was another revolution coming," but he also bade his guest to arm themselves in preparation for the future insurgency.[623] In closing his

[619] *The Charleston Mercury*, "New Year's Day---1868," January 1, 1868.
[620] Ibid.
[621] For quote, see; Edgar, *South Carolina*, 386, 646 n.34
[622] Edgar, *South Carolina*, 386 and Zucek, *State of Rebellion*, 47-48.
[623] Smythe, Augustine Thomas, 1842-1914. Augustine Thomas Smythe papers, 1853-1938. (1209.03.02.04) South Carolina Historical Society.

diatribe, Gaillard asserted that despite the Federal Government's recent efforts, the people of South Carolina would soon demonstrate that the Southern Confederacy and the antebellum order it was established to safeguard "were not dead yet."[624] Unfortunately for Gaillard, a "Yankee who happened to be present" filed a report concerning the Mayor's rather disturbing comments and within just a few days he was removed from office and replaced by Union General William Wallace Burns.[625]

Just as the inauguration of Congressional Reconstruction dramatically altered the political and social evolution of the South Carolina Lowcountry by inducing the region's white residents to increasingly seek redress to perceived transgressions via the use of terror, economic coercion, and other extralegal means, so too did it change the character and development of the Lost Cause movement.[626] No longer content with keeping their comments retrospective in nature, civil and ecclesiastical officials progressively focused on the immediate future and subsequently infused their discourses with not so thinly-veiled criticisms of the Federal Government and the policies they attempted to impose. Memorial Days, the primary vehicle through which white Carolinians espoused and refined the ideologies associated with the Lost Cause during the initial postwar period, evolved into occasions where ex-Confederates could safely and publicly display a lingering fidelity to the Confederacy while simultaneously expressing a sense of acrimony towards their Yankee counterparts.[627] While many of the ideological and rhetorical motifs

---

[624] Smythe, Augustine Thomas, 1842-1914. Augustine Thomas Smythe papers, 1853-1938. (1209.03.02.04) South Carolina Historical Society.
[625] Ibid.
[626] Zucek, *State of Rebellion*, 47-48, 51-61; Bass and Poole, *The Palmetto State*, 55-57; and Edgar, *South Carolina*, 397-401. Also see; Parsons, *Ku-Klux*, 1-7, 9.
[627] Since the Lowcountry's white women organized and played a central role in commemorative activities, the region's white citizenry could feasibly assert that their actions were non-political in nature. This characterization thus allowed ex-Confederate men to lament their defeat and decry the changes that followed in its wake without arousing the suspicion or ire of Federal authorities. Historian Anne Rubin argues the region's white men engaged in a practice called "political ventriloquism." From Rubin's perspective, women of the South's various LMAs were essentially "puppets" that white men used, indeed manipulated, to voice their own opinions while largely skirting

remained relatively consistent over time, the tenor of the Lost Cause grew increasingly more combative and defiant. Feeling relatively powerless to influence or obstruct the drastic political and social changes occurring around them, white Carolinians staged somewhat of a strategic withdrawal and, instead, focused their efforts on cultural preservation. White residents of the South Carolina Lowcountry thus launched an ideological and rhetorical insurgency bent on protecting and perpetuating the values and ideals of the past and, with them, their own sense of distinctiveness. The Lost Cause, therefore, effectively became an ancillary medium through which to advocate resistance to and inspire defiance towards the Federal Government and its attempts to reshape or upend the very cultural foundations upon which southern society stood.

It is important, before proceeding to analyze the evolving nature of the Lost Cause, to briefly discuss how Federal policies influenced the very timing of the Lowcountry's commemorative activities. In the weeks and months leading up to the Memorial Day in 1867, the ladies of the region's LMAs made the pragmatic decision to change the date of their yearly exercises. At an extra meeting held in early March, for example, the members of Charleston's Memorial Association passed a resolution to amend the 7th article of the organization's constitution in order to alter the annual date for decorating the graves of the Confederate dead from June 16 to May 10. The primary reason for this change, according to the ladies, was to "unite with our Sister Associations of the South."[628] A little less than two months later, the women of Columbia's Memorial Association likewise resolved to move the state capitol's commemorations from mid-June to early May. Echoing the reasoning of their coastal cousins,

---

charges of treason. Although men certainly encouraged the formation of LMAs and provided much-needed assistance, it is important not to rob the region's white women of their agency. The ladies of the Lowcountry's Memorial Associations were not simply pawns in the hands of their male counterparts, for in their actions they demonstrated a deep desire, as Caroline Janney argues, "to control the direction of their associations, expand their civic duties, and redefine the very nature of femininity." See; Janney, *Burying the Dead*, 4, 7-8, 52, 65, 67, 70, 87-88 and Rubin, *A Shattered Nation*, 208, 229, 233-34. Also see; Blair, *Cities of the Dead*, 50.

[628] LMA (Charleston, S.C.) Records, 10.

the CMA made the administrative change because they believed that the 10th of May, the anniversary of Stonewall Jackson's death, represented "the day agreed upon by most of the Southern States" to memorialize and eulogize the Confederacy's fallen soldiers.[629] Although the alterations made by the memorial societies operating in Columbia and Charleston can be viewed as a rather natural result of their institutional development, it is important to keep in mind both the timing and the overall context within which these changes were taking place. It is certainly no coincidence that the Lowcountry's LMAs began reaching out to like-minded organizations within and outside of the region at the exact moment Radical Reconstruction reached it apogee and the implementation of Federal policies engendered an existential crisis within white society. With their world seemingly crumbling around them, the white women of Charleston and Columbia began making an explicit effort to open new lines of communication and to explore possible avenues of coordination with other memorial associations in the hopes of presenting, to southerners and northerners alike, the image of a people united and resilient.[630]

The first Memorial Day held after the passage of the Reconstructions Acts demonstrates, especially when juxtaposed with the exercises from roughly one year beforehand, the degree to which Federal actions effected the character and contours of commemorative activities held within the South Carolina Lowcountry. In late April 1867, the members of Charleston's LMA convened yet another extra meeting to discuss, in part, their plans for the second annual Memorial Day celebration set to take place in less than two weeks' time. At the meeting, the

[629] Record of the Young Ladies' Hospital Association (Columbia, S.C.), South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina.

[630] The actions taken by the women of Charleston and Columbia demonstrates, as Caroline Janney has argued, that the local origins and focus of the region's various LMAs did not preclude them from interacting or from supporting each other's efforts. In changing the date of their commemorative exercises and reaching out to their sister associations throughout the region, the Lowcountry's LMAs displayed their desire to reach beyond their local communities and use memorial celebrations as an opportunity to provide all white southerners a means through which to exhibit and "extend their identity as loyal Confederates." See; Janney, *Burying the Dead*, 49, 76.

ladies acknowledged that "the present conditions of our public affairs" made it unwise and irresponsible for them to try and carry out a memorial program similar to that of the previous year.[631] The assembled members thus resolved to omit "all addresses, odes and so forth . . . so as to prevent all excuse for interference or collision with what would prove annoying." Unlike the elaborate and aesthetically impressive exercises held one year prior, the ladies pledged to keep the upcoming ceremonies modest in nature by decorating the graves of the Confederate dead as "quietly and unobtrusively" as possible.[632] The women apparently proved true to their words, as Charleston's *Mercury* noted that the anniversary was "quietly and unostentatiously observed by the ladies of this city." "There was no procession, no eulogy, not even a prayer," the paper continued, "nothing that could, by any possibility, be construed into disrespect to the United States Government."[633] Much like their sisters to the North in Virginia, the Lowcountry's ladies acutely understood that the commencement of Congressional Reconstruction put them in a precarious position and thus they chose to voluntarily curtail their activities so as to prevent provoking a Federal crackdown on current and future commemorations.[634]

Over the course of the next twelve months, white Carolinians apparently felt more comfortable and confident returning their commemorative activities to their past grandeur. In stark contrast to the services held one year prior, the *Mercury* reported that throughout the afternoon on May 10, 1868, an immense crowd of "several thousand persons" made the pilgrimage to the grounds of Magnolia Cemetery to duly honor the Confederate dead.[635] The sight of mass throngs walking from the railway depot to the gates of the cemetery produced a

[631] LMA (Charleston, S.C.) Records, 11.
[632] Ibid.
[633] *The Charleston Mercury*, "Decorating Southern Soldiers' Graves," May 11, 1867.
[634] Janney, *Burying the Dead*, 73.
[635] *The Charleston Mercury*, "Memorial Day," May 11, 1868.

scene, according to the publication, "imposing in the extreme."[636] Charleston's other major news source, the *Courier*, largely echoed their main competitor when they likewise commented on the impressive turnout for the day's exercises. The editors of the paper noted with satisfaction that after business was generally suspended in the city around three, "all seemed, with one accord, to have flocked to the '*City of the Dead*' to unite in the grateful task of rendering a token of respect to the fallen heroes."[637] The seeming return to normalcy evinced in the turnout and scale of the day's exercises should not obscure the subtle yet significant ideological and rhetorical alterations taking place within the Lost Cause and the civil religion that formed its foundation. Though much of the opening prayer, composed and delivered by Reverend John Bachman, was rather mundane, the last lines of the entreaty explicitly acknowledged the tumultuous social and political climate then encompassing the Palmetto State and the rest of the region. "Be thou with our beloved Southern land;" Bachman begged the Almighty, "restore to us our rights, our liberties and prosperity. . . . render us grateful and obedient and finally save us for Christ's sake."[638] Although Bachman situated the ultimate deliverance of the southern people within the purview of Almighty God, his prayer placed some degree of control within the hands of white Carolinians. The entreaty Bachman composed alluded to the fact that as white residents of the Lowcountry honored their dead they were likewise presented with an opportunity to display a sense of "reverence and deep humility" towards an omniscient Providence.[639] If white citizens seized this opportunity and simultaneously honored the fallen and the Almighty in a solemn and earnest manner, then Bachman's prayer implied that they might well demonstrate a requisite

[636] *The Charleston Mercury*, "Memorial Day," May 11, 1868.
[637] *The Charleston Courier,* "The Memorial Celebration," May 11, 1868.
[638] *The Charleston Mercury*, "Memorial Day," May 11, 1868 and *The Charleston Courier,* "The Memorial Celebration," May 11, 1868.
[639] Ibid.

degree of devotion and penitence and thereby convince God to ease his chastening.[640] Bachman's prayer thus attempted, in a small way, to empower white Carolinians who otherwise felt powerless to change the course of their destinies. In offering a veiled criticism of the current state of affairs and a means through which resist or undermine the perceived deleterious effects of Federal actions, Bachman rather clandestinely introduced an element of defiance to the discourse of the Lost Cause and made it slightly more adversarial or oppositional in nature.

Intriguingly, in the ensuing years Bachman sharpened his rebukes and displayed a heightened sense of repugnance towards the Federal Government and their various policies. In May 1869, for example, Bachman presented a modified version of the prayer he originally proffered at the Memorial Day one year beforehand. In the altered entreaty, the Presbyterian cleric referred to those currently holding power as "oppressors" and pleaded with the Lord to save the region from their nefarious designs by restoring the liberties that had been lost to, indeed stolen from, white Carolinians.[641] Bachman's prayer, which would undergo slight revisions over the subsequent years, is important because it was delivered in some form or another at all but one Memorial Day held in Charleston between 1869 and 1874.[642] Even after Bachman died in late February 1874, his prayer lived on and continued to exert a degree of influence on the populace and the nature of the burgeoning Lost Cause, as at that year's commemoration Reverend W. S. Bowman decided to read the late clergyman's words rather than composing and reciting his own.[643]

---

[640] *The Charleston Mercury*, "Memorial Day," May 11, 1868 and *The Charleston Courier,* "The Memorial Celebration," May 11, 1868.
[641] *The Charleston Courier*, "Memorial Day," May 11, 1869.
[642] *The Charleston Courier*, Memorial Day," May 11, 1869; *The Charleston Courier*, "The Memorial Day," May 10, 1870; *The Charleston Courier*, "Memorial Day," May 11, 1871; and *The News and Courier*, "Our Fallen Heroes," May 15, 1874.
[643] *The News and Courier*, "Our Fallen Heroes," May 15, 1874 and Stephens, "Bachman, John," 40.

The radicalization illustrated in the evolution of Bachman's prayer mirrored a more general transformation occurring within the Lost Cause as time progressed. From the late 1860s through the mid-1870s, criticism of the status quo would only grow more prevalent and pronounced as religious and secular leaders increasingly utilized Memorial Days as occasions to advocate active resistance to the Reconstruction regime. In 1871, for example, Reverend John L. Girardeau delivered one of the most overtly defiant discourses of the initial postwar period to a crowd of nearly six thousand Charlestonians who gathered together to observe Confederate Memorial Day and to witness the re-internment of eighty soldiers who had been killed in and around Gettysburg, Pennsylvania.[644] In what represented a complete reversal from the position he took just five years prior, Girardeau acknowledge that his subsequent remarks would possess "a political complexion" and he therefore wanted his audience to understand that when he discussed such topics he was not speaking as a minister of the Gospel delivering a message from the Lord, for he was addressing them merely as a concerned citizen who wanted to express his opinions and safeguard the "interests of his people."[645] Though Girardeau acknowledged that grief, sorrow, and feelings of affection prompted many to assemble on Magnolia's grounds that spring afternoon, the Presbyterian cleric from James Island asserted that mourning was not the only purpose of the day.[646] "There are living issues which emerge from these graves," Girardeau lamented, "gigantic problems affecting our future, which starting up in the midst of these solemnities demand our earnest attention." Claiming a "spirit of Radicalism" was currently

[644] The Charleston Daily Courier, "Memorial Day," May 10, 1871 and Reverend John L. Girardeau, D.D. "Address," in *Confederate Memorial Day at Charleston, S.C.: Re-internment of the Carolina Dead from Gettysburg. Address of Rev. Dr. Girardeau, Odes, &c* (Charleston, S.C.: William G. Mazyck, Printer, 1871), 3, 32-36. For details on how Charleston's LMA coordinated and raised funds for the removal, transportation, and reburial of their state's soldiers, please see; LMA (Charleston, S.C.) Records, 22-25, 27-29.
[645] Girardeau, "Address," 6.
[646] Girardeau, "Address," 6-7 and Erskine Clarke, "Girardeau, John LaFayette," in *The South Carolina Encyclopedia*, ed. Walter Edgar (Columbia: The University of South Carolina Press, 2006), 377.

running rampant and aimed to tear the very foundations of society asunder, Girardeau pleaded with his audience to resist such forces "as we would oppose the progress of a plague."[647] In order to mount an effective resistance, Girardeau explained that his listeners needed to emulate the spirit and safeguard the principles for which the men currently reposing beneath their feet "contended unto death" to protect.[648] "It behooves us to cling to them as drowning men to the fragments of a wreck," Girardeau continued, "They furnish the only hope for our political future—the only means of escape from anarchy on the one hand, or from despotism on the other, which are left to a once free and happy country." Girardeau then provided a sense of solace to his attentive audience, for he asserted that if white Carolinians were successful in restraining and beating back the tides of radicalism then they would ensure that no southern soldier had offered up his life in vain. As his discourse reached its conclusion, Girardeau issued what sounded like a rallying cry when he adamantly declared that all Carolinians, including himself, must "hold our ground, or consent to be traitors to our ancestry, our dead, our trusts for posterity, to our firesides, our social order, and our civil and religious liberties."[649] From Girardeau's perspective, therefore, it was only a matter of time before the insurgency then being staged within the realm of culture would spill over and ultimately allow white residents of the Lowcountry to wrestle control of their political and social institutions away from Radical Republicans and their African American allies.

Four years later, Colonel B. H. Rutledge delivered his own Memorial Day address at Magnolia Cemetery that likewise infused the Lost Cause with an adversarial, indeed defiant, air. Echoing Girardeau, Rutledge argued Federal intervention and influence threatened to destroy the

[647] Girardeau, "Address," 7-13.
[648] Ibid, 8, 11-15.
[649] Ibid, 12-13, 20.

very society the men they gathered to honor died to protect. Aside from upending their institutions and shattering their sense of security, Rutledge asserted Federal actions and policies effectively "arrested" their civilization by installing vice and incompetence "where once sat genius and virtue."[650] Amidst an environment of chaos and anguish, Rutledge offered a sense of hope as he urged his audience to remain resilient and adhere to the values the Confederate dead embodied. Speaking in a rather combative tone, Rutledge proclaimed that white Carolinians had lost everything but their honor and their traditions and, if citizens stood steadfast, "these no human power shall tear away from us." White Carolinians thus possessed the means through which to transform a military defeat into a cultural and ideological victory. The greatest weapon white residents of the Lowcountry possessed, according to Rutledge, was their blatant refusal to acquiesce to their own cultural annihilation. As the address approached its dénouement, Rutledge decided to deal in allegories and consequently summed up his sentiments by explaining to the assembled crowd that the Confederate soldier left behind him a light that he hoped would "cast its glimmer through the coming ages." Unable to perpetuate the light's luster themselves, Rutledge insisted that it fell to the living to continually safeguard and feed the fire so generations yet unborn would live to see it and "gather inspiration from its sacred flame."[651] Much like the Vestal Virgins of ancient Rome, white Carolinians were thus tasked with zealously guarding their principles and identities and assuring that the sacred fire of truth and memory would burn brightly into eternity.[652]

Despite the immense changes occurring within the discourse of the Lost Cause over the eight to nine years following the inauguration of Radical Reconstruction, there remained a

---

[650] *Memorial Day . . . Address of Col. B.H. Rutledge*, 6.
[651] Ibid, 6-7.
[652] *The News and Courier*, "Memorial Exercises To-Day," May 12, 1874.

remarkable degree of ideological and rhetorical consistency. Just as during the initial two years or so following southern surrender, the ideological motif that surpassed all others in terms of frequency and prominence was the sacralization of the Confederate soldier and the cause for which he fought. The editors of the *Mercury*, in their reporting a few days after the Memorial Day in 1868, described the slain as "patriot martyrs" and declared that, much like the beloved Jackson, the faith and resilience of the Confederate soldier not only earned him "undying fame and a perpetual place in the hearts of his countrymen" but it also demonstrated that he represented a "Christian hero."[653] The *Courier*, for their part, declared the purposes of the day holy and argued the immaculate weather that met the gathering masses seemed to show that the Almighty smiled "in approbation of the object upon which they were bent." One year later, the same publication argued decorating the graves of the fallen was "a pious pleasure" that not only maintained a link between the living and the dead but also kept alive "an affection which is something above worldly affection." In 1871, the *Courier's* editors continued to suffuse their reporting with religious imagery and language when they referred to the ground at Magnolia Cemetery where the Confederate dead reposed as "sacred sod" and urged their fellow Carolinians to put aside their temporal duties on that Memorial Day and, instead, unite in sympathy to duly honor the "hallowed occasion."[654]

The myriad of hymns, poems, and odes composed over the course of roughly a decade only further demonstrate how central the image of the Confederate soldier as a Christian martyr was to the incipient Lost Cause movement. A hymn composed by Reverend C. S. Vedder in 1868 for that year's Memorial Day, for example, not only illustrates the prevalence of this

[653] *The Charleston Mercury*, "Memorial Day," May 11, 1868.
[654] *The Charleston Courier*, "The Memorial Celebration," May 11, 1868; *The Charleston Courier,* "Memorial Day," May 11, 1869; and *The Charleston Courier*, "Memorial Day," May 10, 1871.

ideological theme, but it also gives insight into why civic and ecclesiastical leaders invoked such images time and again during the immediate postwar period. Sung by "the whole assembled multitude" after the day's opening prayer, the first half of the second stanza read as follows:

Here our martyr dust is treasured,
Watched by eyes 'tis grief to see;
Thou, by whom our hearts are measured,
Turn those sorrowing eyes to Thee!

Near the end of the hymn, Vedder made clear the purported utility and import of consecrating the southern soldier and holding yearly commemorations to pay homage to his sacrifice. The first lines of the final stanza read:

Grant their graves, our prized possession,
Hallowed power for coming years–
May their hopeful, high expression,
Check our sad, complaining tears.[655]

In sacralizing the Confederate soldier, the Lowcountry's religious and secular leaders, much like they had during the Civil War itself, hoped to create an exemplar whose values and actions would both animate and inspire the rest of society as they experienced profound social, economic, and political change. Men like Vedder believed the annual exercises honoring the dead were so crucial precisely because they provided occasions for white citizens to grieve, give meaning to, and continue the process of overcoming the traumas of the past.

Through the remaining years of Congressional Reconstruction, scarcely a Memorial Day would pass without there being, in some form or fashion, a reference to or a characterization of the southern soldier as a Christian martyr. In 1871, for example, an ode composed especially for

[655] *The Charleston Courier,* "The Memorial Celebration," May 11, 1868 and *The Charleston Mercury*, "Memorial Day," May 11, 1868.

the Memorial Day at the request of Charleston's LMA reinforced this popular motif and further propagated the sacrosanct nature of the occasion itself. The beginning of the ode read as follows:

Hushed be the clamor of the mart;
Still as when stricken peoples pray;
For through a fallen nation's heart
We bring our heroes dust today.

Let all her sons a Sabbath keep
In their proud City by the Sea,
And come, whoever loves to weep
The broken lance of Chivalry.

Continuing on in this manner, the very last stanza of the ode read:

So guard, O God! This sacred dust
Which we with tears and prayers would bless,
And be Thou still the Widow's trust,
And Father of the Fatherless.[656]

The very next year, the editors of the *Courier* published a poem that likewise invoked such themes and images. After opening by imploring readers to deck the graves of the dead with wreaths and laurels, the poem then moved on and attempted to remind its audience of the character of the men they gathered together to celebrate.

They fought and fell true and brave,
For altars and firesides dear;
As martyrs they live in the grave,
And we come to garland them here.
Bury them deep in flowers,
Confederate graves are ours.[657]

Four years later, as the Reconstruction Regime enjoyed its ninth year in power, white Charlestonians once again gathered to pay tribute to their dead. Following a prayer read by

[656] *The Charleston Courier*, "Memorial Day," May 11, 1871.
[657] *The Charleston Courier*, "Memorial Day," May 12, 1872.

Methodist minister and Lowcountry native William T. Capers, "the entire audience" of around three thousand persons sung a memorial ode that continued in the tradition of sanctifying the Confederate soldier.[658] Through the collective chanting of the ode, the assembled crowd affirmed to themselves and their adversaries that no matter how bitter the days ahead or how bright the "vengeful fires may blaze," white Carolinians would neither relinquish their responsibilities towards the "martyred Dead" nor recoil from singing their praises through "all our years."[659]

Nearly ten years to the day from when Charleston's ladies first gathered together to form a memorial association for the purposes of perpetuating the memory of the Confederate dead, the *News and Courier* published an article that looked at the enormous amount of commemorative, indeed cultural, success achieved over the past decade. Although the paper acknowledged that the years since the fall of the Confederacy represented ones "in which the cup of bitterness has been draining even to the dregs, and . . . the galling sense of accumulating misfortunes has . . . almost bereft us of hope," the editors could relay to their readership a feeling of satisfaction that the annual celebration of Memorial Day "never fails to revive hallowed memories which are treasured in our hearts." "This is well," the publication continued, "for there is always hope for a people who reverence their past."[660] As the article reached its conclusion, the *News and Courier's* editors proudly noted that over the past years the Palmetto State's white residents "have ever shown a constant fidelity to the past" and in looking towards the future they believed with all due confidence that it "shall never be said that . . . we have incompletely recorded the

[658] A.V. Huff, Jr., "Capers, William," in *The South Carolina Encyclopedia*, ed. Walter Edgar (Columbia: The University of South Carolina Press, 2006), 130.
[659] *The News and Courier*, "Memorial Day," May 11, 1875.
[660] *The News and Courier*, "Memorial Day," May 10, 1876.

value and virtue of 'our own immortal dead,' the husbands, sons and brothers who but yesterday yielded their lives in our behalf."[661]

Just over three months after Charleston's leading publication printed its article lauding the work of the Lowcountry's LMAs and praising the utility of the Memorial Days they organized, the state Democratic Party convened in Columbia not only to "announce a platform of principles," but also to nominate state officers and electors for the upcoming elections.[662] The day before the convention was set to open, the editors of the *News and Courier* minced no words in informing their subscribers of the monumental importance of the fast-approaching election season. "The canvass now opening," the paper explained, "is the most important in which the people of South Carolina have been engaged since the momentous election of 1860."[663] In the three previous elections, the efforts of the Palmetto State's white conservatives were largely met with failure as they had either attempted to form tenuous alliances with reform-minded Republicans, known as "bolters," or merely abstained from running any candidates in the hopes, as historian Ron Andrew argues, "that the less objectionable Republican faction would win."[664] In an attempt to avoid the frustrations of the past, the convention rejected what was referred to as the "fusionist" or "cooperationist" approach and, instead, decided to adopt a "straight-out" strategy wherein they would nominate only Democrats for state offices.[665] Lowcountry resident and delegate to the convention Charles Richardson Miles perhaps explained the reasoning behind choosing such a strategy best when, in a letter to his brother William Porcher Miles in late

---

[661] *The News and Courier*, "Memorial Day," May 10, 1876.
[662] *The Columbia Daily Register*, "State Democratic Convention," August 1, 1876.
[663] *The News and Courier*, "The News and Courier for the Campaign," August 14, 1876.
[664] Andrew, *Wade Hampton*, 371 and Zucek, *State of Rebellion*, 75-77, 82-83, 123-27, 135-48, 153, 159-62, 165-66.
[665] Andrew, *Wade Hampton*, 371; Poole, *Never Surrender*, 118; Zucek, *State of Rebellion*, 160-61, 165; Edgar, *South Carolina*, 402-03; *The Columbia Daily Register*, "Straightout Democracy!" August 17, 1876; *The News and Courier*, "Wade Hampton and Victory," August 17, 1876; and Alfred B. Williams Scrapbook, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina.

August, he claimed that "the people of South Carolina are so sick at heart from the failure of every attempt that have hitherto been made –and so disgusted with the Republicans with whom they were forced to make alliances that they revolted against any coalition."[666] Rifts emerging within the Republican ranks, shifts in northern sentiment toward Reconstruction, and a new sense of unity and purpose developing within the white conservative community engendered optimism among the state's white citizenry and created an environment, in the words of Richard Zucek, "ripe for revolution."[667] As the summer of 1876 bled into the fall, therefore, it seemed as though the successful cultural insurgency launched over the preceding decade in cemeteries throughout the South Carolina Lowcountry was expanding into the political realm and offering white citizens the opportunity to finally attain and experience a long-awaited redemption.

The intimate interconnection between the cultural phenomenon known as the Lost Cause and the political uprising building within the Palmetto State is especially apparent when one looks at the language and imagery that greeted former Confederate General Wade Hampton's unanimous nomination to run as the Democratic Party's candidate for the office of Governor.[668] A military hero and a representative of the values and traditions of the antebellum South, Hampton was, in the words of Scott Poole, the practical embodiment of the Lost Cause.[669] Hampton, much like his fellow white South Carolinians, had suffered loss, pain, and humiliation at the hands of Federal forces and thus many began to view the former general as a "suffering savior" who would "deliver his people from shame and degradation."[670] One white South

---

[666] For quote, see; Zucek, *State of Rebellion*, 165, 182 n.35. Also see; David H. Rembert, Jr., "Miles, William Porcher," in *The South Carolina Encyclopedia*, ed. Walter Edgar (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2006), 630.
[667] Zucek, *State of Rebellion*, 159 and Poole, *Never Surrender*, 118. Also see; Andrew, *Wade Hampton*, 372-73.
[668] *The News and Courier,* "Hampton for Governor!" August 17, 1876 and *The Columbia Daily Register*, "Straightout Democracy!" August 17, 1876.
[669] Edgar, *South Carolina,* 402 and Poole, *Never Surrender,* 120.
[670] Andrew, *Wade Hampton*, 383 and Edgar, *South Carolina*, 404.

Carolinian put it best when, in reminiscing about the campaign, she explained "Wade Hampton was the Moses of his people, the God-given instrument to help them free themselves from their enemies."[671] In the theology of the Lost Cause, Charles Reagan Wilson argues, white southerners clung to the hope that the spirit of the suffering and dead Confederacy would one day, at some indistinct time in the future, experience a "joyful resurrection."[672] Wade Hampton, in personifying the past and acting as a sort of surrogate for all those who died in defense of the Confederacy, offered the means to achieve that resurrection and bring redemption to the white Carolinian community. Of all the names discussed in connection with the nomination for Governor, the *News and Courier* believed that Hampton's was "the most conspicuous" and thus it fell to him "to lead his people in peace as he led them in the stern days of war." The publication continued on and described Hampton as a "gallant soldier, a courteous gentleman, [and] a liberal Democrat" whose election to office would signal "the victory of purity, virtue and intelligence over corruption, ignorance and vice!"[673] The Columbia-based *Daily Register*, in their reporting one day later, noted that when they saw "the noble form of the hero of the occasion, as he rose to his feet amidst the plaudits of that vast, admiring and loving multitude" to accept the nomination, they could not help but conjure within their imaginations images of the fateful past and picture the nominee "on his warhorse . . . beckoning to his gray warriors–aye to these gray warriors all around us where we stood." "We say that he who saw the sight, and heard that sound," the paper continued, "and did not feel his heart pressing the water into his eyes, was made of earnest stuff indeed."[674] At the end of the article, the publication's editors sounded much like the myriad of civic and ecclesiastical leaders who spoke before mass crowds on Memorial

[671] For quote, see; Andrew, *Wade Hampton*, 383, 558 n.43,
[672] Wilson, *Baptized in Blood*, 58.
[673] *The News and Courier*, "Hampton and Victory!" August 17, 1876.
[674] *The Columbia Daily Register*, "The Nomination of Hampton," August 18, 1876.

Days over the preceding decade, for they explained to their readers that their future prospects looked exceedingly bright because the key to winning popular victories and ruling the world was possessing ideas or principles "that are throbbed from the heart and burned into the brain of a people or an age."[675] Equipped with the necessary ideological and rhetorical tools, white Carolinians thus exhibited a supreme sense of confidence as they inaugurated a political campaign that would, once and for all, demonstrate that those who lost in 1865 would ultimately reign triumphant by the closing of 1876.[676]

[675] *The Columbia Daily Register*, "The Nomination of Hampton," August 18, 1876.
[676] Edgar, *South Carolina*, 406 and Alfred B. Williams Scrapbook, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina.

CONCLUSION
"America's Most Historic City" Reckons with its Past

The year 2011 proved especially remarkable for the city of Charleston as it made headlines when, for the first time, it unseated San Francisco in *Condé Nast Traveler's* annual reader's choice competition for "Top U.S. City."[677] What once represented a proverbial "coup" in the travel world now seems all but mundane due to the fact that Charleston won this award perennially over the ensuing four years. After 2015, the popular travel magazine began dividing top destinations in the nation based on size, with small cities representing places with a population of one million or less and large cities exceeding one million residents. Despite the administrative change, Charleston continued to accrue accolades within the magazine and has been ranked number one in the "small cities" category through 2018.[678] The praise and recognition Charleston garners is not only limited to the pages of *Condé Nast Traveler.* Leafing through some of the nation's top travel magazines, it is apparent that Charleston's preeminence as a travel destination is rather ubiquitous. *Travel + Leisure Magazine*, for example, likewise named Charleston its top U.S. city in July 2018, thus making it the sixth consecutive year the city earned that title. In addition, Charleston holds the honor of being the only city in the entire nation to make the cut for *Travel + Leisure's* list of the world's top fifteen cities, where it came in at number ten.[679]

---

[677] Jim Morekis, *Moon South Carolina* (Berkeley, C.A.: Avalon Travel, 2015), 27; Lee Davis Perry, *Insider's Guide to Charleston: Including Mt. Pleasant, Summerville, Kiawah, and Other Islands,* 14th ed. (Guilefort, Conn.: Globe Pequot, 2015), 2.
[678] Emily Williams, "Condé Nast names Charleston top for 8th consecutive year," *The Post and Courier*, October 9, 2018. https://www.postandcourier.com/business/cond-nast-names-charleston-top-u-s-city-for-th/article_d15bd0a0-cb33-11e8-ade2-9ba598b7b7c2.html
[679] Ibid.

Taking even a cursory glance at current travel literature and it would be hard to miss why this southern city garners so much praise. "Wandering through the city's famous Historic District," one writer notes, "you would swear it was a movie set." Enticing the reader further, the author continues, "dozens of church steeples punctuate the low skyline, and horse-drawn carriages pass centuries-old mansions and town houses, their stately salons offering a crystal-laden and parquet-floored version of Southern comfort."[680] This description, and countless others like it, depict Charleston as a city still very much rooted in the past. Charleston is rather remarkable, writers continually argue, precisely because it is one of the few cities in the nation where you can stroll down the street and literally see layers of history unfold before your eyes. One author, echoing the sentiments of multitudes more, captured perfectly the mystique and allure the city holds in the popular imagination when he noted that Charleston looked much like "an 18th-century etching come to life."[681]

While the acclaim and laudation heaped upon Charleston are a relatively new phenomenon, the image of a city fixed in the past has proven a project roughly a century in the making. Throughout the 1920s and 30s, elite white Charlestonians made a concerted effort, for the first time, to organize several cultural associations tasked with preserving and perpetuating certain aspects of the city's illustrious past.[682] Chief among those responsible for inaugurating this preservation effort was Susan Pringle Frost. Born in January 1873 into an elite Charlestonian family with ties stretching back to the eighteenth century, Frost spent much of her youth enjoying the life of leisure afforded her by her distinguished pedigree. With the failure of her families' rice plantations and other business ventures near the end of the nineteenth century,

---

[680] *Fodor's: The Carolina's and Georgia* (New York: Fodor's Travel, 2015), 338.
[681] *Fodor's, The Carolina's and Georgia*, 338 and Morekis, *Moon South Carolina,* 7.
[682] Stephanie E. Yuhl, *A Golden Haze of Memory: The Making of Historic Charleston* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 6.

however, Frost began training as a stenographer and eventually worked in the U.S. Federal District Court in Charleston.[683] Living a robust social life, Frost actively participated in both the women's club movement and the women's suffrage movement, distinguishing herself in the latter endeavor by serving as the first president of the Charleston Equal Suffrage League. In addition to advocating for women's rights, Frost also increasingly devoted time and energy to another major interest of hers, historic preservation. This investment began to bear fruit in April 1920, when Frost, along with thirty-two other white Charlestonians, created an association called the Society for the Preservation of Old Dwellings (SPOD).[684]

Initially founded to prevent the destruction of the Joseph Manigault House, located on Meeting Street between Ashmeade Place and John Street, the SPOD soon expanded their mission from saving individual residences to protecting whole swaths of the city by establishing an historic district.[685] Ratified by the Charleston City Council in October 1931, the nation's first government-supported planning and zoning ordinance created an "Old and Historic" Charleston that encompassed roughly twenty-three blocks, 138 acres, and protected nearly 400 buildings from future destruction.[686] Interestingly, the zoning ordinance also created a new organization called the Board of Architectural Review (BAR), headed by *Charleston Evening Post* editor Thomas Waring and architect-turned-preservationist Albert Simons, whose chief responsibility

---

[683] Sidney R. Bland, "Susan Pringle Frost," in *The South Carolina Encyclopedia*, ed. Walter Edgar (Columbia, The University of South Carolina Press, 2006), 345-46 and Yuhl, *Golden Haze of Memory*, 26.

[684] It important to note that the Society for the Preservation of Old Dwellings changed its name in 1957 to the Preservation Society of Charleston and, as of 2002, the Society could claim a membership of over 2,000 individuals. The shift in name, Robert Gurley argues, reflected the organization's "expanded mission not only to protect dwellings but all sites and structures of historical significance or aesthetic value." See; Robert Gurly, "Preservation Society of Charleston," in *The South Carolina Encyclopedia*, ed. Walter Edgar (Columbia, The University of South Carolina Press, 2006), 753-54; Yuhl, *Golden Haze of Memory*, 24-25; and Bland, "Susan Pringle Frost," 346.

[685] Ethan J. Kytle and Blaine Roberts, *Denmark Vesey's Garden: Slavery and Memory in the Cradle of the Confederacy* (New York: The New Press, 2018), 180-181.

[686] Yuhl, *Golden Haze of Memory*, 43, 166; Charles B. Hosmer, *Preservation Comes of Age: From Williamsburg to the National Trust, 1926-1949,* Vol. 1 (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1981), 240; and Gurley, "Preservation Society of Charleston, 753.

lay in monitoring and approving any exterior alterations made to buildings located within the newly established Historic District.[687] Today, thanks largely to the work of the Preservation Society of Charleston, the BAR, and the more recently founded Historic Charleston Foundation, Charleston's Historic District now spans roughly 800 acres and includes more than 4,800 historic structures.[688] What began as the personal crusade of one determined woman quickly spawned an institutional hydra that effectively guided the development of Charleston for the next nine decades.

The legacy Frost bequeathed, however, proved Janus-faced, as the city she worked tirelessly to protect and preserve represented one more of myth than of reality. Elite whites that formed and controlled organizations like the SPOD and the BAR effectively *created* an historic Charleston that only existed in the imagination. In delineating the boundaries of the Historic District, Frost and her counterparts explicitly illustrated which parts of the city they believed contained or, conversely, lacked historic relevance. This cadre of wealthy white citizens wielded a considerable amount of power as connections with municipal officials and other civic organizations enhanced their influence beyond what membership numbers would seem to suggest. In manufacturing an historic Charleston in the early twentieth century, Frost and her

---

[687] A native Charlestonian, Albert Simons was trained in architecture at the University of Pennsylvania and later became an influential member of the Architecture Institute of America's Committee on Preservation of Historic Monuments and Natural Resources. Not only did Simons possess immense influence through active participation in the newly created Board of Architectural Review, but he was also the brother-in-law of Mayor Thomas Porcher Stoney, who served in that capacity from 1923-1931. These types of connections helped Simons gain much-needed support as he sought to protect and preserve his vision of historic Charleston. Stephanie Yulh argues Simons is an important person to understand because his actions, along with those of Frost, are largely responsible for shaping historic Charleston during the interwar period. See; Yuhl, *Golden Haze of Memory*, 8, 36-39, 43-45, 51-52. Also see; Kytle and Roberts, *Denmark Vesey's Garden*, 182.

[688] First appearing in 1941, and incorporated as a separate organization in 1947, the Historic Charleston Foundation was created to preserve buildings still inhabited by their owners. The Foundation set up the nation's first revolving fund in order to more effectively purchase and restore historic structures within the city. Aaron W. Marrs, "Historic Charleston Foundation," in *The South Carolina Encyclopedia*, ed. Walter Edgar (Columbia, The University of South Carolina Press, 2006), 447. Also see; Hosmer, *Preservation Comes of Age,* 268-73; *Fodor's*, 342; Yuhl, *Golden Haze of Memory*, 192-93; and Gurley, "Preservation Society of Charleston," 753.

colleagues increasingly fixed their gaze upon the first half of the nineteenth century. The SPOD and the BAR chose to preserve select facets of Charleston's late colonial and antebellum history, while largely ignoring, even expunging, any remnants of the city's slave-owning past.[689] Historian Stephanie E. Yuhl argues the cultural producers who breathed life into this highly selective vision of Charleston sought to accentuate a "continuity of tradition, social hierarchy, and racial deference."[690] In the antebellum era especially, elite Charlestonians found a golden age unfettered by the complexities of modernity. This emphasis proved so successful that Yuhl goes on to claim, "a visitor looking at the protected landscape in 1940 might comfortably have understood that Charleston's *real* history ended in 1860."[691]

The foundations of Frost's understanding of the southern past and her ensuing vision for Charleston's future were laid nearly a century before the formation of either the SPOD or the BAR. Beginning in the early decades of the antebellum era, debates surrounding the propagation of slavery intensified and subsequently exacerbated the amount of acrimony existing between northern states whose economies progressively incorporated the ideologies associated with free labor and southern states who increasingly built their societies upon systems of racial subjugation and oppression. As a growing number of northerners started to question, and then ultimately worked to actively undermine, the place of slavery within the nation, white southerners went on the ideological offensive in order to refute outside recriminations and thereby safeguard the basis of their prosperity. Religious and secular officials thus commenced in

---

[689] Historians Blain Roberts and Ethan J. Kytle, in an examination of Charleston's commemorative landscape since the end of the Civil War, argue slavery and the history of the city's race relations are rarely acknowledged because such topics have made, and continue to make, Charlestonians feel "uneasy." Charleston's slave past, the authors maintain, is effectively erased from public memory, as discussions concerning the peculiar institution are something the city would like to avoid or ignore rather than confront. Blain Roberts and Ethan J. Kytle, "Looking the Thing in the Face: Slavery, Race, and the Commemorative Landscape in Charleston, South Carolina, 1865-2010," in *The Journal of Southern History* 78 (August 2012): 639-684; 640, 680-82.
[690] Yuhl, *Golden Haze of Memory*, 6.
[691] Ibid, 44.

creating an image of the American South as a region not only distinct but also culturally and socially superior in relation to their northern counterparts.

Central to this new conception of self were the beliefs associated with an American civil religion developed during and immediately following the American Revolution. As American colonists struggled to gain their independence from the British Empire and establish an independent republic they could call their own, many of their civic and ecclesiastical leaders began developing a set of ideologies concerning the relationship between God and the incipient nation. Not only did many Americans come to believe that the Almighty had imbued them and their polity with a special purpose, but they also increasingly accepted that God proved actively involved in orchestrating the progression of temporal events as a means to achieve divine ends.[692] Antebellum Americans, more so than their ancestors in the second half of the eighteenth century, interpreted the world around them principally through the lens of evangelical theology and thus many of the fundamental facets of an evolving civil religion became more widespread and grew more deeply-embedded within the nation's popular consciousness.[693]

Although originally created and promulgated to stoke the fires of nationalism and foster the building of a collective culture, civil religion soon became a force of sectarianism and schism. By the middle decades of the antebellum era, a small but increasingly influential coterie of individuals effectively appropriated the rhetoric and ideologies associated with the American civil religion to fuel a growing separatist movement. Arguing slavery represented an institution sanctioned by Scripture, white southerners cast their northern critics as apostates who either disregarded or distorted Christianity in an effort to subjugate the South and, perhaps more

[692] Bellah, "Civil Religion in America," 9-10 and David Goldfield, *America Aflame: How the Civil War Created a Nation* (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2011), 29, 173.
[693] Goldfield, *America Aflame,* 173.

alarmingly, to topple hierarchies decreed by Providence.[694] One southern minister put prevailing attitudes best when he claimed that while citizens of the South represented a conscientious God-fearing people, northerners were nothing more than "atheists, infidels, . . . rationalists, Bible haters."[695]

The Nullification Crisis of the early 1830s acted as a catalyst and not only produced a remarkable amount of change within the state's political culture, but it also caused a rather drastic shift in citizens' ideological outlooks and consequently hastened the development of a separate sectional identity and a divergent civil religion meant to buttress a burgeoning nationalist movement. After Abraham Lincoln's election to the Presidency in the fall of 1860, religious leaders like Stephen H. Elliott and William O. Prentiss, along with their secular counterparts within the Palmetto State, deployed the rhetoric and concepts contained within the southern civil religion in order to build a degree of ideological consensus and to frame secession as both a temporal and spiritual necessity. With the founding of the Confederate nation and onset of the Civil War, ecclesiastic officials, civic leaders, and members of the popular press continued to utilize and propagate the beliefs associated with the civil religion in the hopes of providing their citizenry with a means through which to assess and interpret the conflict's ever-evolving course. The Federal invasion of Port Royal and the subsequent occupation of the Carolina Coast in early November 1861 represented a watershed moment, as it caused civil religion within the Lowcountry to undergo a process of modification and transformation. As the war increased in its intensity, grew closer in proximity, and become more protracted, a civil religion that was once confident and rather bellicose grew progressively more solemn and downcast. In order to maintain morale and inculcate within the white population a renewed sense of purpose and

[694] Goldfield, *America Aflame*, 1, 3, 5, 7, 35, 164, 173
[695] For quote, see; Goldfield, *American Aflame*, 173 and for citation, see; 552 n.34.

resolve, secular and religious leaders refashioned the discourse of civil religion by incorporating new ideological motifs. Along with making the discourse more forward-looking in nature, leading Carolinians also emphasized the theme of redemption and increasingly venerated the sacrifice and suffering of the Confederate soldier in an effort to temper or palliate a rising tide of despondency.

Although Confederates begrudgingly stacked their arms and furled their flags in the aftermath of Appomattox, they did not so easily surrender the ideologies and beliefs they carried into and through the conflict. The Confederate civil religion did not die like white southerners' aspirations of establishing an independent, largely antidemocratic, slaveholding republic.[696] A discourse that provided white Carolinians with a degree of solace as they endured the tribulations of war would continue to furnish citizens with the rhetorical and ideological tools necessary to face a turbulent postwar world. The beliefs that formed the foundation of the Confederate civil religion became the bedrock from which ex-Confederates would build the cultural phenomenon known as the Lost Cause. At first, the Lost Cause facilitated the process of bereavement and acted as a balm for white Carolinians languishing under the weight of grief and despair as they mourned their dead and struggled to come to terms with, and find meaning in, their recent past. While the Lost Cause continued to fulfill this function over the ensuing decade, it also increasingly provided white residents of the Palmetto State with a language through which to defy and, ultimately, resist the Federal Government and its Reconstruction policies aimed at destroying any remnants of the antebellum order. In maintaining and steadfastly safeguarding a distinctive identity anchored in the past, secular and religious leaders adamantly believed they could transform a political and military defeat into a resounding social and cultural victory.[697]

---

[696] McCurry, *Confederate Reckoning,* 1-4, 11-18, 23-25, 34-37.
[697] Wilson, *Baptized in Blood*, 1 and Janney*, Burying the Dead*, 3.

By the time of Frost's birth in the early 1870s, ideologues of the Lost Cause and the organizations they controlled not only made it their mission to inculcate within future generations a reverence for the values and traditions of the late Confederacy, but they also worked tirelessly to provide their own interpretations of the war and thus counter, to the point of potentially negating, any alternative narratives.[698] Despite the extent and totality of Union victory on the battlefield, historian David Blight points out that advocates of the Lost Cause were determined to make sure "the verdicts to be rendered in history and memory were not settled at Appomattox."[699] As a result, the Lost Cause subsequently developed a number of ancillary myths to reinforce established ideologies and to allow this cultural phenomenon to attract support from an audience not only regional, but also national in nature. The characterization of slavery as a benevolent institution and the portrayal of antebellum southern society as idyllic and harmonious, images first conjured during the antebellum era, represent just a few of the tropes that enabled the Lost Cause to captivate the popular imagination and helped ensure this cultural movement would command a great deal of influence through the early twentieth century.

The ideas and images associated with the Lost Cause provided the template from which Frost drew when imprinting her vision of Charleston upon the landscape.[700] Much like her predecessors in the late nineteenth century, who used visual display and representation to laud the Confederacy and those who fell in its defense, Frost relied upon the aesthetic of the Lost Cause to construct a Charleston unhindered by historical complexity. Presenting a city, indeed a

---

[698] Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 2; Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 261, and Janney, *Burying the Dead*, 74.
[699] Blight*, Race and Reunion*, 261.
[700] When discussing the historic landscape created by Frost and Simmons, this work heavily borrows from William Cronon's conception of "first" and "second nature." While first nature represents the original landscape created through natural processes, second nature is "designed by people and 'improved' toward human ends." Though Charleston, as a city, is largely a second nature environment to begin with, the deliberate manipulation of the cityscape is akin to how Americans in the nineteenth century created second natures by altering their own environments for economic, political, and social gains. See; William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1991), 56-57.

region, whose past represented one at once organic, ordered, and genteel, Frost effectively cleansed the southern past and absolved it of any wrongdoing. In publicly articulating a Lost Cause aesthetic depicting the late colonial and antebellum eras as the zenith of southern culture and society, the SPOD and the BAR explicitly expressed what Scott Poole, borrowing from German philosopher G.W.F. Hegel, calls their "intuition of the world."[701] Historic preservation provided the vehicle through which to broadcast this intuition, as Frost and her colleagues largely viewed their organizations as tools to help alert and educate future generations of Charlestonians about their "aesthetic inheritance."[702] Charleston effectively represented a classroom on the grandest scale and those who lived in or visited the city were merely pupils expected to learn from the visual cues created by their privileged counterparts. Providing an antidote to the modern disease of decline, brought about due to decades of economic stagnation and racial antagonism, the aesthetic of the Lost Cause allowed white southerners to escape into a "dream world" in which they could find both "resolution and catharsis."[703]

While elite Charlestonians worked diligently to imprint an imagined past onto the city's landscape via a Lost Cause aesthetic, forces beyond their control allowed historic Charleston to captivate an audience not only local and regional, but national in scope. The rise of tourism within the United States during the 1930s and 40s provided an unparalleled opportunity to reshape the city and reap the rewards of that redefinition. In order to understand the dramatic rise in tourism taking place during the interwar years, it is important to briefly look at the development of the phenomenon of leisure travel from its inception roughly a century

[701] G.W.F. Hegel, *On Art, Religion and the History of Philosophy: Introductory Lectures.* ed. J. Glenn Gray (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1997), 38 and Poole, *Never Surrender*, 3-4.
[702] Yuhl, *Golden Haze of Memory*, 28.
[703] Poole, *Never Surrender*, 3. For an examination of South Carolina's economic woes from the antebellum era through the early twentieth century, see; Edgar, *South Carolina*, 269-70, 284-87, 396-97, 425-28, 478-82, 483-85, 489 and Poole and Bass, *The Palmetto State*, 23, 61-62, 66, 68, 70, 76, 79-80.

beforehand. Beginning in the 1820s and 30s, well-to-do Americans, aided largely by a concurrent transportation revolution, traversed the nation, finding "sacred places" amidst tourist attractions that provided them with both the chance to escape the monotony of their lives and the opportunity to partake in a process of introspection.[704] By the turn of the century, however, the demographic and geographic nature of tourism changed dramatically. A burgeoning middle-class infused tourism with a new populist character and crowds increasingly toured urban, instead of rural, landscapes.[705] No longer preoccupied with the nation's natural wonders, such as Niagara Falls or Mammoth Cave, tourists began flocking to cities like Chicago and San Francisco to engage with a new world of commercialized leisure activities.

The tourist industry first born in the early nineteenth century experienced its adolescence within the first three decades of the twentieth and finally reached maturity by the 1950s and 60s. Originally accessible only to the privileged, the growing popularity and affordability of the automobile proved a catalyst and ushered in a new era of travel that enabled not just the social elite, but also the masses to experience the myriad benefits of tourism.[706] Leisure travel subsequently experienced, in the words of scholars Cindy S. Aron and Richard D. Starnes, a

---

[704] In a valuable work on intranational travel narratives constructed in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, John D. Cox argues that travel "made the United States." Cox also contends the creation and distribution of travel narratives by northerners who ventured south simultaneously incorporated the region into the nation and set it apart as an internal "other" that represented the main barrier to constructing a unified national culture. John D. Cox, *Traveling South: Travel Narratives and the Construction of American Identity* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2005), 1, 4-8, 15, 18, 193; Howe, *What Hath God Wrought*, 1-2, 211-14, 216-20, 562-69; and John F. Sears, *Sacred Places: American Tourist Attractions in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 3-7, 10.

[705] Sears, *Sacred Places*, 10-11; Catherine Cocks, *Doing the Town: The Rise of Urban Tourism in the Unites States, 1850-1915* (Berkeley: The University of California Press, 2001), 1-2, 5-8; Cindy S. Aron, *Working at Play: A History of Vacations in the United States (*New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 3-4, 182; and John A. Jakle, *The Tourist: Travel in Twentieth-Century North America* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985), xii, 245-46, 303.

[706] While John Cox lists the perceived benefits of travel from the late eighteenth through the nineteenth centuries, the benefits described still held true throughout much of the twentieth century and beyond. Cox argues some of the benefits that accrued to those who traveled were "[an] expanded knowledge of the world, a shift in perspective, or economic opportunities." Cox, *Traveling South*, 4; Jakle, *The Tourist*, xi-xii, 101, 120, 146, 170, 186, 301, 303-04; and Karen L. Cox, "Introduction," in *Destination Dixie: Tourism & Southern History,* ed. Karen L. Cox (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2012), 4.

"democratization," as by the 1940s vacationing represented a mass phenomenon that cut across racial and class lines and thus created a shared cultural experience for Americans at large.[707] Though Susan Pringle Frost and her colleagues initiated their preservation efforts to produce localized benefits, the evolution of tourism occurring at the same time proved serendipitous because it allowed the vision created by the SPOD and the BAR to reach mass audiences ready and willing to immerse themselves in new, "authentic" environments.

As an ever-increasing number of Americans took to newly developed highways to escape their routines, to experience adventure, and to better understand both themselves and the wider world, they likewise set out on what scholar John A. Jankle refers to as "quests for nature, region, city, and history."[708] While pursuits of nature and city appeared diametrically opposed to the astute traveler, the search for history and region seemed intricately intertwined.[709] The interconnection between history and region is perhaps no more clearly visible than in the American South. To those who lived in the Midwest or the Northeast, the South symbolized a region distinctly archaic in nature and thus represented what historian Karen Cox calls an "imagined world."[710] Seeking solace from the frantic pace of an increasingly industrialized and

---

[707] Aron, *Working at Play*, 10, 182, 184, 205, 207, 238 and Richard D. Starnes, "Introduction," in *Southern Journeys: Tourism, History, and Culture in the Modern South*, ed. Richard D. Starnes (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2003), 5.

[708] Jakle, *The Tourist*, 2, 302-03.

[709] Historian William Cronon has persuasively argued the dichotomy between city and country is nothing more than an illusion as it only reifies a false notion that there exists a "natural" and "unnatural" world, the former "unscarred by human action" while the latter was supposedly controlled and conquered by man. While Cronon notes such abstractions obscure more than they clarify, he acknowledges Americans throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, largely influenced by romantic writers such as Ralph Waldo Emerson or Henry David Thoreau, viewed the city as the antithesis of the surrounding countryside. See; Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis*, 7-9, 11-13, 17-18.

[710] John Cox furthers the insights offered by Karen Cox when he argues that even in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, many Americans viewed the South as "backward, wild, uncivilized, or dangerous." Travel literature, largely describing journeys by northern travelers to the American South, served to separate or distinguish the region as much as to compare and consolidate it within the larger nation. While some may have viewed this regional difference as harmlessly quaint, many perceived the South's difference more cynically and believed its backward nature represented "the primary hindrance to the development of a national community." In the postwar period, however, Karen Cox contends the South no longer constituted a dangerous region to be controlled and altered, for it now represented little more than a tourist destination where northerners would find "rest, relaxation, and diversion." Nina Silber, in an examination of a sentimentalized conciliatory culture that formed in the North at

urbanized society, tourists flocked southward to engage with a region seemingly stuck in a preindustrial past.

Perhaps no city in the American South better represents the explicit intertwining of region and history than Charleston. The 2015 official visitors' guidebook for Charleston, for example, placed history front and center when telling tourists why this southern city should represent a prime destination on their potential itineraries. On the very first page after the index, the guidebook asked a straightforward question, "Why Charleston?" The answer appears simple, the city's colorful antebellum mansions, cobblestone streets, and charming ambiance exude a "gravitational pull" on tourists and thus makes Charleston "the one American South city they absolutely, positively must visit." Pushing history to the forefront once again, another tourist advertisement, appearing on the guidebook's fourth page, exclaims "it's always the right time" to visit Charleston because, "Acclaimed restaurants, exquisitely preserved antebellum wonders, and soul-stirring landscapes await."[711] In fact, within the visitors guide the word "antebellum" appears on three of the first five pages. While Frost and Simons, through the SPOD and BAR respectively, attempted to preserve and highlight structures from both the late colonial and antebellum eras, it is clear that over time the city instead chose to emphasize the latter while largely downplaying the former.

Along with giving tourists a variety of reasons to visit what is billed as "America's Most Historic City," the official guidebook also lays out a mock itinerary so guests can truly get the

---

the end of the nineteenth century, furthers the assertions of Karen and John Cox, as she argues that by the dawn of the twentieth century the South represented an "antimodern refuge" to northerners who felt industrialization and the rise of mass consumer culture threatened traditional, or Victorian, notions of domesticity and morality. Cox, "Introduction," Cox, *Traveling South*, 2-3 8-9, 194-95 and Silber, *Romance of Reunion*, 69-70, 82, 95, 106.

[711] 2015 Official Visitors' Guide: Charleston, South Carolina, ed. Charleston Area Convention & Visitors Bureau, 2, 4.

most out of their trip.[712] At the very beginning of the day, 7 a.m. to be exact, visitors are encouraged to experience "A Place Where Charm Dwells." "Cobblestone streets weave between confection-colored Antebellum mansions," the description reveals, "and church steeples- not skyscrapers- dot the skyline." After engaging with the city's charm, the visitor is invited to take the next hour and "Stroll Through Splendor." "One of North America's most architecturally significant destinations," the guidebook explains, "Charleston is a decorative arts repository with expertly preserved history on display at every turn."[713] There is perhaps no quote that better sums up the degree of success Frost and her colleagues achieved in protecting select facets of Charleston's historic landscape, for if the SPOD and the BAR had not proven so active and aggressive in their early efforts then it is reasonable to infer that tourists would find something other than history on display at every turn. Further, the type of history presented to the public would most likely be vastly different if the ideologies and aesthetics of the Lost Cause had not so captivated the imaginations of Frost and her like-minded counterparts.

The Charleston eagerly marketed to tourists in the twenty-first century differs little from the mold created by Frost roughly one hundred years earlier.[714] Historian Ted Ownby provides perhaps the best analogy when he argued the promoters of tourism, in attempting to attract visitors and subsequently maximize their profit margins, acted similarly to those who chose to cultivate their own gardens. Many embark on this task, Ownby asserted, because they see their

---

[712] The first proclamation of Charleston as "America's Most Historic City" occurred in 1924 when then Mayor Thomas Stoney made this declaration in his "Annual Review." In this same speech, Stoney also urged Charleston to undertake modern improvements like paved roads and electric street lighting in order to make visiting the city less taxing and thus more alluring. See; Yuhl, *Golden Haze of Memory*, 162; Ethan J. Kytle and Blain Roberts, "'Is it Okay to Talk about Slaves?' Segregating the Past in Historic Charleston," in *Destination Dixie: Tourism and Southern History*, ed. Karen L. Cox (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2012), 138.

[713] 2015 Official Visitors' Guide, 5-6.

[714] Blain Roberts and Ethan Kytle argue elite Charlestonians like Frost proved so successful in controlling and perpetuating the public memory presented within Charleston, while simultaneously curtailing alternative narratives, because they "recast the repositories of historical memory by turning to the vernacular cityscape rather than symbolic statuary and public space." Roberts and Kytle, "Looking the Think in the Face," 671-72.

garden as "a safe place where they control the natural world, prune out the strange parts, and arrange the prettiest parts in appealing ways."[715] Much like a garden, Charleston has experienced a profound amount of pruning and trimming over the past century as those following in the footsteps of Frost attempt to make the city aesthetically appealing to both tourists and residents. Slavery, the Civil War, and racial oppression under Jim Crow represent weeds awaiting extraction, lest they grow too wild and subsequently upset the garden's picturesque nature.[716] The ideologies associated with the Lost Cause are at once the fence surrounding the garden and the fertilizer that expedites its growth. The mythologies developed concerning the antebellum era and the Civil War not only demarcate the borders of "acceptable" presentation, but the overwhelming success the city experiences in marketing such stereotypes to tourists in turn facilitates Charleston's rapid demographic and commercial development.

It is difficult to overstate the importance the tourist industry played in shaping Charleston's economy from the late twentieth into the twenty-first centuries. In 2008 alone, over 4.1 million tourists visited Charleston, leading to an overall economic impact on the area totaling upwards of 3.05 billion dollars.[717] Moreover, when asked why they chose to visit the city, the overwhelming majority of tourists ranked history as their main motivation.[718] Tourism proved such a central facet of Charleston's development that in 1984 the city passed a tourism management ordinance, the first in the nation, largely in order to "provide an enjoyable

---

[715] Ted Ownby, "Nobody Knows the Troubles I've Seen, but Does Anybody Want to Hear about Them When They're on Vacation?" in *Southern Journeys: Tourism, History, and Culture in the Modern South*, ed. Richard D. Starnes (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2003), 240-41.

[716] Historians Blain Roberts and Ethan Kytle, in their aforementioned examination of Charleston's commemorative landscape, further this assertion as they contend the narratives SPOD members told at historic structures they protected "hid the unseemly side of the city's history." Roberts and Kytle, "Looking the Thing in the Face," 639-684, 672.

[717] The City of Charleston: Tour Guide Training Manual, Compiled and Edited by the Historic Charleston Foundation for the City of Charleston Office of Tourism Management, 2011, 10; Kytle and Roberts, "Is it Okay to Talk about Slaves?" 138.

[718] Kytle and Roberts, "Is it Okay to Talk about Slaves?" 138.

experience for visitors."[719] Not only did the city create an institutional office tasked with overseeing the development of tourism within Charleston, but it also set strict limits on who could become a tour guide and thus represent the public face of the city to the droves of tourists who visited each year. Sections 29 through 58 of the Tourism Ordinance, entitled "Guides," reads as follows; "No person shall act or offer to act as a tour guide unless he or she has first passed a written and an oral examination and is licensed by the city's office of tourism management as a registered tour guide or a temporary tour guide." [720] In order to properly train potential tour guides, the city, in conjunction with the Historic Charleston Foundation, produced a "Tour Guide Training Manual" that provided everything from an historical overview of Charleston, to architectural points of interest, to a street by street building inventory that describes noteworthy historic structures in great detail. In creating a tour guide manual, Charleston likewise fashioned an "official" history of the city that could be tested, certified, and reproduced countless times over.[721]

In fashioning tour guide training programs, Charleston effectively provided its residents with the tools required to sustain the city's aesthetic environment. Meticulously maintaining the garden that is Charleston's historic landscape is an active process that involves scores of people from all levels of society, ordinary citizens to municipal officials. Much of this work, however, can take place away from the gaze of the visitors for whom the garden is created to attract. Not

[719] Tour Guide Training Manual, 482.
[720] Ibid, 483.
[721] It is important to note that although this work examines the training manual released in 2011, the origins of training materials for Charleston guides stretches back to the mid-1970s, while tour guide licensing programs existed as far back as the early 1950s. In 1984, the same year the Tourism Ordinance was passed, historian Robert Stockton created a manual entitled "Information for Guides of Historic Charleston," which updated and expanded upon earlier materials. Though the guide created by Stockton attempted to address the general omission of African American history, it only did so haphazardly because, as Ethan Kytle and Blain Roberts explain, it contained only one chapter that examined black Americans, which de facto segregated the chapter from the predominately white narrative of the city. Tour Guide Training Manual, 4; Kytle and Roberts, "Is it Okay to Talk about Slaves?" 144-45.

only must the scene be set for tourists, but there also needs to exist a coterie of individuals to lead the visitor through the landscape and explain its meaning. In this way, Charleston very much represents what historian W. Fitzhugh Brundage terms a "memory theatre."[722] Tour guides and carriage drivers thus stand on the front lines and ensure that visitors do not get "lost" or stray too far away from the intended path and subsequently catch a glimpse of things painstakingly pushed to the periphery.[723] Extending the metaphor further, if those who work in the tourist trade signify actors on a stage, then the tour guide training and certification programs represent the audition necessary to prove to the director, or those in charge, that one knows "the script." While the creation of an official version of Charleston's history does a great deal to streamline the aesthetic presentation of the city, it works, largely by design, to dramatically constrict the possibility of counter-narratives.

There exists little incentive to alter the images presented to visitors because many in Charleston fear that disturbing a central facet of the city's economy could end in financial ruin. The tourism industry already represented one of the largest employers and generators of wealth throughout the American South by the 1960s, and as the influence of tourist dollars grew with each passing year the impetus for any sort of meaningful change rapidly declined.[724] In Charleston, there developed an ideological closed circuit in which tourists' interests dictated the narratives created and marketed by the city, and the city in turn continued to rely on time-tested images to keep tourists' interests peaked. This circular way of thinking often produced conflict,

[722] Brundage, *The Southern Past*, 225.
[723] To give some sense of scale as to just how many tours are given within the city, the Charleston Tour Guide Training Manual estimates that within one year, 2008, roughly 32,000 carriage tours were conducted. See; Tour Guide Training Manual, 10.
[724] Brundage, *The Southern Past,* 221.

as "mainstream," or official, interpretations of the city's past increasingly met resistance from those who saw historic Charleston as nothing more than a façade.

In an analysis of historical tourism in Charleston, scholars Ethan J. Kytle and Blain Roberts examine the tension that lays at the heart of the city's booming tourist trade. The dozens of tour guides who operate within the city, whether by foot, horse-drawn carriage, or van, offer "highly bifurcated" accounts of the city's history wherein racial narratives rarely overlap.[725] In examining treatments of an area known as "the Battery," for example, Kytle and Roberts assert a majority of tour guides see these as spaces "where a chivalrous and refined society flourished and then met its end," while other guides, mainly those leading black heritage tours, present the same areas as "sites of tragedy and exploitation."[726] In the last eight to ten years, however, the dominant vision of Charleston once peddled to tourists wherein slavery was often ignored or, when mentioned, was expunged of its cruelty has undergone a great deal of change and has thus helped ease some of the tension existing within the city's tourist industry. In their most recent work, Kytle and Roberts argue that by the second decade of the twenty-first century "this dark chapter had become not only a more prominent feature in Charleston's self-presentation–it was a topic that the city finally began treating in an honest and forthright manner." A number of factors such as black empowerment and activism, growing support from municipal officials, and even tourist demands, the authors contend, increasingly challenged whitewashed versions of Charleston's past and led the city to undergo a rigorous process of introspection.[727]

The collective self-reflection taking place in Charleston over the last decade has not only caused residents and city leaders to question prevailing narratives concerning slavery and black

[725] Kytle and Roberts, "Is It Okay to Talk about Slaves?" 138.
[726] Ibid, 138, 145-47.
[727] Kytle and Roberts, *Denmark Vesey's Garden*, 327.

history, but it has also worked to erode the Lost Cause's viability as a framing mechanism through which to interpret the region's past. On December 20, 2010, for example, a group called the Confederate Heritage Trust (CHT) held a Secession Gala at the Gilliard Municipal Auditorium in Charleston, located across the street from the Emmanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church, to commemorate, or rather to celebrate, the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of when South Carolina declared itself an independent republic. In the runup to the event, the CHT's principal organizer, Jeff Antley, argued the Gala was designed to honor the brave souls who steadfastly "stood up for self-government and their rights under the law."[728] On the evening of the event, over three hundred celebrants, many dressed in antebellum attire, entered the auditorium and commenced to dance and drink the night away as they witnessed a reenactment of the 1860 Secession Convention led by some of South Carolina's most prominent politicians.[729]

While on the surface the Secession Gala seemed to represent yet another event that propagated the ideologies and aesthetic of the Lost Cause, a closer examination reveals a starkly different reality. Of the roughly five hundred tickets made available to the public, the CHT only managed to sell about four hundred, and many of those were purchased by reporters and scholars who, according to Kytle and Roberts, wanted "to cover the story, not toast secession."[730] Additionally, the Secession Gala received little to no support from local officials or media outlets and many, including then Mayor Joe Riley, publicly denounced the entire affair. The announcement of the ball and the CHT's insistence that there existed no connection between

[728] Blain Roberts and Ethan J. Kytle. "Dancing Around History," The Opinion Pages, *The New York Times*, December 21, 2010, http://opinionator.blogs.nytimes.com/2010/12/21/dancing-around-history/ and Kytle and Roberts, *Denmark Vesey's Garden*, 321. For quote, see; Kytle and Roberts, *Denmark Vesey's Garden* 424 n.1.
[729] Kytle and Roberts, "Dancing Around History," and Kytle and Roberts, *Denmark Vesey's Garden,* 322-23.
[730] Kytle and Roberts, *Denmark Vesey's Garden*, 323.

secession and slavery, moreover, drew an immense amount of ridicule and ire from a multitude of national pundits and comedians.[731] When compared to similar events held just fifty years prior, during the city's celebration of the Civil War centennial, Kytle and Roberts argue the Secession Gala's lack of support and positive press coverage demonstrated that by 2010 "a commemoration of the Civil War driven by the tenets of the Lost Cause was inconceivable."[732]

In the spring of 2014, the mystique surrounding the Lost Cause suffered another blow when Charleston once again found itself embroiled in controversy and forced to reckon with its Confederate past. In late March of that year, the College of Charleston's Board of Trustees unanimously appointed then Lt. Gov. Glenn McConnell as the school's next president, replacing the retiring P. George Benson. The College's decision went against the wishes, and subsequently sparked protest from, faculty, students, and the local chapter of the NAACP.[733] One reason the appointment proved so unpopular was that McConnell lacked any prior experience in academic administration. The fact that McConnell was appointed to the position over two vastly more qualified candidates made it seem as though the entire hiring process was a charade and, in the end, political connections ultimately trumped professional qualifications.[734] More alarming for opponents of the appointment, however, was McConnell's affection for the Confederacy. In the

[731] Kytle and Roberts, *Denmark Vesey's Garden*, 321-23.
[732] Ibid, 324.
[733] Paul Bowers, "Glenn McConnell chosen as CofC's president over protests from faculty, students," *Charleston City Paper*, March 23, 2014, https://www.charlestoncitypaper.com/TheBattery/archives/2014/03/23/glenn-mcconnell-chosen-as-cofc-president-over-protests-from-faculty-students; W. Scott Poole, "Confederacy of Dunces: College Presidents, Lost Causes and the Abuse of History," *Huffington Post*, April 30, 2014, https://www.huffingtonpost.com/w-scott-poole/confederacy-of-dunces-glenn-mcconnell_b_5241968.html; and Alan Blinder, "Upsetting the Gentility That the South Lays Claim To," *The New York Times*, April 22, 2014, https://www.nytimes.com/2014/04/23/us/for-genteel-college-of-charleston-an-unaccustomed-turmoil.html.
[734] Although McConnell possessed deep ties to the College of Charleston as he was an alumnus who once led the student body, many within the community argued he was the least qualified and experienced of the final three candidates. The other two finalists for the position of president were Martha D. Saunders and Dennis J. "Jody" Encarnation. The former candidate was then serving as Provost of the University of West Florida and the latter was a faculty member at Harvard University. See; Bowers, "Glenn McConnell chosen…," *Charleston City Paper*, March 23, 2014 and Blinder, "Upsetting the Gentility…," *The New York Times*, April 22, 2014.

1990s, McConnell fought tooth and nail to keep the Confederate flag flying atop of the dome of the Statehouse and when he finally acquiesced to its relocation to the Confederate Soldier's Monument just yards away it was largely because top Republicans, including himself, realized the flag was bad for business. In a 2000 interview with the *New York Times* detailing his decision to move the flag, McConnell certainly surprised many a reader when likened himself to General Robert E. Lee surrendering to General Ulysses S. Grant roughly one hundred and thirty-five years prior.[735] Adding fuel to the fire, McConnell displayed a propensity for dressing up in Confederate garb and taking part in reenactments. In September 2010, McConnell found himself in hot water when a photo, taken at a Republican women's conference in Charleston, circulated widely and attracted national attention. In the now notorious photo, McConnell, then a state senator and senate president pro tempore, is dressed as a Confederate officer and is surrounded on either side by two African Americans in period costume. When asked about the photo, which seemed to perpetuate the trope of the faithful slave, McConnell adamantly refused to apologize and, in fact, argued detractors were purposely attempting to distort history in order to achieve their own ends. "It is what it is," McConnell defiantly explained, "We cannot go around sanitizing history or making it in to what we want it to be."[736] Failing to learn a lesson, McConnell was at it again three months later when he attended the infamous CHT Secession Gala and played the role of convention president D. F. Jamison.[737]

McConnell's rather sordid past combined with his lack of qualifications pushed many not only to question the validity of the appointment, but also to actively resist his installment.

---

[735] Poole, "Confederacy of Dunces," *Huffington Post*, April 30, 2014.
[736] Robert Kittle, "S.C. Sen. Glenn McConnell defends wearing Civil War Uniform in photo," *SC Now*, September 17, 2010, https://www.scnow.com/news/state/article_f1674713-6e9b-5319-938e-9f8c355ca38c.html; Bowers, "Glenn McConnell chosen…," *Charleston City Paper*, March 23, 2014; and Poole, "Confederacy of Dunces," *Huffington Post*, April 30, 2014
[737] Kytle and Roberts, *Denmark Vesey's Garden*, 322.

Almost immediately after the Board of Trustees announced their decision, students organized demonstrations and the Faculty Senate declared it had "no confidence" in the college's governing board. Alan Blinder, writing for the *New York Times*, claimed the rancorous debate surrounding McConnell's appointment effectively shattered the serene and genteel façade so often associated with the college and the city of Charleston. An institution, indeed a city, once believed to be quaint and stately, Blinder continued, rather suddenly found itself on the front lines of the nation's culture wars and residents appeared unprepared to deal with the turmoil, discord, and exposure engendered by the incident.

When writing about the McConnell controversy for the *Huffington Post* in late April 2014, Scott Poole satirically quipped that perhaps McConnell and his allies represented the "death rattle" of whatever remained of the Lost Cause in southern society. Even if McConnell and his generation, with their seemingly blind commitment to and belief in Lost Cause ideologies, are relegated to the periphery and cast as antiquarians, Poole posited that many facets of the Lost Cause would not so easily fade from the cultural landscape. The central thrust or objective of the Lost Cause, for example, would remain relatively intact so long as those claiming to fight in the name of political and cultural conservatism rewrote the nation's history in order to legitimize racial, social, and economic inequity. Furthermore, the symbols adherents of the Lost Cause learned to revere would remain ever-present within the nation's cultural milieu until citizens reckoned with their past and not only attempted to understand history, but also continuously and stridently challenged those who would use it to serve insidious ends.[738]

The type of reckoning Poole alluded to in his article came to Charleston much earlier than the author could ever have imagined. Less than fourteen months after Poole published his

[738] Poole, "Confederacy of Dunces," *Huffington Post*, April 30, 2014.

piece, a tragic shooting at Emmanuel AME Church shook Charleston to its core and provided the impetus for swift and dramatic change. The massacre at one of Charleston's oldest and most historically significant churches, more so than any other event in the last two decades, raised some serious questions and prompted a vastly increased level of scrutiny in regards to how the city, and the region more broadly, remembered and commemorated its past.[739] The atrocious act committed on that hot and balmy night in mid-June energized the public as never before and prompted the further development of grassroots activism aimed at expunging the landscape of the very Confederate symbols and iconography that had recently worked to empower and embolden the twenty-one year old gunman responsible for murdering nine of Emmanuel AME's congregants.[740] Equally as important, the shooting also reached into the highest echelons of state government and caused leading officials to do some soul-searching as a debate concerning the place of Confederate symbols within society, a discussion that remained relatively dormant over the previous fifteen years, proceeded with a new sense of urgency and intensity.[741] Just two weeks after the incident, for example, Governor Nikki Haley held an afternoon press conference and called on South Carolina's lawmakers to achieve what once seemed a political impossibility, to remove the Confederate battle flag from the statehouse grounds. [742] Haley's request represented a substantial and a rather abrupt turnaround for a governor who, over the preceding five years, displayed an apathy for and largely skirted addressing the flag issue entirely.[743] The

[739] Kytle and Roberts, *Denmark Vesey's Garden*, 1-2, 338-39.
[740] Andrew Knapp, "9 Killed in attack at Emmanuel AME Church," *The Post and Courier*, June 17, 2015, https://www.postandcourier.com/archives/killed-in-attack-at-emanuel-ame-church/article_ef427af4-3265-543c-a586-c525ee3b051e.html
[741] Cythia Roldan and Schuyler Kropf, "Gov. Nikki Haley joins calls to remove Confederate flag," *The Post and Courier*, June 22, 2015.
[742] Frances Robles, Richard Fausset, and Michael Barbaro, "Nikki Haley, South Carolina Governor, Calls for Removal of Confederate Battle Flag," *The New York Times*, June 22, 2015, https://www.nytimes.com/2015/06/23/us/south-carolina-confederate-flag-dylann-roof.html
[743] Ibid.

personal evolution displayed by Haley's actions were emblematic of a larger and more widespread change occurring within the realm of popular opinion as a result of events at Emmanuel AME. The push for removal and the support it garnered both within the general populace and within the halls of government seemed to usher in a new era and subsequently dealt another critical blow to the viability of the Lost Cause within South Carolina.

On July 10, 2015, less than one month after the deadly attack in Charleston, the Palmetto State finally removed the Confederate battle flag that had flown proudly over the capitol's grounds since it was first hoisted above the Statehouse Dome in 1962 as an act of defiance towards the civil rights movement and the advance of integration.[744] Although horrific, the June 17 shooting did produce a number of positive outcomes as it not only led to a degree of meaningful change, as evinced by the flag's removal, but it also reinvigorated a conversation regarding the meaning and prevalence of Confederate symbols within modern society.[745] Further, in pushing many to more critically examine and then challenge prevailing interpretations of the southern past, the gunman unintentionally accelerated the erosion of the ideological foundations upon which the Lost Cause and its veneration of the Confederacy were built. Although it is extremely unlikely that Confederate symbols and iconography will vanish completely from American culture, one of the strongest blows that can be struck to the Lost Cause is to realize, as Nikki Haley so eloquently put it just days after the attack at Emmanuel AME, that while monuments and flags may remain an integral part of our collective past, they do not need to represent or define our collective future.[746]

---

[744] Roldan and Kropf, "Gov. Nikki Haley…," *The Post and Courier*, June 22, 2015; Kytle and Roberts, *Denmark Vesey's Garden*, 341; and Poole, *Never Surrender*, 197.
[745] Kytle and Roberts, *Denmark Vesey's Garden*, 339, 343-45.
[746] "Transcript: Gov. Nikki Haley of South Carolina on Removing the Confederate Flag," *The New York Times*, June 22, 2015, https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2015/06/22/us/Transcript-Gov-Nikki-R-Haley-of-South-Carolina-Addresses-Removing-the-Confederate-Battle-Flag.html

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Newspapers and Magazines

Atlantic
Charleston Daily Courier
Charleston Mercury
Charleston City Paper
Columbia Banner
Columbia Daily Register
Confederate Baptist
Daily Southern Guardian
Huffington Post
New South
New York Times
News and Courier
Post and Courier

Manuscript Collections and Personal Papers

South Carolina Historical Society, College of Charleston Libraries, Charleston, S. C.
Adele Allston Vanderhorst Papers; Adolph F. C. Cramer Diary, 1865-1868; Allston Family Papers; Ann Elliott Morris Vanderhorst Papers; Augustine Thomas Smythe Papers; Caroline Howard Gilman Papers; Caroline Petigru Carson Papers; Charles Petigru Allston Letters; Diaries of Rev. John Hemphill Simpson, 1861-1866; Edward Laight Wells Papers; Johnson Family Papers; Journal of McCarter, 1860-1866; Ladies' Memorial Association Records, 1866-1916; Langdon Cheves West Papers; Miller Family Letters; Ravenel Family Document Series, 1695-1899; Ravenel Family Papers; Rhett Family Papers; Sketch of the Soldiers Relief Association; and William G. Vardell Letters.

South Carolinian Library, University of South Carolina Libraries, Columbia, S. C.
Alfred B Williams Scrapbook; Papers of the Aiken and Robertson Families; and Records of the Young Ladies Hospital Association.

Additional Primary Source Material

A Young Lady. "An Appeal to Young Soldiers." Published by the South Carolina Tract Society. Charleston, S.C.: Evans and Cogswell, 186-.

Confederate Memorial Day at Charleston, S.C.: Re-internment of the Carolina Dead from Gettysburg. Address of Rev. Dr. Girardeau, Odes, &c. Charleston, S.C.: William G. Mazyck, Printer, 1871.

Elliott, James H. "Are these His Doings?" A Sermon Preached in St. Michael's Church, Charleston, S.C., on The Day of Public Prayer, Wednesday, November 21st, 1860. Charleston, S.C.: Printed by A.E. Miller, 1860.

Elliott, Stephen. "God's Presence with our Army at Manassas!" A Sermon, Preached in Christ Church, Savannah, on Sunday, July 28, 1861. Savannah: W. Thorne Williams, 1861.

*Fort Sumter: Anvil of War; Fort Sumter National Monument, South Carolina (*Handbook 127). Produced by the Division of Publications; National Park Service. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1984 (Reprint 2002).

Gadsden, Christopher P. "Duty to God Not to be Overlooked in Duty to the State," A Sermon Preached at St. Luke's Church, Charleston, S.C., On the Twenty-third Sunday after Trinity, November 11, 1860. Steam-Powered Presses of Evans and Cogswell, 1860.

Hammond, James Henry. "Speech of Hon. James H. Hammond, delivered at Barnwell C.H., October 29th, 1858." Charleston, S.C.: Steam Power Press of Walker Evans & Co., 1858.

His Excellency James H. Adams, Governor of South Carolina, to the Senate and House of Representatives, at the Session of 1855. Columbia, S.C: E.H. Britton & Co., State Printers, 1855.

Holmes, James G. ed. *Memorials to the Memory of Mrs. Mary Amarinthia Snowden: Offered by Societies, Associations and Confederate Camps. Published by the Ladies Memorial Association of Charleston, S. C.* Charleston, S.C.: Walker, Evans & Cogswell Co., Printers, 1898.

Howard, Charleston Wallace. "The Women of the Late War." An Address Delivered in Hibernian Hall, Charleston, SC. February 11, 1874 in Behalf of the Confederate Home, Charleston. Charleston, S.C.: A.J. Burke, 1875.

Lanneau, Fleetwood. *Anniversary Oration Delivered before the Moultrie Guards and their Escort, the Palmetto Guards and College Cadets, at Hibernian Hall, June 28, 1852*. Charleston, S.C.: Steam Power Press of Walker and James, 1853.

Magnolia Cemetery. The Proceedings at the Dedication of the Grounds. To Which Are Appended the Rules, Regulations and Charter of the Company: With a List of Officers and Members of the Board. Charleston, S.C.: Walker and James, 1851.

Memorial Day, May 10th, 1875. Address of Col. B.H. Rutledge. Charleston, S.C.: A.J. Burker, 1875.

Message No. 1 of His Excellency Governor Manning, to the Legislature of South Carolina, at the Session Commencing November 28, 1853. Columbia, S.C.: R.W. Gibbes & Co., State Printers, 1853.

Message No. 1 of His Excellency Governor Means, to the Legislature of South Carolina, at the Session Commencing November 22, 1852. Columbia, S.C.: Printed by Johnson and Cavis, 1852.

Message No. 1 of His Excellency R.F.W. Allston, Governor of South Carolina, to the Senate and House of Representatives, at the Session of 1857. Columbia, S.C.: R.W. Gibbes, State Printer, 1857.

Message No. 1 of His Excellency R.F.W. Allston, Governor of South Carolina, to the Senate and House of Representatives, at the Session of 1858, With Accompanying Documents. Columbia, S.C.: R.W. Gibbes & Co., State Printers, 1858.

Palmer, Benjamin Morgan. *A Discourse Before the General Assembly of South Carolina, on December 10, 1863, Appointed by The Legislature as a Day of Fasting, Humiliation and Prayer* Columbia, S.C.: Charles P. Pelham State Printer, 1864.

Prentiss, William O. "A Sermon Preached at St. Peter's Church, Charleston*"* (Charleston, S.C.: Evans and Cogswell, 1860.

Reed, Edward. "A People Saved by the Lord," A Sermon Delivered at Flat Rock, July 28, 1861 Charleston, S.C: Evans & Cogswell, 1861.

Religious Tract Society. *The Constitution of the Religious Tract Society of Charleston, South Carolina: Accompanied by a Circular Address*. Charleston, S.C.: Printed for the Society by J. Hoff, 1815.

South Carolina Tract Society. *The Soldier's Hymn Book*. Charleston, S.C.: Evans and Cogswell, 1863.

Slaughter, Philip. "A Sketch of the Life of Randolph Fairfax: A Private of the Rockbridge Artillery, attached to the "Stonewall Brigade" and subsequently to the 1st Regt. Va. Light Artillery, 2nd Corps, Army of Northern Virginia; Including a Brief Account of Jackson's Celebrated Valley Campaign." Richmond, Va.: Tyler, Allegre and McDaniel, 1864.

The City of Charleston: Tour Guide Training Manual. Compiled and Edited by the Historic Charleston Foundation for the City of Charleston Office of Tourism Management. Charleston, S.C.: City of Charleston, 2011.

The Official Charleston Area Visitors Guide. Charleston, S.C.: The Charleston Area Convention & Visitors Bureau, 2014.

The South Carolina Monument Association: Origin, History and Work, *with an Account of the Proceedings at the Unveiling of the Monument to the Confederate Dead; and the Oration of Gen. John S. Preston at Columbia, S.C. May 13, 1879*. Edited by the Recording Secretary of the Association, and Published through the Courtesy of the Proprietors of the News and Courier, Charleston, S.C. Charleston, S.C.: The News and Courier Book Presses, 1879.

Quintard, Charles Todd. "Balm for the Weary and the Wounded." Columbia, S.C.: Evans and Cogswell, Printers, 1864.

Secondary Sources

Alderson, Robert. "Charleston's Rumored Slave Revolt of 1793." In *The Impact of the Haitian Revolution in the Atlantic World,* edited by Davis P. Geggus. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2011.

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism.* London: Verso, 1983.

Andrew, Jr., Ron. *Wade Hampton: Confederate Warrior to Southern Redeemer*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008.

Angrosino, Michael. "Civil Religion Redux." *Anthropological Quarterly* Vol. 75 No. 2 (Spring 2002): 239-67.

Aron, Cindy S. *Working at Play: A History of Vacations in the United States*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Bass, Jack, and W. Scott Poole. eds., *The Palmetto State: The Making of Modern South Carolina*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2009.

Begley, Paul R. "Perry, Benjamin Franklin." In *The South Carolina Encyclopedia*, edited by Walter Edgar. Columbia: The University of South Carolina Press, 2009.

Bellah, Robert N. "Civil Religion in America." In *Religion in America*, edited by William G. McLoughlin and Robert N. Bellah. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1969.

———. *The Broken Covenant: American Civil Religion in a Time of Trial*. New York: The Seaberry Press, 1975.

Bennett, William W. *A Narrative of the Great Revival Which Prevailed in the Southern Armies During the Late Civil War Between the States of the Federal Union*. Harrisonburg: Sprinkle Publications, 1989.

Berends, Kurt O. "'Wholesome Reading Purifies and Elevates the Man:' The Religious Military Press in the Confederacy." In *Religion and the American Civil War*, edited by Randall M. Miller, Harry S. Stout, and Charles Reagan Wilson. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.

———. "Confederate Sacrifice and the 'Redemption' of the South." In *Religion in the American South: Protestants and Others in History and Culture*, edited by Beth Schwinger and Donald G. Mathews. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004.

Bair, William A. *Cities of the Dead: Contesting the Memory of the Civil War in the South, 1865 1914.* Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004.

Bland, Sidney R. "Susan Pringle Frost." In *The South Carolina Encyclopedia*, edited by Walter Edgar. Columbia: The University of South Carolina Press, 2009.

Blight, David W. *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory*. Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2001.

Blum, Edward J. *Reforging the White Republic: Race, Religion, and American Nationalism, 1865-1898.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2005.

Boumani, Patricia U. *Under the Cope of Heaven: Religion, Society, and Politics in Colonial America.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

Brennan, Pat. "Secessionville, Battle of." In *The South Carolina Encyclopedia*, edited by Walter Edgar. Columbia: The University of South Carolina Press, 2009.

Brundage, W. Fitzhugh. *The Southern Past: A Clash of Race and Memory.* Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005.

Chesebrough, David B., ed. *God Ordained this War: Sermons on the Sectional Crisis, 1830 1850.* Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1991.

Clarke, Erskine. "Girardeau, John LaFayette." In *The South Carolina Encyclopedia*, edited by Walter Edgar. Columbia: The University of South Carolina Press, 2009.

Cobb, James. *Away Down South: A History of Southern Identity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Cocks, Catherine. *Doing the Town: The Rise of Urban Tourism in the United States, 1850-1915*. Berkeley: The University of California Press, 2001.

Connelly, Thomas L. and Barbara L. Bellows. *God and General Longstreet: The Lost Cause and the Southern Mind.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982.

Cox, John D. *Traveling South: Travel Narratives and the Construction of American Identity*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2005.

Cox, Karen L. *Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003.

———. "Introduction." In *Destination Dixie: Tourism & Southern History*, edited by Karen L. Cox. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2012.

Craven, Avery O. *The Growth of Southern Nationalism, 1848-1861.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1953.

Cronon, William. *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1991.

Davis, David Brion. *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Emancipation.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2014.

Davis, Andrew P. "Temporal Defeat, Divine Victory: The Origins of the Religion of the Lost Cause, 1860-1870." Master's thesis, The College of Charleston and The Citadel: The Military College of South Carolina, 2012.

Dew, Charles B. *Apostles of Disunion: Southern Secession Commissioners and the Causes of the Civil War*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2001.

Doyle, Don H. *Nations Divided: America, Italy, and the Southern Question*. Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2002.

Edgar, Walter. *South Carolina: A History.* Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1998.

Eicher, David J. *The Longest Night: A Military History of the Civil War*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2001.

Faust, Drew Gilpin. *James Henry Hammond and the Old South: A Design for Mastery*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982.

———. *The Creation of Confederate Nationalism: Ideology and Identity in the Civil War South.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988.

———. *Mothers of Invention: Women of the Slaveholding South in the American Civil War.* Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996.

———. *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2008.

Fields, Barbara Jeanne. "Slavery, Race, and Ideology in the United States of America." *New Left Review* 181 (May/June 1990): 95-118.

Fodor's: The Carolinas and Georgia. New York: Fodor's Travel, 2015.

Foner, Eric. *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party Before the Civil War.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.

——*Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877.* New York: Harper Perennial, 2014.

Ford, Jr., Lacy K. *Origins of Southern Radicalism: The South Carolina Upcountry, 1800-1860.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.

Foster, Gaines M. *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865-1913.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.

Fox-Genovese, Elizabeth, and Eugene D. Genovese. *The Mind of the Master Class: History and Faith in the Southern Slaveholders' Worldview.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

French, Stanley. "The Cemetery as a Cultural Institution: The Establishment of Mount Auburn And the 'Rural Cemetery' Movement." In *Death in America*, edited by David E. Stannard. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1975.

Gallagher, Gary W. *The Confederate War: How Popular Will, Nationalism, and Military Strategy Could Not Stave Off Defeat.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997.

Gilllin, Kate Côté. *Shrill Hurrahs: Women, Gender, and Racial Violence in South Carolina, 1865-1900*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2013.

Goldfield, David. *America Aflame: How the Civil War Created a Nation*. New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2011.

Gurly, Robert. "Preservation Society of Charleston." In *The South Carolina Encyclopedia*, edited by Walter Edgar. Columbia: The University of South Carolina Press, 2009.

Hatch, Nathan O. *The Sacred Cause of Liberty: Republican Thought and the Millennium in Revolutionary New England*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977.

Hegel, G.W.F. *On Art, Religion and the History of Philosophy: Introductory Lectures*. Edited by J. Glenn Gray. Indianapolis: Hackett, 1997.

Heyrman, Christine Leigh. *Southern Cross: The Beginnings of the Bible Belt.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1998.

Hosmer, Charles B. *Preservation Comes of Age: From Williamsburg to the National Trust, 1926-1949, Volume I*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1981.

Howe, Daniel Walker. *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815-1848.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Huff, Jr., A.V. "Capers, William." In *The South Carolina Encyclopedia*, edited by Walter Edgar. Columbia: The University of South Carolina Press, 2009.

Hunter, Lloyd A. "The Immortal Confederacy: Another Look at Lost Cause Religion," in *The Myth of he Lost Cause and Civil War History*, edited by Gary W. Gallagher and Alan T. Nolan. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000.

Irons, Charles F. *The Origins of Proslavery Christianity: White and Black Evangelicals in Colonial and Antebellum Virginia.* Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008.

Isaac, Rhys. *The Transformation of Virginia: 1740-1790.* Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1982.

Jakle, John A. *The Tourist: Travel in Twentieth-Century North America*. Lincoln: The University of Nebraska Press, 1985.

Janney, Caroline. *Burying the Dead but Not the Past: Ladies' Memorial Associations and the Lost Cause*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008.

——*Remembering the Civil War: Reunion and the Limits of Reconciliation*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2013.

Johnson, Kristina Dunn. *No Holier Spot of Ground: Confederate Monuments and Cemeteries of South Carolina.* Charleston: The History Press, 2009.

Johnson, Walter. *River of Dark Dreams: Slavery and Empire in the Cotton Kingdom.* Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2013.

Kammen, Michael. *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1991.

Kelly, Joseph. *America's Longest Siege: Charleston, Slavery, and the Slow March Toward Civil War.* New York: The Overlook Press, 2013.

Kramnick, Isaac, and R. Laurence Moore. *The Godless Constitution: A Moral Defense of the Secular State.* New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2005.

Kytle, Ethan J. and Blaine Roberts. *Denmark Vesey's Garden: Slavery and Memory in the Cradle of the Confederacy*. New York: The New Press, 2018.

———. "'Is it Okay to Talk about Salves?' Segregating the Past in historic Charleston." In *Destination Dixie: Tourism and Southern History*, edited by Karen L. Cox. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2012.

Laderman, Gary. *The Sacred Remains: American Attitudes Toward Death, 1799-1883.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996.

Lesesne, Henry H. "Gary, Martin Witherspoon." In *The South Carolina Encyclopedia*, edited by Walter Edgar. Columbia: The University of South Carolina Press, 2009.

Makdesi, Ussama. *The Culture of Sectarianism: Community, History, and Violence in Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Lebanon.* Berkley: University of California Press, 2000.

Marshall, Anne E. *Creating a Confederate Kentucky: The Lost Cause and Civil War Memory in a Border State.* Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2010.

Marrs, Aaron W. "Historic Charleston Foundation." In *The South Carolina Encyclopedia*, edited by Walter Edgar. Columbia: The University of South Carolina Press, 2009.

Mathews, Donald G. *Religion in the Old South.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1977.

McCardell, John. *The Idea of a Southern Nation: Southern Nationalists and Southern Nationalism, 1830-1860.* New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1979.

McCurry, Stephanie. *Masters of Small Worlds: Yeoman Households, Gender Relations, & the Political Culture of the Antebellum South Carolina Low Country.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.

———. *Confederate Reckoning: Power and Politics in the Civil War South.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2010.

McPherson James. *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988.

Mead, Sidney E. "The Nation with the Soul of a Church." In *American Civil Religion,* edited by Russell E. Richey and Donald G. Jones. New York: Harper and Row, 1974.

Moore, John H. "Columbia." In *The South Carolina Encyclopedia*, edited by Walter Edgar. Columbia: The University of South Carolina Press, 2009.

Morekis, Jim. *Moon South Carolina*. Berkley, C.A.: Avalon Travel, 2015.

Neff, John R. *Honoring the Civil War Dead: Commemoration and the Problem of Reconciliation*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2005.

Newman, Simon P. *Parades and the Politics of the Street: Festive Culture in the Early American Republic*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997.

Nolan, Alan T. "The Anatomy of a Myth." In *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History*, edited by Gary W. Gallagher and Alan T. Nolan. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000.

Noll, Mark A. *The Civil War as a Theological Crisis*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006.

Osterweis, Rollin G. *The Myth of the Lost Cause, 1865-1900*. Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1973.

Ownby, Ted. "Nobody Knows the Troubles I've Seen, but Does Anybody Want to Hear about Them When They're on Vacation?" In *Southern Journeys: Tourism, History, and Culture in the Modern South*, edited by Richard D. Starnes. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2003.

Parsons, Elaine Frantz. *Ku Klux: The Birth of the Klan during Reconstruction*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2015.

Pencak, William. "Introduction: A Historical Perspective." In *Riot and Revelry in Early America*, edited by William Pencak, Matthew Dennis, and Simon P. Newman. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002.

Perry, Lee Davis. *Insider's Guide to Charleston: Including Mount Pleasant, Summerville, Kiawah, and Other Islands, 14th Edition.* Guilefort, Conn.: Globe Pequot, 2015.

Phillips, Jason. *Diehard Rebels: The Confederate Culture of Invincibility*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2007.

Pollard, Edward Alfred. *The Lost Cause: A New Southern History of the War of the Confederates.* New York: E.B. Treat & Co., 1867.

Poole, W. Scott. *Never Surrender: Confederate Memory and Conservatism in the South Carolina Upcountry*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2004.

Potter, David M. *The Impending Crisis: America Before the Civil War, 1848-1861.* New York: Harper Perennial, 1976.

Quigley, Paul. *Shifting Grounds: Nationalism and the American South, 1848-1865.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Rable, George C. *God's Almost Chosen Peoples: A Religious History of the American Civil War.* Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2010.

———. *Damn Yankees! Demonization and Defiance in the Confederate South*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2015.

Richey, Russell E., and Donald G. Jones, eds., *American Civil Religion.* New York: Harper and Row, 1974

Richardson, James D. *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Confederacy: Including the Diplomatic Correspondence, 1861-1865*. Nashville: United States Publishing Company, 1905, via The Avalon Project: Documents in Law, History and Diplomacy. Yale Law School, Lillian Goldman Law Library. http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/csa_csainau.asp

Roberts, Blaine and Ethan J. Kytle. "Looking the Thing in the Face: Slavery, Race, and the Commemorative Landscape in Charleston, South Carolina, 1865-2010." In *The Journal of Southern History* 78 (August 2012): 639-84.

Rose, Willie Lee. *Rehearsal for Reconstruction: The Port Royal Experiment*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1964.

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. *On the Social Contract*. Edited by Roger D. Masters. Translated by Judith R. Masters. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1978.

Rubin, Anne Sarah. *A Shattered Nation: The Rise and Fall of the Confederacy, 1861-1868.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005.

Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books, 1978.

Schantz, Mark S. *Awaiting the Heavenly Country: The Civil War and America's Culture of Death.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008.

Sears, John F. *Sacred Places: American Tourist Attractions in the Nineteenth Century*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Sellers, Charles. *The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815-1846*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Sepinwall, Alyssa Goldstein. "The Specter of Saint-Domingue: American and French Reactions to the Haitian Revolution." In *The World of the Haitian Revolution*, edited by David Patrick Geggus and Norman Fiering. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009.

Shattuck, Jr., Gardiner H. *A Shield and a Hiding Place: The Religious Life of the Civil War Armies*. Macon: Mercer University Press, 1987.

Silber, Nina. *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865-1900.* Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1993.

———. *Gender and the Sectional Conflict.* Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008.

Silver, James W. *Confederate Morale and Church Propaganda.* New York: W.W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1957.

Silkenat, David. *Raising the White Flag: How Surrender Defined the American Civil War.* Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2019.

Smith, Mark M. *The Smell of Battle, the Taste of Siege: A Sensory History of the Civil War.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.

Snay, Mitchel. *Gospel of Disunion: Religion and Separatism in the Antebellum South.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Stampp, Kenneth M. *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956.

Starnes, Richard D. "Introduction." In *Southern Journeys: Tourism, History, and Culture in the Modern South,* edited by Richard D. Starnes. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2003.

Stout, Harry S. *Upon the Altar of the Nation: A Moral History of the Civil War.* New York: Penguin Books, 2006.

The Revised English Bible with the Apocrypha. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Thomas, Emory M. *The Confederate Nation, 1861-1865.* New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1979.

Tise, Larry Edward, "J.W. Tucker." In Dictionary of North Carolina Biography, edited by William S. Powell. Copyright © 1979-1996. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press; found on *Documenting the American South* (DocSouth), University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, https://docsouth.unc.edu/imls/tucker1/bio.html.

Travers, Len. "The Paradox of 'Nationalist' Festivals: The Case of Palmetto Day in Antebellum Charleston." In *Riot and Revelry in Early America*, edited by William Pencak, Matthew Dennis, and Simon P. Newman. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002.

Waldstreicher, David. *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes: The Making of American Nationalism, 1776-1820*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1997.

Walther, Eric H. *The Fire Eaters*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992.

Wilentz, Sean. *The Rise of American Democracy: Jefferson to Lincoln*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2005.

Wiley, Bell Irvin. *The Life of Johnny Reb: The Common Soldiers of the Confederacy.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978.

Wilson, Charles Regan. *Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause, 1865-1920.* Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1980.

Wilson, John F. "A Historian's Approach to Civil Religion. In *American Civil Religion,* edited by Russell E. Richey and Donald G. Jones. New York: Harper and Row, 1974.

Wise, Stephen R., Lawrence S. Roland, and Gerhard Spieler. *Rebellion, Reconstruction, and Redemption, 1861-1893: The History of Beaufort County, South Carolina, Volume 2*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2015.

Woodward, C. Vann. ed. *Mary Chestnut's Civil War*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 198.

Yuhl, Stephanie E. *A Golden Haze of Memory: The Making of Historic Charleston*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2005.

Zuczek, Richard. *State of Rebellion: Reconstruction in South Carolina*. Columbia: The University of South Carolina Press, 1996.

VITA

EDUCATION

[2012] MA, The College of Charleston and The Citadel, The Military College of South Carolina, Charleston, SC

[2010] BA, *cum laude*, The State University of New York at Binghamton, Binghamton NY

AWARDS

[2012] Outstanding Graduate Student Award, College of Charleston, Department of History

[2012] Graduate Student Presentation Grant, The Graduate School, College of Charleston

[2012] Best Poster Award, Sixth Annual Graduate Student Research Poster Session, The Graduate School, College of Charleston

[2010] Binghamton University Foundation Award, Judaic Studies Award

PRESENTATIONS

[2017] "An Errand Bestowed: Building and Maintaining a Confederate Civil Religion," South Carolina Historical Association Annual Conference

[2016] "Tethered to the Past: Charleston and the Aesthetic of the Lost Cause," University of Mississippi History Colloquium

[2015] "A Nineteenth Century Crusade: Confederate Christians versus Yankee Infidels," Indiana University Interdisciplinary Graduate Student Conference

[2012] "Onward Christian Soldiers: Religious Popular Print and Combat Motivation in The Army of the Confederacy, 1863-65," Boston College Biennial Conference On the History of Religion

[2011] "The Devil's Helpmate: The Study of Witchcraft in Colonial New England," South Carolina Historical Association Annual Conference

[2011] “Sowing the Seeds of Revolt: The Unintended Consequences of the King-Crane Commission,” College of Charleston Graduate Colloquium

BOOK REVIEWS

[2017] *Pure Heart: The Faith of a Father and Son in the War for a More Perfect Union*, by William F. Quigley, *Civil War Monitor*, October 2017.

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

[Fall 2016-Spring 2019] Graduate Instructor, University of Mississippi, Department of History

[Fall 2016-Fall 2018] Instructor, University of Mississippi, Center for Student Success & First Year Experience

[Fall 2013-Fall 2016] Tutor, University of Mississippi, FedEx Student-Athlete Academic Support Center

[Fall 2012-Spring 2016] Teaching Assistant, University of Mississippi, Department of History