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“A WAR OF IDEAS:” L.Q.C. LAMAR AND AMERICAN POLITICAL THOUGHT

A Thesis
presented in partial fulfillment
for the degree of Master of Arts in History
Arch Dalrymple III Department of History
The University of Mississippi

ASHLEY STEENSON

May 2020

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ABSTRACT

This thesis connects late nineteenth-century southern Democrat and former Confederate L.Q.C. Lamar to the status politics of the Northeastern “small imperialist elite.” Moreover, this work traces Senator, Secretary of the Interior, and Associate Justice Lamar’s legacies in American political thought, such as a regional memorialization and the example of his national influence through the policies of President Theodore Roosevelt specifically. Though he inspired generations of politicians with varying views, Lamar himself maintained a strict constructionist political philosophy and worked for home rule throughout his career. Scholars argue for Lamar as a moderate symbol of national reconciliation due to his eulogy for Charles Sumner or as a master manipulator of innocent Northern politicians. I specifically challenge moderate interpretations by illustrating Lamar’s lifelong commitment to states’ rights and work to ensure southern home rule. This scholarship also brings into question the findings of revisionist scholars through showing that rather than manipulating Northern elites, Lamar appealed to them through his self-fashioning as an intellectual or “philosopher-statesman” who was above corruption. Though Mississippians continued to associate Lamar with slavery and secession following his death in 1893, the senator is for the most part honored nationally as a centrist or progressive and as separate from sectional concerns.

DEDICATION

To my mom, Laura Allen,
and my grandmother, Ann Joiner,
I appreciate your time and advice.
Thank you for your love and support.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Scholars from varying fields of expertise provided academic mentorship and guidance throughout the completion of this project. Dr. Ted Ownby, Dr. Rebecca Marchiel, and Dr. Jarod Roll made up my thesis committee. Dr. Ted Ownby, William Winter Professor of History and Professor of Southern Studies, chaired the committee. As a historian of southern culture, religion, and intellectual life, Dr. Ownby provided the context from Mississippi history necessary to understand L.Q.C. Lamar's political ideas. Dr. Rebecca Marchiel, Assistant Professor of History and expert in post-World War II public policy, advised this work over an extended period of time, encouraging a stronger focus on the national reunion following the Civil War and the effects of Lamar's policies on American politics as a whole. Dr. Jarod Roll, Associate Professor of History with a specialty in American labor, contributed to this work through his knowledge of southern politics from Reconstruction to the Progressive era. Dr. Eva Payne, Assistant Professor of History, generously took the time to read sections of this thesis and has helped deepen my understanding of issues relating to gender during the Progressive era. Dr. Matthew Fitzsimmons, University of North Alabama Associate Professor of Philosophy and Program Director, acted as my undergraduate advisor and has served as an invaluable academic mentor for this project. His courses and scholarship on late nineteenth-century American philosophy and critical theory influenced both the theoretical framework of this thesis and my selection of historical subjects.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iv
INTRODUCTION.....	1
Part I: “The Philosopher-Statesman:” L.Q.C. Lamar, Henry Adams, and National Reconciliation.....	3
CHAPTER I.....	11
CHAPTER II.....	26
Part II: Triumph and Wretchedness: The Legacies of L.Q.C. Lamar.....	40
CHAPTER III.....	42
CHAPTER IV.....	51
CONCLUSION.....	57
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	61
VITA.....	69

INTRODUCTION

In his 1874 eulogy for Republican Senator Charles Sumner, Mississippi Democrat L.Q.C.

Lamar spoke,

Let us hope that future generations, when they remember the deeds of heroism and devotion done on both sides, will speak...of the heroism, fortitude, and courage of Americans in a war of ideas; a war in which each section signaled its consecration to the principles, as each understood them, of American liberty and of the constitution received from their fathers.¹

Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus Lamar was an obscure conservative intellectual from Georgia and Mississippi who had a hand in secession and Civil War, Appomattox and its aftermath, southern recalcitrance in Reconstruction, and the organization of the Western territories, ending his career with a brief tenure on the highest court in the land. He remained loyal to “the principles, as [he] understood them, of American liberty” as a disciple of a states’ rights political doctrine throughout his life, continually adapting his political strategy to achieve home rule and sectional gain. Lamar explained, “I know well the end I have in view, but I am not equally confident of my means.”² In 1896, a University of Mississippi student wrote that southerners like Lamar were “invisible in war” but “invincible in peace.”³ Many scholars have argued that though the confederacy was brutally defeated in the Civil War, politicians like Lamar emerged victorious in

¹ L.Q.C. Lamar, “The Eulogy of Sumner,” in *Southern Prose and Poetry for Schools*, ed. Edwin Mims and Bruce R. Payne (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1910), 369, Electronic Edition, accessed April 23, 2019, Library of Southern Literature Collection, Documenting the American South, University of North Carolina Chapel Hill Libraries, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, <https://docsouth.unc.edu/southlit/mims/mims.html>.

² *L.Q.C. Lamar to E.D. Clark*, March 30, 1877, DC to Vicksburg, L.Q.C. Lamar Collection, Box 1, Folder 23, University of Mississippi Libraries, Oxford, Mississippi.

³ W. Lane Austin, “Senator Lamar,” *University of Mississippi Magazine* 20 no. 6, (April 1896): 2, University of Mississippi Libraries, Oxford, Mississippi.

the fight for states' rights and home rule during Reconstruction and the following years. A year after the Sumner eulogy, conservatives regained control of the Mississippi state government.⁴ Furthermore, Lamar played a part in the Compromise of 1877 which ended in the full removal of federal troops from the South. Historian Joel Williamson explains that in the following decade, "an unwritten contract was made in which the South exchanged 'home rule' for the surrender of economic and political power in the nation." L.Q.C. Lamar was a key "architect" of the deal, as the congressman had come "to personify a South that could be trusted."⁵ The first part of this work consists of two chapters, on Lamar's reputation as a scholar or intellectual and his appeal to upper-crust sectors of New England respectively. Part II examines Lamar's memory in Mississippi through a third chapter and a national memorialization of the politician which distanced him from war and sectionalism in the final chapter. Taken together, the two sections present Lamar as an original political thinker and intellectual with nuanced beliefs and legacies that held mixed effects for future generations.

⁴ Donald H. Doyle, *Faulkner's County: The Historical Roots of Yoknapatawpha* (London and Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 290.

⁵ Joel Williamson, *William Faulkner and Southern History* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 156.

PART I

“The Philosopher-Statesman:” L.Q.C. Lamar, Henry Adams, and National Reconciliation

In Henry Adams’ autobiography, the historian and great-grandson of President John Adams wrote praises to his friend, the Mississippi politician L.Q.C. Lamar. Adams called him “one of the calmest, most reasonable and most amiable Union men” in the nation, which must have been why Confederate president Jefferson Davis sent him abroad as minister to Russia.⁶ Earlier in *The Education of Henry Adams*, the historian famously described even the most genteel southerner as having “no mind,” only “temperament:” “When a Virginian had brooded a few days over an imaginary grief and substantial whiskey, none of his Northern friends could be sure that he might not be waiting, round the corner, with a knife or pistol.”⁷ After all, Lamar did draft the Mississippi Secession Ordinance of 1860 which officially cut ties with the Union in defense of slavery.

In his 1955 book *Profiles in Courage*, Senator John F. Kennedy chose to include a section on Lamar, author of the secession document as well as the 1874 eulogy to the Republican Charles Sumner. Kennedy wrote, “Democrats and Republicans alike, battle-scarred veterans of the Civil War and the violence of politics, sat in somber silence, as they listened to the urgent entreaties of the Freshman Congressman from Mississippi.”⁸ One newspaper claimed the eulogy

⁶ Henry Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams: An Autobiography* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1918), 150.

⁷ Adams, 47-48.

⁸ John F. Kennedy, *Profiles in Courage* (New York: Harper, 1955), 152.

“transfixed...everyone present in the House.”⁹ Members of the U.S. Congress were moved to tears as the former Confederate colonel eulogized the abolitionist senator from Boston. Lamar spoke, “Would that the spirit of the illustrious dead whom we lament today could speak from the grave to both parties...: My countrymen! know one another, and you will love one another!”¹⁰ Considering the depictions of L.Q.C. Lamar in *The Education* and *Profiles in Courage*, the historical question arises as to what exactly about a former Confederate Colonel and slaveholder from Mississippi appealed to elite Northeasterners like Henry Adams?

Through an examination of letters, newspaper articles, literature, and autobiography, among other sources, this section argues that L.Q.C. Lamar used his reputation as an intellectual or “philosopher-statesman” to appeal to individuals like Henry Adams and his contemporaries.¹¹ The image of Lamar taken up by Adams and later Kennedy was the direct result of self-fashioning by the Mississippi politician. After the Civil War, though his lofty rhetoric often appealed to reconciliation and forgiveness, Lamar worked actively to secure southern home rule. Lamar, like many members of the Northeastern imperialist elite, held paternalistic views on race and remained critical of direct democracy in general. His views on gender were at times exceptional for the nineteenth century and at others representative of dominant Victorian conventions. Despite the contradictions in Lamar’s thought, late in the politician’s career and

⁹ “Historical Scene,” *Indiana Farmer* (Richmond), June 13, 1874, Indiana Farmer Collection, eArchives, Purdue University Libraries, West Lafayette, Indiana, accessed August 20, 2019, <http://earchives.lib.purdue.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/ifarm/id/3632/rec/1>.

¹⁰ L.Q.C. Lamar, “The Eulogy of Sumner,” in *Southern Prose and Poetry for Schools*, ed. Edwin Mims and Bruce R. Payne (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1910), 371, Electronic Edition, accessed April 23, 2019, Library of Southern Literature Collection, Documenting the American South, University of North Carolina Chapel Hill Libraries, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, <https://docsouth.unc.edu/southlit/mims/mims.html>.

¹¹ On “self-fashioning,” see Mary Kelley’s “Reading Women/Women Reading” (1996): “They made reading a vehicle for what the Renaissance scholar Stephen Greenblatt has called self-fashioning: the achievement of a distinctive personality, a particular address to the world, a way of acting and thinking” (403).

after his death in 1893, his reputation as a great statesman and moderate national conciliator persisted.

In a society unmoored by war, industrialization, and political instability, both Northeastern and southern elites turned to ideas and images from the classics and early republic during the late nineteenth century. As part of this larger trend, Henry Adams and other writers mythologized the South as a classical and learned society to critique the growing industry and unbridled capitalism of the Northeast. Adams and other members of what historian Richard Hofstadter calls the “small imperialist elite” were either indifferent to Lamar’s beliefs or able to accept them on some level due to ideologies they shared with many populists as well as southern Democrats. Hofstadter lists these ideas as militarism, nativism, conspiratorial thinking, a “hatred of big businessmen, bankers, and trusts,” and some degree of anti-Semitism or other form of prejudice.¹² This group of elites mourned not any real loss of opportunity in society but a loss of “status,” as America became less individualistic and more anonymous or impersonal.¹³ In this context, the North and South reunified through the imperialist ideas of figures like Theodore Roosevelt along with the widespread popularity of erroneous racial and eugenicist theories. Though this research is indebted to the historian C. Vann Woodward, in this way, it also challenges his conception of an exceptional South following the Civil War. For Adams, grappling with “the southern question” was part of being an American. Since childhood, he was

¹² Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F.D.R.* (New York: Random House, 1955), 91-93. See also Alan Brinkley’s “Richard Hofstadter’s the Age of Reform: A Reconsideration” (1985). On Adams’ anti-Semitism, see J. C. Levenson’s “The Etiology of Israel Adams” (1994).

¹³ Hofstadter, 135-136. In considering Adams and the intellectual communities of the Northeast, Hofstadter applies ideas about the psychological motives behind political beliefs from Sigmund Freud and Theodor Adorno to the Mugwump types or displaced elites which he believed were the first progressives. For works challenging rational choice theory and emphasizing the psychological motives behind political beliefs, see Theodor Adorno’s “Freudian Theory and the Pattern of Fascist Propaganda” (1951), his and Max Horkheimer’s *The Dialectic of Enlightenment* (1947), and Richard Hofstadter’s *The Paranoid Style in American Politics* (1964). On critical theory and American political thought, see Martin Jay’s *The Dialectical Imagination* (1973) and David Jenemann’s *Adorno in America* (2007).

intrigued by the history of early America and figures like George Washington, which he described in the 1880 novel *Democracy* and his autobiography. As a result, he attempted to reconcile his admiration for southern statesmen like Washington and Thomas Jefferson with the problems of their region, namely slavery. Though less worshipful of early America than Adams, Henry James also advanced a similar critique of Gilded Age culture through the inclusion of a former Confederate protagonist from Mississippi in his 1886 novel *The Bostonians*. On the surface, it may seem paradoxical that Adams, known to venerate tradition more than James, would see something reminiscent of the early American republic in L.Q.C. Lamar, a proponent of the New South. Nonetheless, Lamar managed to uphold his reputation as a supporter of industry while remaining one of Adams' "statesmen of the old type" in the public imagination.¹⁴ To understand Lamar's political strategy to appeal to elite Americans like Adams, a genealogy of his self-fashioning as an intellectual or philosopher-statesman is followed by examples from Adams' writing which show the ways this image resonated with the historian and similar public figures like George Hoar and Henry James.¹⁵

The term philosopher-statesman, used in an article from the *Omaha Herald*, is representative of the persona Lamar strove to create and uphold as part of his national political strategy: "The philosopher-statesman of Mississippi may be 'a dreamer,' as he is sometimes called by the politicians; but...he is a dreamer of very practical dreams."¹⁶ On one level, the article shows how the nation reunified in a way that was sympathetic to the former Confederate

¹⁴ Henry Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams: An Autobiography* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1918), 279.

¹⁵ See Friedrich Nietzsche's *On the Genealogy of Morality* (1887), Nancy Fraser and Linda Gordon's "A Genealogy of Dependency" (1994), and Cornel West's *The American Evasion of Philosophy* (1989).

¹⁶ *Omaha Herald*, September 29, 1885 in Edward Mayes, *Lucius Q.C. Lamar, His Life, Times, and Speeches, 1825-1893* (Nashville, TN: Pub. House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1896), 491.

through an association of the South with high culture instead of the horrors of slavery and the failed war to protect it. Furthermore, in *The Education*, Adams praised both Lamar and Charles Sumner as “statesmen of the old type.” He contrasted them with “the stage-type of statesman,” an insult aimed at Republicans like the New York Senator Roscoe Conkling.¹⁷ Adams’ remarks could also apply to figures like James G. Blaine, Republican senator, Speaker of the House during the Sumner eulogy, presidential candidate, and secretary of state.¹⁸ Blaine was known to be corrupt, and he was reviled by many southern Democrats as well as the small imperialist elite. James Blaine espoused a similar expansionism to that of Adams and his contemporaries, but these displaced elites loathed blatant corruptness in politics and therefore disapproved of the senator. After Blaine received the 1884 presidential nomination to run against the Democrat Grover Cleveland, Theodore Roosevelt stormed out of the convention and gave a statement in objection to his party’s nominee.¹⁹

This research makes original contributions to the scholarly literature on both the national reconciliation and L.Q.C. Lamar. First, scholars have previously focused on the national reunion which occurred from Reconstruction through the Progressive era in studies of Redeemer politics and the Spanish-American War or War of 1898.²⁰ This work supports these studies and intervenes through an attempt to understand the shared ideologies of elites across sectional lines as an intellectual wing of the reconciliation. In 1907, the historian William Dunning wrote that Lamar’s eulogy of Charles Sumner facilitated the “intellectual and spiritual reunion of the

¹⁷ Henry Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams: An Autobiography* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1918), 279.

¹⁸ On Blaine, see Edward P. Crapol’s *James G. Blaine* (1999), David Healy’s *James G. Blaine and Latin America* (2002), and Neil Rolde’s *Continental Liar from the State of Maine* (2006).

¹⁹ Henry F. Pringle, *Theodore Roosevelt: A Biography* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1931), 85.

²⁰ On reunion and reconciliation as a theme or device, see David W. Blight’s *Race and Reunion* (2001). Also see Louis A. Pérez Jr.’s *The War of 1898* (2000).

sections.”²¹ The presence of southern ideologies in political and social history rather than intellectual history is due to the conspicuous nonexistence of formal philosophy below the Mason-Dixon Line.²² As compared to places like Western Europe, the United States presents a lack of traditional philosophy in general. Philosopher Cornel West argues that “the evasion of epistemologically-centered philosophy...results in a conception of philosophy as a form of social criticism.” He explains that the discipline in the United States is more focused on “a continuous cultural commentary or set of interpretations that attempt to explain America to itself at a particular historical moment.”²³

Second, these findings challenge the scholarly literature on L.Q.C. Lamar, which is dominated by two major interpretations. The first Lamar biographies, Edward Mayes’ *Lucius Q.C. Lamar, His Life, Times, and Speeches, 1825-1893* (1896) and Wirt Armistead Cate’s *Lucius Q.C. Lamar, Secession and Reunion* (1935) fall into the Dunning School of historiography, which holds that Reconstruction was a tragic time dominated by carpetbaggers and newly freed black southerners. Despite their impressive grasp of sources, both Mayes and Cate take the eulogy as sincere and act as apologists for Lamar on issues of race and political representation. This scholarship reached its height not incidentally during the decades surrounding the turn of the century, as black southerners were being disfranchised through the establishment of Black

²¹ William A. Dunning, *Reconstruction Political and Economic, 1865-1877* (New York and London: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1907), 266.

²² Michael O’Brien, “Intellectual History” [1995] in *Placing the South* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi), 2007. On southern intellectual culture, see Wilbur J. Cash’s *The Mind of the South* (1941), Bruce D. Clayton’s *The Savage Ideal* (1972), Drew Gilpin Faust’s *A Sacred Circle* (1977) and *The Creation of Confederate Nationalism* (1982), Eugene D. Genovese’s *The World the Slaveholders Made* (1969), Richard H. King’s *A Southern Renaissance* (1982), Michael O’Brien’s *All Clever Men Who Make Their Way* (1982), *Conjectures of Order* (2004), *Rethinking the South* (1988), and *The Idea of the American South, 1920-1941* (1979), Rollins G. Osterweis’ *Romanticism and Nationalism in the Old South* (1964), Daniel Joseph Singal’s *The War Within* (1982), William R. Taylor’s *Cavalier and Yankee* (1961), and Caroline Winterer’s *The Culture of Classicism* (2002).

²³ Cornel West, *The American Evasion of Philosophy: A Genealogy of Pragmatism* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), 5.

Codes.²⁴ In later years, through the noble effort to hold the politician accountable, revisionist scholars absolve equally fallible actors. In the 1973 biography *L.Q.C. Lamar: Pragmatic Patriot*, James Murphy argues that the politician used his reputation as a moderate conciliator to portray the South as worthy of home rule. Murphy holds that Lamar, through both his eulogy of Sumner and involvement in the Compromise of 1877, manipulated honest, moral Northern Republicans with his statesmanship and charm. He wrote without irony that Lamar achieved full “deception of the Northern people.”²⁵ He and other revisionist historians correctly maintain that achieving home rule was the purpose of Lamar’s oratory espousing national unity. However, though the press often described the politician as “the most captivating of orators,” his acceptance on a national level is evidence for the apathy, disaffection, and racial prejudice characterizing American politics during the late nineteenth century rather than a manipulation of innocent congressmen.²⁶

While both intended to uphold home rule, Lamar’s rhetoric in support of reconciliation and the rhetoric of Lost Cause propagandists differed more in form than in objective. Though both Lamar’s rhetoric and the literature of the Lost Cause served to benefit southern Democrats,

²⁴ For more examples of the Dunning School, see John W. Burgess’ *Reconstruction and the Constitution* (1902), Claude Bowers’ *The Tragic Era* (1929), E. Merton Coulter’s *The South During Reconstruction, 1865-1877* (1948), William A. Dunning’s *Essays on the Civil War and Reconstruction* (1897), Walter Lynwood Fleming’s *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama* (1905), and James S. Pike’s *The Prostrate State* (1874). For early challenges to Dunning, see Horace Mann Bond’s *Social and Economic Forces in Alabama Reconstruction* (1938), W.E.B. DuBois’ *Black Reconstruction in America* (1935), John Hope Franklin’s “Whither Reconstruction Historiography?” (1948), Frances B. Simkins and Robert H. Woody’s *South Carolina During Reconstruction* (1932), and Vernon L. Wharton’s *The Negro in Mississippi, 1865-1890* (1947).

²⁵ James B. Murphy, *L.Q.C. Lamar: Pragmatic Patriot* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1973), 133. For additional revisionist studies, see Nicholas Lemann’s *Redemption* (2006) and John A. Mayne’s “L.Q.C. Lamar’s ‘Eulogy’ of Charles Sumner” (1960). During the 1960s and 1970s, Reconstruction historiography was dominated by revisionist works such as James M. McPherson’s *The Struggle for Equality* (1964) and Kenneth Stampp’s *The Era of Reconstruction, 1865-1877* (1965). For challenges to the revisionists and information on reconciliation groups created in Lamar’s name, see Brian Wilson’s “Only Nixon Could Go to China” (2012) and L.Q.C. Lamar Society Papers, University of Mississippi Libraries, http://clio.lib.olemiss.edu/cdm/ref/collection/civ_rights/id/568.

²⁶ *The New Mississippian* (Jackson), September 30, 1884, Microfilm, University of Mississippi Libraries, Oxford, Mississippi.

a major distinction between the two can be seen in the explicit nature of Lost Cause arguments as compared to Lamar's supposed humility and good personality described by figures like Adams and Grover Cleveland.²⁷ As Lamar attempted to vindicate the South through an espousal of national unity in the Sumner eulogy, intellectuals affiliated with the University of Mississippi such as former Chancellor George Frederick Holmes and Professor Albert Taylor Bledsoe were still endorsing pro-slavery arguments that were anachronistic and distasteful to Northern elites.²⁸ As a whole, the Lost Cause rested on three principles: an attempt by elites to intellectually and symbolically justify the Confederacy's loss, the belief that the South's cause was completely virtuous, and finally, historian William Dunning's idea of Reconstruction.²⁹ In contrast, Lamar used his platform to position the South as respectable and repentant by openly calling for reconciliation with the North without apologizing for the South.

²⁷ Edward Mayes, *Lucius Q.C. Lamar, His Life, Times, and Speeches, 1825-1893* (Nashville, TN: Pub. House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1896), 521.

²⁸ On the Lost Cause, see Karen L. Cox's *Dixie's Daughters* (2003), Gaines M. Foster's *Ghosts of the Confederacy* (1987), Anne E. Marshall's *Creating a Confederate Kentucky* (2010), Rollins G. Osterweis' *The Myth of the Lost Cause, 1865-1900* (1973), and Charles Reagan Wilson's *Baptized in Blood* (1980). On Lost Cause ideology and Lamar's intellectual environment at the University of Mississippi, see David G. Sansing's *The University of Mississippi* (1999).

²⁹ John Neff, Jarod Roll, and Anne Twitty, "A Brief Historical Contextualization of the Confederate Monument at the University of Mississippi," May 16, 2016, accessed May 9, 2018, <http://history.olemiss.edu/wp-content/uploads/sites/6/2017/08/A-Brief-Historical-Contextualization-of-the-Confederate-Monument-at-the-University-of-Mississippi.pdf>.

I.

Philosopher-statesman L.Q.C. Lamar's attraction to intellectual pursuits began early in life. From the time of his birth in Georgia in 1825, Lamar was immersed in history and the classics. His great uncle was well read in classical history and named his father, Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus Lamar I, after the Roman statesman Cincinnatus. Lamar's son-in-law Edward Mayes wrote that this great uncle was "a self-taught man – who, like many of the men in old plantation times, gave himself up to the ideal world of literature and history..." When he prayed, "he did not think it inapt to thank God for the heroic examples of Roman or English or American history." Lamar's great uncle named both his father and his uncle Mirabeau Buonaparte, the soldier, lawyer, and poet who became president of Texas following the Battle of San Jacinto.³⁰ Mirabeau Lamar appealed to classical history in an oration objecting to the freeing of General Antonio López de Santa Anna, writing that the "Caligulas of the age" should know equality under the "vengeance of the law."³¹ Lamar's father and uncle then passed this interest in books on to the younger generation. After his father's suicide in 1834, the younger L.Q.C. Lamar found solace in intellectual pursuits: "Books? I was surrounded with books. My father's library was unusually large and varied for those times."³² His first book was the autobiography of Benjamin Franklin, followed by Plutarch's *Lives* and the poetry of Lord Byron. A few years later, Lamar

³⁰ Mayes, 15-18.

³¹ Mirabeau B. Lamar, "Protest Against Freeing Santa Anna," From a Speech made before the Texas Cabinet, *Library of Southern Literature*, ed. Edwin Anderson Alderman and Joel Chandler Harris (Atlanta, GA: The Martin & Hoyt Company, 1909), 2991.

³² Mayes, 28.

praised Thomas Carlyle's 1836 novel *Sartor Resartus* at a time before the author was widely popular in America. He continued to read Carlyle throughout his life, going on to critique *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and The Heroic in History* in an 1890 address at Emory College.³³ After entering the freshman class at Emory in 1841, Lamar showed proficiency in the classics and debate. Biographer Wirt Armistead Cate called him "a dreamer and a mystic," emphasizing Methodism's influence on his thinking. However, he characteristically dissented at times.³⁴

Lamar made a name for himself as an orator early in his career, often referencing classical history when speaking on secession and war. Four years after graduation, he followed his father-in-law, the southern author and former President of Emory Augustus Longstreet, to the University of Mississippi in Oxford. In 1849, he became professor and started practicing law.³⁵ After returning to Georgia, he was elected to the State House of Representatives in 1853, though he quickly moved back to Mississippi and was elected there. Throughout the 1850s, the politician rose to prominence alongside other Democratic speakers and fire-eaters such as William Lowndes Yancey of Alabama. Though some were more virulent than others, southern Democrats' rhetoric increasingly began to call for secession from the Union.³⁶ Lamar was a member of the U.S. House of Representatives from 1856 through his drafting of the Mississippi secession document in 1860. At this moment, the politician who would one day be memorialized as a symbol for national reconciliation wrote the words which cut ties between his state and the

³³ *Alumni Address Delivered Before the Society of Alumni, at Emory College, June 24, 1890*, Appendix No. 24 in Edward Mayes, *Lucius Q.C. Lamar, His Life, Times, and Speeches, 1825-1893* (Nashville, TN: Pub. House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1896), 802.

³⁴ Wirt Armistead Cate, *Lucius Q.C. Lamar, Secession and Reunion* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1935), 23-26, 34-35.

³⁵ Edward Mayes, *Lucius Q.C. Lamar, His Life, Times, and Speeches, 1825-1893* (Nashville, TN: Pub. House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1896), 45.

³⁶ See Eric H. Walther's *The Fire-Eaters* (1992) and *William Lowndes Yancey and the Coming of the Civil War* (2006).

Union, claiming slavery as “the greatest material interest in the world.”³⁷ Lamar had personal investments in the institution of slavery for a short period, with 26 enslaved individuals listed as living at his plantation in 1857.³⁸ Lamar compared the South to Greece in 1860, writing that the election of President Abraham Lincoln maintained the structure of government while violating the principle of states’ rights: “The Greek Republics retained all their forms of municipal government...all while Greece lay, at the feet of Philip, a subjugated nation.” Lamar wrote that the South would be forced to live under the rule of a “Chief Magistrate” who the region played no role in electing.³⁹ The following year, in a conversation with South Carolina diarist Mary Chesnut, the politician once again compared southerners to the ancient Greeks: “Even Homer’s heroes, after they had stormed and scolded enough, fought like brave men.”⁴⁰

Lamar was more comfortable teaching, practicing law, and proselytizing the Confederate cause than directly participating in battle, but after the conflict, many southerners would go on to associate him with the Civil War and Confederacy. With the outbreak of war, Lamar became Lieutenant Colonel and organized the Nineteenth Mississippi Infantry Regiment with his former law partner Christopher Mott.⁴¹ He experienced ill health early in the war and left the infantry to serve as a diplomat and aid to his cousin, General Joseph Longstreet. According to Cate, “Though [Lamar] carried out his duties with meticulous care, he was not happy in a military environment. Primarily a thinker and a social philosopher, he was greatly irked by the

³⁷ *An Address Setting Forth the Declaration of the Immediate Causes Which Induce and Justify the Secession of Mississippi from the Federal Union and the Ordinance of Secession* (Jackson: Mississippian Book and Job Printing Office, 1861), 1.

³⁸ Michael O’Brien, *Henry Adams and the Southern Question* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2005), 63. On slavery and classical history, see Caroline Winterer’s “The Greek Slave, 1830–1865” in *The Mirror of Antiquity* (2007).

³⁹ *Letter of Lucius Q. C. Lamar, in reply to Hon. P. F. Liddell, of Carrollton, Mississippi*, December 10, 1860, Library of Congress, Washington D.C., accessed September 1, 2019, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/loc.ark:/13960/t9571hp8n>.

⁴⁰ Mary Boykin Chesnut, *A Diary from Dixie* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1905), 74.

⁴¹ See Stephen Enzweiler’s *Oxford in the Civil War* (2010).

divorcement from books, cultured society, and the scholarly contacts that had come to mean so much to him.”⁴² Although the politician saw minimal action in battle, a Columbus, Mississippi resident placed her 1875 carte de visite of Lamar alongside others depicting Civil War-era military figures like Robert E. Lee and Jefferson Davis, as well as a few Union generals. The placement of the carte de visite shows that Mississippians continued to associate Lamar with the Civil War and the Confederacy after he had distanced himself from sectional conflict with the Sumner eulogy.⁴³ Even in his letter to President Andrew Johnson requesting pardon, Lamar respectfully admitted his adherence to a states’ rights political doctrine. He explained, “Reared on the belief [that] the sovereignty of government in this country resided in the several States, I earnestly and conscientiously supported the Ordinance of Secession.”⁴⁴ Lamar’s grandson Augustus Longstreet Heiskell, also a lawyer and public figure, wrote in a 1973 address on the politician that the lenient Reconstruction plans of Lincoln and Johnson would be lost when despite the latter’s veto, the Military Reconstruction Acts “reduced the southern states to the status of territories.” In his view, Lamar would come to be opposed to radical senators like Sumner and Conkling who had once “plagued Lincoln.”⁴⁵

After the Civil War, the former colonel first returned to his legal practice and intellectual pursuits. Following the Confederate surrender in 1865, Lamar became Chair of Metaphysics and Ethics at the University of Mississippi while continuing to practice law.⁴⁶ He held this

⁴² Wirt Armistead Cate, *Lucius Q.C. Lamar, Secession and Reunion* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1935), 83.

⁴³ Julius Ulke, Photographer, *L.Q.C. Lamar. Portrait carte de visite, 1875*, Washington D.C., Image 28, McCardle (Mrs. W. H.) Photograph Collection, Electronic Archives, Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson, Mississippi, accessed May 2, 2019, http://www.mdah.ms.gov/arrec/digital_archives/series/mccardle/detail/4501.

⁴⁴ L.Q.C. Lamar, *Letter of Petition to President Johnson and Corresponding Loyalty Oath*, July 19, 1865, Small Manuscripts, University of Mississippi Libraries, Oxford, Mississippi.

⁴⁵ Augustus Longstreet Heiskell, “An Address, L.Q.C. Lamar After Appomattox,” 1973, Small Manuscripts, Faculty Box 3, University of Mississippi Libraries, Oxford, Mississippi.

⁴⁶ Edward Mayes, *Lucius Q.C. Lamar, His Life, Times, and Speeches, 1825-1893* (Nashville, TN: Pub. House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1896), 124.

professorship for a short period prior to secession, teaching courses like logic, rhetoric, elocution, and constitutional law.⁴⁷ Since its founding in 1848, the University of Mississippi had been associated with classical education, and many Greek and Roman symbols remain on the campus today. In 1948, a student wrote that though they had become obscure, Greek and Latin languages were among the most popular subjects taught at the university in the beginning, along with “mental and moral sciences” and “political economy.”⁴⁸ The columned Lyceum at the center of the campus represents the university’s commitment to classical teachings and themes.⁴⁹ In 1867, Lamar began teaching at the University of Mississippi law school, which from its inception stressed the importance of history and philosophy.⁵⁰ Augustus Longstreet Heiskell claims that Lamar was one of the first professors to teach law students through the study of a “system using adjudicated cases rather than textbooks.” Lamar resigned not from disappointment with his post but out of a commitment to states’ rights when James L. Alcorn, a fellow Democrat and former slaveholder who Heiskell called a “radical who cooperated with the Military Government” became president of the University of Mississippi board when he was elected governor.⁵¹ Though they both disapproved of radical Republican Adelbert Ames, Lamar strongly

⁴⁷ *L.Q.C. Lamar*, 1861 Classbook, Class of 1861 Collection, University of Mississippi Libraries, Oxford, Mississippi, accessed August 2019, <http://clio.lib.olemiss.edu/cdm/ref/collection/uaphotos/id/85>.

⁴⁸ *Ole Miss*, yearbook, centennial edition (University of Mississippi: Oxford, Mississippi, 1948): 32-35 in *A Brief Historical Contextualization of the Confederate Monument at the University of Mississippi* by John Neff, Jarod Roll, and Anne Twitty, May 16, 2016, <http://history.olemiss.edu/wp-content/uploads/sites/6/2017/08/A-Brief-Historical-Contextualization-of-the-Confederate-Monument-at-the-University-of-Mississippi.pdf>.

⁴⁹ Paul D. Carrington, “Lawyers Amid the Redemption of the South,” *Roger Williams University Law Review* 5 no. 1, (Fall 1999): 50, accessed March 2, 2020, https://docs.rwu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1169&context=rwu_LR.

⁵⁰ Brian Wilson, “Only Nixon Could Go to China: L.Q.C. Lamar and the Politics of Reconciliation,” MA Thesis, University of Mississippi, 2012, ProQuest (1515375), 37.; On Lamar and law, see Willie D. Halsell’s “The Appointment of L.Q.C. Lamar to the Supreme Court” (1941), Michael H. Hoffheimer’s “Holmes, L.Q.C. Lamar, and Natural Law” (1988), Arnold M. Paul’s “Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus Lamar” in *The Justices of the United States Supreme Court Volume II* (1995), Gilbert S. Price’s “The Lamars of Georgia” (1948), Samuel Hale Sibley’s *Georgia’s contribution to law; the Lamars* (1948), and the articles on Lamar in *Mississippi Law Journal* 63 (1993).

⁵¹ Augustus Longstreet Heiskell, “An Address, L.Q.C. Lamar After Appomattox,” 1973, Small Manuscripts, Faculty Box 3, University of Mississippi Libraries, Oxford, Mississippi.

opposed Alcorn and other members his own party such as James R. Chalmers. In 1873, Lamar qualified praise for Ames with statements that he was “a radical speaker” who took advantage of his supporters’ “passions.”⁵²

After a brief retirement which he initially believed would be permanent, Lamar returned to the U.S. House of Representatives from 1873 to 1877, rising to national fame as he made lofty appeals to strict constructionism while continuing to work against the policies of Republicans and more liberal members of his own party. From 1877 to 1885, the politician enjoyed continued success as the state of Mississippi nominated him to serve in the United States Senate. In 1874, he gave the Sumner eulogy as the first Mississippi Democrat to be reelected since the Civil War. However, Lamar expressed his true political aims and most honest criticisms in his private correspondence. After his public acquiescence to the Republican President Rutherford B. Hayes in the Compromise of 1877, he wrote to his close friend E.D. Clark, an attorney in Vicksburg, Mississippi, that Hayes was “well-meaning” but “very ignorant of the South.” On the other hand, Lamar believed the former Ohio governor wanted to appear as a “great Pacificator” and would thus be more beneficial to the South than President U.S. Grant. He wrote that Hayes and certain Republicans were not “en rapport” with the southern region “in a single sentiment” and only interested in African Americans for their voting power.⁵³ In 1879, he wrote to Clark that their correspondence should be burned to escape the clutches of “some radical postmaster.”⁵⁴ Whether Lamar wanted to burn the correspondence or was likely being facetious, the letter shows his overall disdain for radicals in a marked contrast to many of his later public remarks. The same

⁵² *Letter from L.Q.C. Lamar to E.D. Clark*, October 16, 1873, Box 1, Folder 10, L.Q.C. Lamar Collection, University of Mississippi Libraries, Oxford, Mississippi.

⁵³ *Letter from L.Q.C. Lamar to E.D. Clark*, March 30, 1877, Box 1, Folder 23, L.Q.C. Lamar Collection, University of Mississippi Libraries, Oxford, Mississippi.

⁵⁴ *Letter from L.Q.C. Lamar to E.D. Clark*, February 20, 1879, Box 1, Folder 19, Marshall County Historical Society, Holly Springs, Mississippi.

year, Lamar responded to Senator Roscoe Conkling's comments on southern elections by stating that he repelled the Republican's statement "with all the unmitigated contempt" that he had for the person who wrote it.⁵⁵

Specifically, Lamar showed a lifelong loyalty to the ideas of South Carolina statesman John C. Calhoun, which he made clear in most public addresses.⁵⁶ In an 1887 speech honoring the states' rights advocate, Lamar argued that the United States Constitution was created by the states "as independent, separate communities."⁵⁷ Thus, the Mississippian often relied on arguments for state sovereignty and criticism of excessive federal control rather than using direct language in support of disfranchisement. An anonymous journalist wrote in the coverage of an 1884 speech that a bill "was introduced to make the elections in [Mississippi] still more subject to the...persecution of federal officers," which Lamar had called "violative of the Constitution."⁵⁸ In keeping with the lofty nature of most of his public orations, Lamar responded to the investigation into corrupt southern elections by Republican Senator George Hoar without using blatant partisan language. He claimed that both Democrats and Republicans were disillusioned with the current state of politics. However, the Mississippi journalist was more transparent in the coverage, with the subheading directly critiquing Republican nominee James Blaine and supporting Democratic nominee Grover Cleveland. The headline states that Lamar gave "A Complete Defense of Mississippi and the South from the Aspersions of the Hoars of the Republican Party."

⁵⁵ W. Lane Austin, "Senator Lamar," *University of Mississippi Magazine* 20 no. 6, (April 1896): 5, University of Mississippi Libraries, Oxford, Mississippi.

⁵⁶ Charles B. Galloway, "Lucius Q.C. Lamar," in *Library of Southern Literature*, ed. Edwin Anderson Alderman and Joel Chandler Harris (Atlanta, GA: The Martin & Hoyt Company, 1909), 2964.

⁵⁷ L.Q.C. Lamar, "On the Unveiling of the Calhoun Monument," Extracts from an Oration delivered at Charleston, South Carolina, April 26, 1887 in *Library of Southern Literature*, ed. Edwin Anderson Alderman and Joel Chandler Harris (Atlanta, GA: The Martin & Hoyt Company, 1909), 2980.

⁵⁸ "Lamar," Special to *Memphis Appeal, The New Mississippian* (Jackson), October 14, 1884, Microfilm, University of Mississippi Libraries, Oxford, Mississippi.

In contrast to the blatant racial language of Mississippi demagogues, Lamar presented a paternalistic philosophy on race toward the end of his life, with beliefs more akin to those of Theodore Roosevelt and Gilded Age industrialist George Pullman than polemicists like George Frederick Holmes. Lamar argued against James Z. George, another former Georgian and Confederate colonel, in his attempt to disfranchise black men in the 1890 push for a new Mississippi constitution. However, scholars have claimed that Lamar collaborated with George in endorsing or committing vigilante violence against black Mississippians.⁵⁹ These criticisms are overblown, as there is no evidence Lamar personally committed violent acts. However, his rhetoric did obscure the harsh realities of race relations in his state. After the racial violence of the 1874 Vicksburg Affair, Lamar devised a “plan” to blame Reconstruction governments. In what began as a conflict over a black sheriff in Vicksburg, white Mississippians killed over 300 African Americans, and President Grant was forced to deploy the National Guard.⁶⁰ Lamar plainly stated in 1875 that “outbreaks of a bloody character” in the South were not caused by “race supremacy.” He wrote that “oppressive” governments, “an evil that is the root of all the evils that ever cursed any country,” were the true reason that events like the Vicksburg Affair occurred in the South.⁶¹ The following year, Lamar argued in front of the House of Representatives that “federal bayonets” only “[inspired] a contempt for law” in the southern states. The congressman from Mississippi then stated that even British rivals Benjamin Disraeli and William Gladstone could solve issues the current congress would never reconcile due to

⁵⁹ Gladys L. Knight, *Encyclopedia of the Reconstruction Era Volume I: A-L*, ed. Richard Zuczek (Greenwood Press: Westport, Connecticut and London: 2006), 420.

⁶⁰ Paul D. Carrington, “Lawyers Amid the Redemption of the South,” *Roger Williams University Law Review* 5 no. 1, (Fall 1999): 56, accessed March 2, 2020, https://docs.rwu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1169&context=rwu_LR.

⁶¹ *Letter from L.Q.C. Lamar to E.D. Clark*, 1 February 1875, Box 1, Folder 20, L.Q.C. Lamar Collection, University of Mississippi Libraries, Oxford, Mississippi.

partisanship.⁶² In 1880, when a Northern senator mentioned the racial terror aimed at black southerners who used “their rights as citizens and voters,” Lamar responded without disputing that violence occurred. He claimed he disapproved of such acts but nonetheless placed the blame on “political demagogues and tricksters,” meaning Republicans and radicals in his own party. Lamar openly lied to Congress in stating that for the most part, southerners no longer committed the violent acts which the Republican senator referred to. He argued that the Northern Republicans who investigated the election process, rather than the violent white southerners themselves, were the main catalyst.⁶³ Four years later, Lamar stated that Mississippians committed few instances of violence at the polls or campaign events during the election currently under investigation.⁶⁴ With the exception of public acts like lynchings, a significant amount of the violence against African Americans during this period occurred at night and on private property.⁶⁵ In this way, Lamar’s rhetoric detracted attention from the extralegal brutalization and coercion of many of his constituents which happened off the campaign trail.

Throughout his long career, Lamar remained a Platonic critic of direct democracy who believed that the masses of all races required guidance from elites. For example, in response to an earlier investigation of southern elections led by James Blaine, Lamar argued that African Americans in the South had realized that they were not yet “ready to vote.”⁶⁶ In a symbolic gesture, Lamar once gave the names of John C. Calhoun and Daniel Webster as figures who had

⁶² L.Q.C. Lamar, “Policy of the Republican Party in the South,” Speech delivered in the House of Representatives, August 2, 1876, in *Library of Southern Literature*, ed. Edwin Anderson Alderman and Joel Chandler Harris (Atlanta, GA: The Martin & Hoyt Company, 1909), 2974.

⁶³ L.Q.C. Lamar, “Speech of Hon. Lamar in the Senate of the United States Library of Congress,” June 14, 1880, University of Mississippi Libraries, Oxford Mississippi.

⁶⁴ “Lamar,” Special to *Memphis Appeal, The New Mississippian* (Jackson), October 14, 1884, Microfilm, University of Mississippi Libraries, Oxford, Mississippi.

⁶⁵ See Hannah Rosen’s *Terror in the Heart of Freedom* (2009).

⁶⁶ Paul D. Carrington, “Lawyers Amid the Redemption of the South,” *Roger Williams University Law Review* 5 no. 1, (Fall 1999): 58-59, accessed March 2, 2020, https://docs.rwu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1169&context=rwu_LR.

previously disagreed with majorities, maintaining that it was “better to follow the example of illustrious men...than abandon altogether judgment and conviction in deference to popular clamor.”⁶⁷ In 1878, Lamar supported sound money and refused to vote for the Bland-Allison Act despite the fact that the Republican Senator Blanche K. Bruce followed the wishes of Mississippians and voted in favor of the bill.⁶⁸ Lamar concluded, “Between these resolutions and my convictions there is a great gulf.”⁶⁹ In a “Private and Confidential” letter on Bruce to E.D. Clark from the previous year, Lamar revealed another “plan” to replace “carpetbaggers” in the Mississippi state government with an African American Republican and a white Democrat whose “bond should be secured by our people.”⁷⁰ This scheme shows that Lamar was interested not only in having power over Mississippi voters and personal sway in Washington but directly sought to fill lower levels of government with individuals expressly loyal to him. In an 1880 debate with an Indiana senator over the “exodus” of black southerners to the Midwest, Lamar quoted British colonialist and author Sir George Campbell’s observations, arguing that most African Americans were “cherished” due to the South’s “disposition greatly to rely on black labor.” Lamar then used Campbell’s words to claim, “*The blacks are...protected by democratic statesmen, who now hold power in the South.*”⁷¹ He praised the beneficence of the southern crop-lien system in comparison to laws from Northern states which he warned would negatively affect

⁶⁷ John F. Kennedy, “Chapter 7: Today I Must Be True or False...Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus Lamar,” Part 3, Chapter 7: Lucius Q.C. Lamar: Item 13- mimeograph, transcript additions, deletions 1954-1955, *Profiles in Courage*, John F. Kennedy Personal Papers, Series 10, Manuscripts, Box 40, Archives, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library & Museum, Boston, Massachusetts, <https://www.jfklibrary.org/asset-viewer/archives/JFKPP/029/JFKPP-029-013>.

⁶⁸ Kennedy, 16-17.

⁶⁹ Charles B. Galloway, “Lucius Q.C. Lamar,” in *Library of Southern Literature*, ed. Edwin Anderson Alderman and Joel Chandler Harris (Atlanta, GA: The Martin & Hoyt Company, 1909), 2966-2967.

⁷⁰ *Letter from L.Q.C. Lamar to E.D. Clark*, March 15, 1877, Box 1, Folder 22, L.Q.C. Lamar Collection, University of Mississippi Libraries, Oxford, Mississippi.

⁷¹ L.Q.C. Lamar, “Speech of Hon. Lamar in the Senate of the United States Library of Congress,” June 14, 1880, University of Mississippi Libraries, Oxford Mississippi.

black migrants. Lamar then espoused an argument well-known to antebellum pro-slavery politicians, that laborers had luxuries and necessities such as sugar, coffee, medicine, and clothes to wear. No matter what befell the planter or happened at the end of the year, during the duration of that year the laborers' needs were met.⁷² Lamar emphasized that the employer usually provided "homes and utilities" but remained careful never to mention the quality of housing or services.⁷³ As emblematic of his nondemocratic beliefs, Lamar claimed shortly after his return to Congress that African Americans had "no idea of a principle of government or, of society, beyond that of obedience to the mandate of a master."⁷⁴

In contrast, Lamar's views on gender were nuanced and contradictory, as he both upheld and challenged many nineteenth-century stereotypes. Claude Bowers, author of the 1929 book *The Tragic Era*, argued that Reconstruction was a time dominated by "elemental passions," which can be understood through many elite white southerners' ideas of themselves as rational and other races as inferior or led by their passions rather than reason. The idea that some groups are rational or logical and other peoples are supposedly dominated by passions has been the justification for countless atrocities throughout the history of slavery and colonization.⁷⁵ However, Lamar openly showed emotion and had violent outbursts which most elite white Americans would have considered uncivilized during the nineteenth century. For example, the Mississippian was known to resort to both appeals to traditional manhood and acts of violence during the first few decades of his career. Before the Civil War, Lamar engaged in a physical

⁷² Lamar, 17-19.

⁷³ Lamar, 21.

⁷⁴ Dunbar Rowland, *Encyclopedia of Mississippi History: Comprising Sketches of Counties, Towns, Events, Institutions and Person Vol. I* (Atlanta, GA: The Southern Historical Publishing Association, 1907), 29-30, https://archive.org/stream/EncyclopediaOfMississippiHistoryVolume1/07-EncyclopediaOfMississippiHistory-V1_djvu.txt.

⁷⁵ See Michael O'Brien's "Intellectual History" (1995).

fight with a Republican congressman over the issue of the admission of Kansas to the union.⁷⁶ On the Civil War, Lamar explained, “We are men, not women. The quarrel had lasted long enough.”⁷⁷ His speeches from this period argue that statesmanship had been exhausted and a defense of southern interests was to be found only in “the fighting manhood of the people of this country...” In June 1871, Lamar acted as defense for the first accused Klansmen under the Ku Klux Klan Act. In court, Lamar brandished a chair and threatened to hit a deputy after complaining that he had been harassed earlier in the day. United States Marshal James Pierce tried to approach Lamar, but the lawyer hit him across the face and fractured his cheekbone. Lamar considered himself beyond reproach, defying the court and refusing to be arrested.⁷⁸

On the other hand, Lamar could be surprisingly progressive on issues of gender, though his beliefs were largely confined by the Victorian ideology of separate spheres. Mary Chesnut recalled a conversation with Lamar on the English writer George Eliot’s historical novel *Romola*. When Chesnut mentioned that Eliot lived with the married writer George Henry Lewes, the politician responded without “surprise” or “prejudice:” “He said something of ‘genius being above law.’” Lamar apparently continued, “They say she is kind and good,” although a “fallen woman.”⁷⁹ Though Lamar still advanced Victorian stereotypes, he nonetheless expressed a more liberal and accepting view on Eliot and Lewes than Mary Chesnut. Decades later, in letters to his granddaughter Mary Mayes, Lamar inquired into her Latin and French studies and wrote that she would be “a first-class writer.”⁸⁰ In 1882, Lamar told of an instance when Cary Clark, wife of

⁷⁶ Donald H. Doyle, *Faulkner's County: The Historical Roots of Yoknapatawpha*. London and Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 178.

⁷⁷ Mary Boykin Chesnut, *A Diary from Dixie* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1905), 74.

⁷⁸ Donald H. Doyle, *Faulkner's County: The Historical Roots of Yoknapatawpha* (London and Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 287-288.

⁷⁹ Mary Boykin Chesnut, *A Diary from Dixie* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1905), 279-280.

⁸⁰ *L.Q.C. Lamar to Mary Mayes*, April 15, May 5, 1881, Box 1, Folder 48, L.Q.C. Lamar Collection, University of Mississippi Libraries, Oxford, Mississippi.

E.D. Clark and mother of the American Impressionist painter Kate Freeman Clark, disapproved of her husband reading Lord Byron's poetry to Lamar. Cary Clark apparently claimed, "I do not think it is in a man." Lamar, on the other hand, called E.D. Clark a man who had "proved himself" and therefore had "the right to be sentimental at home where he has such an object to inspire it."⁸¹

The Mississippi politician was known throughout his life for being "considerate, affectionate," and "sentimental," as his friend E.C. Walthall wrote in an 1893 memorial address.⁸² His contemporaries sometimes called him "Lushe" due to frequent displays of affection toward other men and "moody" in reference to his depression.⁸³ Virginia Clay-Clopton, wife of Alabama Senator Clement C. Clay, wrote that Lamar had a "tenderness" and showed "caressing ways" with other men, as she once saw him kiss her husband "suddenly and lightly on the forehead."⁸⁴ Lamar's depressive states were also common knowledge in both Washington and Mississippi. In an 1879 letter to E.D. Clark, the senator wrote that he was "very much depressed," though nothing was ostensibly wrong. Lamar wrote to Clark that his visit had been a "lighting up of a dark and dreary night."⁸⁵ Clark was concerned for Lamar and wrote General Walthall about the senator's despairing letter, specifically his feelings of "helplessness" and regret after taking a Washington home.⁸⁶ Some scholars have attempted to portray Lamar's

⁸¹ *Letter from L.Q.C. Lamar to E.D. Clark*, August 12, 1882, Box 1, Folder, 42, L.Q.C. Lamar Collection, University of Mississippi Libraries, Oxford, Mississippi.

⁸² E.C. Walthall, "A Beautiful Tribute to the Memory of the Late Justice Lamar," 1893, Box 1, Folder 50, L.Q.C. Lamar Collection, University of Mississippi Libraries, Oxford, Mississippi.

⁸³ Paul D. Carrington, "Lawyers Amid the Redemption of the South," *Roger Williams University Law Review* 5 no. 1, (Fall 1999): 52-53, accessed March 2, 2020, https://docs.rwu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1169&context=rwu_LR.

⁸⁴ Virginia Clay-Clopton, *A Belle of the Fifties: Memoirs of Mrs. Clay, of Alabama, Covering Social and Political Life in Washington and the South, 1853-66* [1905] (Chapel Hill: Academic Affairs Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1998), 48, Electronic Edition, <https://docsouth.unc.edu/fpn/clay/clay.html>.

⁸⁵ *Letter from L.Q.C. Lamar to E.D. Clark*, October 3, 1879, Box 1, Folder 33, L.Q.C. Lamar Collection, University of Mississippi Libraries, Oxford, Mississippi.

⁸⁶ *Letter from E.D. Clark to E.C. Walthall*, October 4, 1879, Box 1, Folder 33, L.Q.C. Lamar Collection, University of Mississippi Libraries, Oxford, Mississippi.

depression as the cost of his family's particular brilliance. Calling Lamar the "philosophical statesman" and "of a philosophic cast of mind," Methodist Bishop Charles Galloway wrote in 1909 that the politician "dwelt in the higher realms of thought," giving him "loneliness and sometimes the moodiness of genius."⁸⁷ After the loss of his father, Lamar went on to lose two brothers, a cousin, and a law partner in the Civil War, which more likely contributed to his periods of melancholia.⁸⁸ Lamar also survived his wife Virginia Longstreet Lamar, writing often about her bad health during the last few years of her life.⁸⁹

Through the 1880s and early 1890s, the idea of Lamar as a philosopher-statesman and national conciliator gained support across Mississippi and the nation. Four days after President Cleveland appointed the senator as secretary of the interior in 1885, the Jackson *New Mississippian* called Lamar "the big man of...the country at large" and "our intellectual Hercules." The writer also compared him to Ulysses and the Titan Atlas, known for holding the world on his shoulders. Despite frequent criticism in some Mississippi papers, this newspaper went even further in its ingratiating praise for Lamar. After expressing approval for the nomination of the secretary's close friend E.C. Walthall to replace him in the Senate, the article compares the voices of support across the state to an alpine storm moving across the Jura Mountains and Alps in the poetry of Lord Byron.⁹⁰ Cleveland explained the choice of Lamar

⁸⁷ Charles B. Galloway, "Lucius Q.C. Lamar" in *Library of Southern Literature*, ed. Edwin Anderson Alderman and Joel Chandler Harris (Atlanta, GA: The Martin & Hoyt Company, 1909), 2967. On Galloway, see Ted Ownby's "Charles Betts Galloway" (2018).

⁸⁸ John F. Kennedy, "Chapter 7: Today I Must Be True or False...Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus Lamar," Part 3, Chapter 7: Lucius Q.C. Lamar: Item 13- mimeograph, transcript additions, deletions 1954-1955, Profiles in Courage, John F. Kennedy Personal Papers, Series 10, Manuscripts, Box 40, Archives, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library & Museum, Boston, Massachusetts, <https://www.jfklibrary.org/asset-viewer/archives/JFKPP/029/JFKPP-029-013>.

⁸⁹ *Letter from L.Q.C. Lamar to E.D. Clark*, August 12, 1882, Box 1, Folder, 42, L.Q.C. Lamar Collection, University of Mississippi Libraries, Oxford, Mississippi.

⁹⁰ "The People's Will Registered," *The New Mississippian* (Jackson), March 10, 1885, Microfilm, University of Mississippi Libraries, Oxford, Mississippi.

himself, arguing that the senator's "faith in reconciliation made him more acceptable to the nation than any other southerner."⁹¹ The following year, Harvard University honored Lamar with the degree of Legum Doctor (LL.D.) as prominent Northeastern Republicans like George Hoar supported him from the audience.⁹² From December 1887 to his death in January 1893, Lamar served as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, where he remained philosophically committed to concepts of natural law in his decisions.⁹³ L.Q.C. Lamar is still known as the only Mississippian to ever serve in this capacity, further cementing his fame in the state and nation.

⁹¹ Edward Mayes, *Lucius Q.C. Lamar, His Life, Times, and Speeches, 1825-1893* (Nashville, TN: Pub. House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1896), 521.

⁹² George F. Hoar, *Autobiography of Seventy Years, Vol. 1-2* [1903] (Project Gutenberg: 2006), eBook #19548, <http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/19548/pg19548-images.html>.

⁹³ See Michael H. Hoffheimer's "Holmes, L.Q.C. Lamar, and Natural Law" (1988).

II.

As southern politicians and public figures promoted an image of a vindicated South in the late nineteenth century and Progressive era, prominent Northeasterners like Henry Adams were part of a larger cultural movement which embraced an idea of the southern region as a classical or learned society in opposition to certain aspects of Gilded Age culture. This false valorization of the South was more a point from which to critique their own societies rather than a promotion of Lost Cause propaganda. In 1868, an anonymous southern critic denounced the Gilded Age and industrial society in an article called “The Age of Sham.” The critic defined sham as “not elegant,” writing that “all that glitters is not gold.” The nation had lost a sense of the real in that “we bow down to the shrine of Display.”⁹⁴ Though the essay descends into hyperbole, it is useful as an example of a southerner’s contempt for industrialization and the resultant Gilded Age culture. As C. Vann Woodward argues in “A Southern Critique for the Gilded Age,” Northern figures like Adams unexpectedly “[acknowledged] the relevance of the Southern tradition...in their critique of American society.”⁹⁵ Woodward explains that works of Northeastern writers such as Adams’ *Democracy* (1880) and Henry James’ *The Bostonians* (1886), along with Herman Melville’s earlier epic poem *Clarel*, represented the intellectual acceptance of the South after Reconstruction through the authors’ use of former Confederate protagonists. Though both

⁹⁴ “The Age of Sham,” *De Bow’s Review* 5 (November 1868): 601-607, Harvard Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, accessed November 9, 2018, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044011201407>.

⁹⁵ C. Vann Woodward, *The Burden of Southern History* [1960] (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1993), 110.

Adams and James were careful to have these characters disavow slavery and sectionalism, each nonetheless embraced a particular myth of the southern region as a society which had remained intact despite the avarice and corruption which characterized the late nineteenth century. Scholars frequently use figures like James, Adams, and Melville to invoke certain exceptional American qualities or to represent the Northeast and American thought during the late nineteenth century. Thus, their use of Confederate protagonists alludes to the larger American forgiveness of the Confederacy now symbolized politically by the successes of Redeemer politics and militarily by turn-of-the-century imperial conquests. Woodward argues that these Northern authors did not completely agree with their “sympathetic characters,” but they “turned to the South in search of the values and traditions they had lost.”⁹⁶ Adams and James both presented an imagined version of the region, as neither had ever traveled to the Deep South at all. Henry Adams never had a penchant for southern literature, and *Georgia Scenes* by Lamar’s father-in-law Augustus Longstreet was the sole work of antebellum southern non-fiction in his library.⁹⁷

Like many southern Democrats, Adams and other members of the Northeastern imperialist elite responded to rapid transformation in the United States by looking to the classical values and tradition that they associated with the early American republic. Richard Hofstadter argues that one sector of the first progressive thinkers, mostly lawyers, doctors, and statesmen, are represented by “Mugwump types” like Henry and Brooks Adams, Theodore Roosevelt, John Hay, and Henry Cabot Lodge. Like many southern populists and Democrats, this group embraced military engagement, nativist thought or racialist ideas, and conspiracy theories, while maintaining a public disapproval of corrupt industrialists and large corporations. For Hofstadter,

⁹⁶ Woodward, 139.

⁹⁷ Michael O’Brien, *Henry Adams and the Southern Question* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2005), 123.

this sector of elites was responding to a perceived loss of status in American society as capitalists without their aristocratic pedigrees rose to prominence for the first time in the United States. These early progressives believed that the government should thus promote individualism and protect citizens from infringements on their liberties by institutions and trusts. Hofstadter explains, “Even the characteristically optimistic TR could share at moments in Brooks Adams’ gloomiest anticipations of our gold-ridden, capitalist-bestridden, usurer-mastered future.”⁹⁸

In this way, the shared ideologies Hofstadter identified as emerging after the Civil War challenge the idea of an exceptional South as put forth by C. Vann Woodward. Woodward holds that the experience of tragedy and loss in the Reconstruction-era South led to a pessimism unknown to the triumphant, Schlesingerian Northeast.⁹⁹ However, Adams and the small imperialist elite are evidence for widespread disaffection not only in the South but across the country during this period. On American politics in the 1870s and 1880s, Adams wrote, “The moral law had expired – along with the Constitution.”¹⁰⁰ Moreover, the small imperialist elite agreed with southern Democrats on many specific political issues. Adams’ brother Charles Francis Adams, Jr. expressed support for the Cleveland nomination during the Blaine controversy of 1884. He and Brooks Adams were friends with Lamar’s younger cousin, fellow Democratic Congressman, and Associate Justice Joseph R. Lamar of Georgia during the Progressive era.¹⁰¹ Furthermore, in 1903, Florida Congressman W.B. Lamar, a nephew of L.Q.C. Lamar, wrote to the Republican George Hoar:

⁹⁸ Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F.D.R.* (New York: Random House, 1955), 91-93.

⁹⁹ C. Vann Woodward, *The Burden of Southern History* [1960] (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1993), 21.

¹⁰⁰ Henry Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams*, (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1918), 280.

¹⁰¹ Henry F. Pringle, *Theodore Roosevelt: A Biography* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1931), 85. Wirt Armistead Cate, *Lucius Q.C. Lamar, Secession and Reunion* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1935), 510.

We look to you and other great Northern men to keep us in our sectional and racial questions...these questions mean so little to the sections...not immediately interested in them, but they mean so much to the Southern people... I go to Washington as a Democrat, but with full knowledge that my party does not contain all the right or all the wrong in it. But after all I feel that great and representative men of other sections can assist the Southern people in these questions quite as much, if not more, than we can assist ourselves. I hope to meet you... The biography of my Uncle Justice Lamar shows how much he esteemed you.¹⁰²

The nationwide acceptance of Lamar is due in part to one of Hofstadter's shared ideologies, the imperialist beliefs which led to conflicts like the War of 1898 along with the ideas about assimilation aimed at certain groups at home. For example, the *Omaha Herald* article praised Lamar in his efforts to make a close study of the needs of Native Americans and of the character of men who were to "have charge of their interests."¹⁰³ Theories about Native Americans, African Americans, and immigrants based in racism and eugenics were integral to the formation of American thought as a whole throughout the late-nineteenth century and into the twentieth.¹⁰⁴ Intellectual historian Michael O'Brien explains that Henry Adams' acceptance of Lamar "said things about a tendency toward amorality," because the southern politician "did his share to disfranchise and brutalize his African American constituents, especially when the scrutiny of the North lessened in the 1880s."¹⁰⁵ In 1877, Lamar wrote to E.D. Clark that despite his issues with individual politicians, "the dominating sentiment of the country is against negro and carpet-bag government in the South."¹⁰⁶ Citing English critic Matthew Arnold's claim that Americans lacked "distinction," George Hoar claimed Lamar as an exception. After admitting

¹⁰² George F. Hoar, *Autobiography of Seventy Years, Vol. 1-2* [1903] (Project Gutenberg: 2006), eBook #19548, <http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/19548/pg19548-images.html>.

¹⁰³ *Omaha Herald*, September 29, 1885 in Edward Mayes, *Lucius Q.C. Lamar, His Life, Times, and Speeches, 1825-1893* (Nashville, TN: Pub. House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1896), 491.

¹⁰⁴ Louis Menand, *The Metaphysical Club: A Story of Ideas in America*. (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2001), 109.

¹⁰⁵ Michael O'Brien, *Henry Adams and the Southern Question* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2005), 63-65.

¹⁰⁶ *Letter from L.Q.C. Lamar to E.D. Clark*, March 30, 1877, Box 1, Folder 23, L.Q.C. Lamar Collection, University of Mississippi Libraries, Oxford, Mississippi.

that the Mississippi politician was one of a group of secessionists who consistently opposed “every attempt on the part of the victorious Northern majority to raise the colored people to a political equality,” Hoar nonetheless held that his vote against Lamar for Associate Justice was a “mistake” and that the southerner was “one of the most delightful men.”¹⁰⁷ Though Hoar was a member of the anti-slavery Free Soil Party, a supporter of women’s rights, and later an anti-imperialist, he chose, like Adams, to look past Lamar’s questionable views on race. On disfranchisement specifically, O’Brien rightly claims that Henry Adams was “indifferent” and that L.Q.C. Lamar “maintained a cordial relationship, if scarcely an alliance” with Blanche K. Bruce, the senior Republican senator from Mississippi who was born a slave in Virginia.¹⁰⁸ As a child, Bruce was the “body servant” to the son of a wealthy planter and took full advantage of the exposure to lessons from the boy’s personal tutor. After fighting in the Union Army, Bruce saved the money to put himself through Oberlin College.¹⁰⁹ After an interview with Bruce in 1877, Lamar wrote to Clark: “I told him I regarded him as the legitimate representative of the colored people of [Mississippi] and myself as that of the whites,” no matter “how distinct the two races unquestionably were.”¹¹⁰

Throughout his life, Henry Adams identified with the beliefs and symbolism of southern statesmen like George Washington while attempting to reconcile this admiration with the fact that Washington was a planter and slaveholder. The grandson of John Quincy Adams and great-grandson of John Adams could have easily run for political office himself. Instead, the Harvard-

¹⁰⁷ George F. Hoar, *Autobiography of Seventy Years, Vol. 1-2* (Project Gutenberg: 2006 [1903]), eBook #19548, <http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/19548/pg19548-images.html>.

¹⁰⁸ Michael O’Brien, *Henry Adams and the Southern Question* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2005), 63-65. On Bruce, see Lawrence Otis Graham’s *The Senator and the Socialite* (2006) and Samuel Shapiro’s “A Black Senator from Mississippi” (1982).

¹⁰⁹ “Death of Hon. Blanche K. Bruce,” *Zion’s Herald (1868-1910)* 76, no. 12 (1898): 358.

¹¹⁰ *Letter from L.Q.C. Lamar to E.D. Clark*, March 15, 1877, Box 1, Folder 22, L.Q.C. Lamar Collection, University of Mississippi Libraries, Oxford, Mississippi.

educated historian, journalist, and novelist wrote about politics, only holding one political post in his lifetime as secretary to his father Charles Francis Adams Sr., Abraham Lincoln's ambassador to England. Henry Adams is better known for publications such as the novel *Democracy*, histories of the Founding Fathers and medieval architecture, and his autobiography. First published in 1907, *The Education of Henry Adams* was more widely distributed following the historian's death in 1918 with a preface from American statesman and fellow historian Henry Cabot Lodge. The autobiography is known for Adams' critiques of modernity, as he believed that Americans had abandoned moral progress in unquestioning devotion to technology and industry. In *The Education*, Adams described an early trip to Virginia. He explained that the institution of slavery was "the cause of this road's badness which amounted to social crime- and yet, at the end of the road and product of the crime stood Mount Vernon and George Washington," who "could not be reached on Boston lines."¹¹¹ Adams explained, "George Washington was a primary...an ultimate relation, like the Pole Star, and amid the endless restless motion of every other visible point in space, he alone remained steady, in the mind of Henry Adams, to the end."¹¹²

Though Adams directly associated Washington with the institution of slavery in *The Education*, other passages from the autobiography show much more scathing critiques of southerners. Adams wrote that the southern secessionists were "unbalanced in mind" and "stupendously ignorant of the world." The historian claimed, "No one learned a useful lesson from the Confederate school except to keep away from it."¹¹³ In contrast, a passage praising the unpopular southern president Andrew Johnson can explain Adams' seemingly contradictory

¹¹¹ Henry Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1918), 39-40.

¹¹² Adams, 47.

¹¹³ Adams, 81-82.

statements. Though he often disagreed with southern political platforms, Adams admired a certain characterization of the region. He explained:

The old-fashioned Southern Senator and statesman sat...with a look of self-esteem that had its value. None doubted. All were great men; some, no doubt, were greater than others; but all were statesmen...supported...by the moral certainty of rightness...Lamar used to say that he never entertained a doubt of the...Southern system until he found that slavery could not stand a war. Slavery was only a part of the Southern system, and the life of it all...was its moral certainty of self. The southerner could not doubt; and this self-assurance not only gave Andrew Johnson the look of a true President, but actually made him one.¹¹⁴

Though Adams called these politicians honest, he admitted that they cost the country the Civil War. Adams followed this remark with a statement claiming Charles Sumner and George Hoar were likewise honest officeholders, but their policies had negative effects on the country in other ways.¹¹⁵ Placing Lamar and southern politicians before and after the war in the same category of statesmen as Sumner and Hoar serves to temper Adams' criticism. Senator Hoar himself provided a similar explanation for southern support of controversial figures and political platforms, as he argued that though Lamar would have "done nothing himself not scrupulously honorable...he did not stop to inquire into matters of right and wrong when a southerner had got into trouble." "Yet," Hoar continued, "Mr. Lamar desired most sincerely the reconciliation of the sections, that the age-long strife should come to an end."¹¹⁶

In Henry Adams' 1880 political satire *Democracy*, the corrupt Senator Silas Ratcliffe, unsurprisingly modeled after James Blaine, competes against former Confederate and southern lawyer John Carrington, a character meant to symbolize the virtues and ideas of someone like

¹¹⁴ Adams, 198.

¹¹⁵ Adams, 279-280.

¹¹⁶ George F. Hoar, *Autobiography of Seventy Years, Vol. 1-2* [1903] (Project Gutenberg: 2006), eBook #19548, <http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/19548/pg19548-images.html>.

George Washington. Adams did not come into close contact with southerners until he moved to Washington D.C. Along with Lamar, Adams befriended former Confederates Richard Taylor of Louisiana and James Lowndes of South Carolina, who was most likely the inspiration for Carrington's character.¹¹⁷ *The Education and Democracy* show that Adams tried to reconcile his reverence for Washington, Jefferson, and other southern statesmen with the depravity of slavery, the devastation wrought by the Civil War, and the resulting social and political turmoil that occurred across sectional lines. Adams associated Carrington with an idea of America more similar to the early republic than the Gilded Age.¹¹⁸ Though Carrington never attains Ratcliffe's level of political power, he prevails in preventing the corrupt Senator Ratcliffe from marrying another main character, Madeleine Lee. In September 1880, Henry James wrote to his friend and Adams' wife Marian Adams, a respected photographer, that he heard "a good deal about the little book."¹¹⁹ Henry Holt first published the novel anonymously that year, as the publishers rightly assumed Blaine and many others would be enraged.¹²⁰ In July 1882, British reviewer Mary Ward attested to the popularity of *Democracy* in both England and the United States when she included a sympathetic description of Henry Adams' protagonist: "He fought in the ranks for the South, not for slavery, but for independence and Virginia."¹²¹ In one section, Carrington takes Madeleine Lee's sister to Arlington, Virginia. Adams contrasts her worldview with Carrington's

¹¹⁷ Intellectual historian Michael O'Brien's *Henry Adams and the Southern Question* (2005) is the most extensive study of Adams' involvement with southern thought and culture. On Adams generally, see Ernest Samuels' *The Young Henry Adams* (1948), *Henry Adams: The Middle Years* (1958), *Henry Adams: The Major Phase* (1964), and John Carlos Rowe's *Henry Adams and Henry James* (1976). For intellectual histories of the Northeast from the Civil War to the Progressive Era, see Louis Menand's *The Metaphysical Club* (2001), Richard Teichgraeber's *Building Culture* (2010), and Cornel West's *The American Evasion of Philosophy* (1989).

¹¹⁸ Noel Perrin, Introduction to *Democracy: an American Novel* by Henry Adams [1880] (New York: Harmony Books, 1982), viii, xi.

¹¹⁹ *Henry James to Marian Adams*, September 9, 1880, in *The Correspondence of Henry James and Henry Adams, 1877-1914*, ed. George Monteiro (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992).

¹²⁰ Noel Perrin, Introduction to *Democracy: an American Novel* by Henry Adams [1880] (New York: Harmony Books, 1982), viii.

¹²¹ Mary A. Ward, Review of *Democracy: an American Novel* by Henry Adams [1882,] *The Fortnightly Review* 38 in *Critical Essays on Henry Adams*, ed. Earl N. Harbert (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1981).

as they ride through the cemetery: “This was war – wounds, disease, death. She...asked what all these graves meant.” As he spoke, she realized he may have killed Union soldiers himself: “She felt that Carrington was further from her. He gained dignity in his rebel isolation.”¹²² They ride to the Robert E. Lee mansion, where from the porch they see the “raw and incoherent ugliness” of Washington D.C. in the late nineteenth century. Despite his reverence for George Washington, who chose the design of the building, Adams called the walls of the U.S. Capitol “fortress-like.”¹²³ For Adams, the comparison of the mansion and river to the city in the distance was a visual expression of what Carrington and the corrupt senator represent ideologically.

As further evidence for a widespread acceptance of a certain type of southerner following the Civil War, Henry James also wrote a former Confederate character into his 1886 novel *The Bostonians*.¹²⁴ Scholars argue that James’ character Basil Ransom was directly modeled on L.Q.C. Lamar, as the politician was one of the few Mississippians Henry James had ever met.¹²⁵ After the publication of the novel, James wrote to John Hay, future secretary of state under Theodore Roosevelt, that “the noble Lamar” had approved of the book and Basil Ransom’s character. He wrote, “Without betraying to Lamar that you betrayed him, do whisper to him that it gave me very great pleasure to know that in the figure of [Ransom] he did recognize something human & Mississippian.”¹²⁶ It cannot be known if James or Lamar were being genuine in giving these compliments. The significance is in the fact that Lamar read at least parts of the book and felt it important enough to mention to Hay. For all the nuance of James’ social critique in *The*

¹²² Henry Adams, *Democracy: an American Novel* [1880] (New York: Harmony Books, 1982), 145.

¹²³ Adams, 146.

¹²⁴ See Leon Edel’s *Henry James* (1953).

¹²⁵ Philip J. McFarland, *John Hay, Friend of the Giants: The Man and Life Connecting Abraham Lincoln, Mark Twain, Henry James, and Theodore Roosevelt* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2017), 198-197.

¹²⁶ Alfred Habegger, *Henry James and the “Woman Business”* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 193-195.

Bostonians, the former Confederate Ransom prevails by the end of the novel, with some critics arguing that he possessed an “intelligent romantic conservatism” and had a “set of civilized principles to fall back on.”¹²⁷ Moreover, James’ descriptions of Ransom, though filled with his characteristic irony, still seem a form of praise when compared to his descriptions of the Chancellors, a New England bourgeois family. He wrote that “[Ransom’s] eyes especially...have indicated that he was to be a great American statesman; or...they may have simply proved that came from Carolina or Alabama. He came, in fact, from Mississippi.” In possibly one of the clearest comparisons to Lamar in the novel, James wrote that “Basil Ransom had read [Auguste] Comte, he had read everything.”¹²⁸ In addition, Lamar and Ransom both loved Thomas Carlyle, who scholars have identified as providing some southern politicians with sophisticated pro-slavery arguments. Alfred Habegger’s description of Carlyle and Ransom could also apply to Lamar: “[Ransom] is a transatlantic Carlyle, narrow, cruel, backward-looking, explosive,” but “brilliant in thought and style.”¹²⁹

More so than Adams, Henry James’ experience with the South seems to have been limited for the most part to his imagination. C. Vann Woodward explains that James specifically identified with the Old-World charm, European antiquity, and grandeur of cities like Charleston, South Carolina.¹³⁰ In James’ autobiography *Notes of a Son and Brother*, published a year before his death in 1915, he wrote with condescension about his father’s unprofitable investment in Florida cotton land. Nonetheless, James still used language which articulated an imagined version of the South, writing, “There was provocation, at those subsequent seasons, in the very

¹²⁷ Irving Howe, “Preface” to *The Bostonians* by Henry James [1886] (New York: Modern Library, 1956), xxiv.

¹²⁸ Henry James, *The Bostonians* [1886] (New York: Modern Library, 1956), 5, 20.

¹²⁹ Alfred Habegger, *Henry James and the “Woman Business”* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 195.

¹³⁰ C. Vann Woodward, *The Burden of Southern History* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1960), 139.

place-name of Serenola, beautiful to ear and eye.” Though James never traveled to Florida and the venture was finally a failed one, he still wrote about the South with a sense of wonder, describing a “mere borrowed, and so brokenly borrowed, impression of southern fields basking in a light we didn’t know, of scented sub-tropic nights.”¹³¹

It may seem inconsistent that Henry Adams, as more of a traditionalist than James, would see something reminiscent of the early republic in L.Q.C. Lamar, a proponent of the New South Creed. An 1886 article in the *New Mississippian* shows how Lamar’s persona as a philosopher-statesman or one of the “statesmen of the old type” could coexist with his reputation as a supporter of industry. The *Memphis Appeal* covered an address given by Secretary of the Interior Lamar, making claims that he supported commerce and “free exchange” in the city. Yet, the same writer argued that Lamar was “a great American statesman, who was called by John Stuart Mill, as one of the proudest men of the 19th century.”¹³² Senator George Hoar reconciled the apparent contradiction when he wrote that Lamar believed “the whole South should share the prosperity and wealth and refinement and contentment, which submission to the new order of things would bring.”¹³³ The South lost immense economic power immediately following the war, with many scholars calling the region the United States’ first colony due to unfair tariffs, high freight and interest rates, low pay, and reliance on expensive Northern goods, among other issues. Before the conflict, the South may have been the most powerful region in the nation. Joel Williamson writes that “eight of the first twelve presidents of the United States were

¹³¹ Henry James, *Notes of a Son and Brother* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1914), 461.

¹³² “Hon. L.Q.C. Lamar,” *Memphis Appeal, The New Mississippian* (Jackson), January 5, 1886, Microfilm, University of Mississippi Libraries, Oxford, Mississippi.

¹³³ George F. Hoar, *Autobiography of Seventy Years, Vol. 1-2* [1903] (Project Gutenberg: 2006), eBook #19548, <http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/19548/pg19548-images.html>.

southerners,” all of whom owned a significant number of slaves.¹³⁴ Individuals like Atlanta journalist Henry Grady and L.Q.C. Lamar sought to relieve the South of its colonial status through industry and economic growth and therefore increase the political power which Lamar had originally won back in 1877 and through the following decade.

Moreover, though Lamar supported southern industry, he was not an industrialist himself and never became publically associated with corruption. Lamar, as a lawyer, professor, and public servant, held the professions most acceptable to Hofstadter’s early progressives. Most who knew Lamar never associated him with dishonest politics, which was universally despised by the small imperialist elite. General E.C. Walthall echoed many of Lamar’s contemporaries by arguing that the Senator’s “lofty aims and instincts” were above the usual business of politics, calling him a public figure who was “beyond the reach of flattery or fear.”¹³⁵ The Massachusetts Republican George Hoar wrote that Lamar was a “far-sighted” thinker, never “misled by temporary excitement or by deference to the majority of his political friends who were less far-sighted than he.”¹³⁶ Henry Adams and Marian Adams, a well-known abolitionist sympathizer, disapproved of Henry James dining with the corrupt Republican Senator James Blaine.¹³⁷ However, they welcomed Lamar into their home despite his involvement in slavery and secession. Similarly, in lines deleted from the published version of *Profiles in Courage*, John F. Kennedy stated that the Northern Republicans who made up the investigating committee for the 1876 Mississippi election hypocritically accused the state officials which appointed Lamar of being corrupt when they themselves had “secured the presidency for their party by fraud and

¹³⁴ Joel Williamson, *William Faulkner and Southern History* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 13.

¹³⁵ E.C. Walthall, “A Beautiful Tribute to the Memory of the Late Justice Lamar,” 1893, Box 1, Folder 50, L.Q.C. Lamar Collection, University of Mississippi Libraries, Oxford, Mississippi.

¹³⁶ George F. Hoar, *Autobiography of Seventy Years, Vol. 1-2* [1903] (Project Gutenberg: 2006), eBook #19548, <http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/19548/pg19548-images.html>.

¹³⁷ Michael O’Brien, *Henry Adams and the Southern Question* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2005), 65.

threats of violence.”¹³⁸ Furthermore, an 1885 *Puck* cartoon shows President Grover Cleveland, Secretary of the Interior L.Q.C. Lamar, and the remainder of the cabinet standing in front of “Painter of the Revolution” John Trumbull’s 1817 painting *Declaration of Independence*. The artist depicted Cleveland and his cabinet in the same formation as the Founding Fathers, with corrupt political bosses grimacing and writhing in front of them. Papers cover the floor surrounding the bosses with headlines like “New York Boss,” “Rural Boss,” and “Boss from South,” providing evidence that many thought Lamar was above corruption in comparison not only to Tammany Hall but to other southern Democrats.¹³⁹ Though southern elections in which the majority of states’ populations could not participate due to disfranchisement were in definition corrupt, the word often carried the association of Tammany and Northern Democrats during the late nineteenth century.

During Reconstruction and the years that followed, Mississippi politician L.Q.C. Lamar became known as a philosopher-statesman and moderate intermediary between the North and South. Taken up by Americans like Henry Adams and John F. Kennedy, this symbolism has persisted despite evidence for Lamar’s contempt for the Republican Party and work to secure home rule. Adams and other Northeasterners like George Hoar and Henry James often made the choice to look past these contradictions, as elites across the United States during this period turned to classical societies and virtues in order to critique the culture of the Gilded Age. Adams and his contemporaries frequently expressed similar views to large sectors of southern

¹³⁸ John F. Kennedy, “Chapter 7: Today I Must Be True or False...Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus Lamar,” Part 3, Chapter 7: Lucius Q.C. Lamar: Item 13- mimeograph, transcript additions, deletions 1954-1955, Profiles in Courage, Series 10, Manuscripts, Box 40, John F. Kennedy Personal Papers, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library & Museum, Boston, Massachusetts, <https://www.jfklibrary.org/asset-viewer/archives/JFKPP/029/JFKPP-029-013>.

¹³⁹ *A new declaration of independence in the year 1885*, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Theodore Roosevelt Digital Library, Dickinson State University, Dickinson, North Dakota, <https://www.theodorerooseveltcenter.org/Research/Digital-Library/Record?libID=o287542>.

Democrats, and even some populists, such as nativism and other discriminatory forms of thought. Therefore, this work calls C. Vann Woodward's exceptional South thesis into question through an examination of common ideologies across sectional lines in the late nineteenth century. For the historian Henry Adams, connections emerged for him as a child visiting Mount Vernon in Virginia, as he encountered the concomitance of George Washington's Americanness and his open participation in the institution of slavery. Finally, Adams was able to reconcile these contradictions as well as those present in the belief systems of southern contacts like the Mississippi politician L.Q.C. Lamar through both apathy and amorality, as well as reverence for the early republic and an aversion to industrial society.

PART II

TRIUMPH AND WRETCHEDNESS:
THE LEGACIES OF L.Q.C. LAMAR

Republican Senator George Hoar wrote in his autobiography that he never saw himself as possessing exceptional gifts. However, he believed his experiences with individuals like abolitionist crusader Daniel Webster, transcendentalist philosopher Ralph Waldo Emerson, and southern statesman L.Q.C. Lamar could be useful to the next generation.”¹⁴⁰ In *Profiles in Courage*, John F. Kennedy quoted Washington critic William Preston Johnson on the popular myth that Lamar’s family “had a fatal dowry of genius.” Johnson wrote that Lamar knew “its triumph and some share of its wretchedness.”¹⁴¹ Lamar’s legacies in politics and culture held, like his life, their share of triumph and wretchedness for Americans following the senator’s death. The historical question arises as to how the contradictions in Lamar’s political thought, as both a failed Confederate with white supremacist views and a national symbol of centrism and moderation, were understood by subsequent generations following his death.

In the Deep South, Lamar was remembered as a national figure but also as a conservative intellectual who remained committed to state sovereignty and sectional concerns. Nationally,

¹⁴⁰ George F. Hoar, *Autobiography of Seventy Years, Vol. 1-2* [1903] (Project Gutenberg: 2006), eBook #19548, <http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/19548/pg19548-images.html>.

¹⁴¹ John F. Kennedy, “Chapter 7: Today I Must Be True or False...Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus Lamar,” Part 3, Chapter 7: Lucius Q.C. Lamar: Item 13- mimeograph, transcript additions, deletions 1954-1955, Profiles in Courage, Series 10, Manuscripts, Box 40, John F. Kennedy Personal Papers, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library & Museum, Boston, Massachusetts, <https://www.jfklibrary.org/asset-viewer/archives/JFKPP/029/JFKPP-029-013>.

Lamar is memorialized as separate from his secessionist past through examples like Theodore Roosevelt's progressive conservation policy. The regional memorialization considered Lamar in the context of both secession and reunion, which can be seen in a Mississippi candidate for governor's mention of the politician during the 1906 unveiling of a Confederate monument at the state university in Oxford. Other addresses and publications on Lamar from North Mississippi continued to emphasize his role in the reunion of the sections while resorting to the language and imagery of the Lost Cause to describe the politician's actions during the Civil War. Despite the passage of time, some southerners still associated Lamar with slavery and antebellum planter culture. One notable Mississippian, the writer William Faulkner, repudiated the idealization of Lamar by giving his name to an unsophisticated slave owner with small holdings in the 1942 novel *Go Down, Moses*.

In contrast, President Theodore Roosevelt would go on to utilize Lamar's policies and strategies while distancing him from his secessionist past. Roosevelt was influenced by Lamar's political acumen and more specifically, by his ideas about federal lands and land use. TR hired Jackson Democrat Edgar Wilson to reform the Mississippi Republican Party, who then urged the president to study L.Q.C. Lamar. Many historians consider Lamar's time in the Department of the Interior as influential to TR's establishment of the National Park Service and other progressive pieces of legislation. On the other hand, Secretary of the Interior Lamar held paternalist and assimilationist views on Native Americans which would now be considered far from progressive. In keeping with Lamar's national reputation during the Progressive era, he was remembered more as a symbol of reconciliation rather than secession and Civil War throughout the twentieth century.

III.

Mississippians honored L.Q.C. Lamar as both a proud former Confederate and symbol of national reconciliation after his death in 1893, with a candidate for governor quoting the Sumner eulogy at the dedication of a Confederate monument at the University of Mississippi. Among other ideological goals, southern elites used monuments and their unveilings to urge reacceptance of their region as part of American national culture and society.¹⁴² In 1906, at the May 10 dedication of the monument of a Confederate soldier on campus, candidate for governor Charles Scott addressed the crowd: “At last the whole nation begins to show signs of accepting the noble and patriotic sentiment of Oxford’s statesman and peerless orator, the incomparable Lamar: ‘My countrymen, know one another, and you will love one another.’”¹⁴³ Just as Lamar used the Sumner eulogy to advance southern home rule in the early 1870s, Charles Scott, who promised to uphold white supremacy in his platform, used the senator’s words on national understanding to argue for the welcome return of the forgiven South to American society.¹⁴⁴ During the Gilded Age and into the early twentieth century, elites in both the North and South appropriated themes and images from the past to shape politics and society to achieve their own

¹⁴² Catherine W. Bishir, “Landmarks of Power: Building a Southern Past, 1885–1915,” *Southern Cultures* 1 no. 1 (1993): 5-6, accessed March 12, 2019, <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/430576>.

¹⁴³ Mrs. N.D. Deupree, *Confederate Veteran* 14 (July 1906): 306-307, in “A Brief Historical Contextualization of the Confederate Monument at the University of Mississippi” by John Neff, Jarod Roll, and Anne Twitty. May 16, 2016, accessed November 9, 2018, <http://history.olemiss.edu/wp-content/uploads/sites/6/2017/08/A-Brief-Historical-Contextualization-of-the-Confederate-Monument-at-the-University-of-Mississippi.pdf>.

¹⁴⁴ John Neff, Jarod Roll, and Anne Twitty, “A Brief Historical Contextualization of the Confederate Monument at the University of Mississippi,” May 16, 2016, accessed November 9, 2018, <http://history.olemiss.edu/wp-content/uploads/sites/6/2017/08/A-Brief-Historical-Contextualization-of-the-Confederate-Monument-at-the-University-of-Mississippi.pdf>.

ends. From their perspective, the America of the early republic had been left behind with changes wrought by war and reunion, the rising power of industry, and other fears resulting in many of the ideologies and movements which Hofstadter identifies.¹⁴⁵ Structures like the monument at the University of Mississippi were part of this effort by elites to position southern society as noble even after the tragedy of slavery and loss of the Civil War.

The Confederate monument at the University of Mississippi represents the South's attempt at reintegration through both the oratory on national reunion at the dedication as well as its designers' appropriation of classical aesthetics and themes. During this period, classical aesthetics were not only reminiscent of antebellum plantations in the Deep South but of the neoclassical architecture favored by the Founding Fathers, such as Jefferson's Monticello and the University of Virginia. Moreover, the monument also displays classical themes. One side of the structure shows an inscription of Lord Byron's testament to the defenders of Venice during the Ottoman-Venetian War of 1714-1718, and the other bares the words of Simonides of Cyos in a clear comparison of the defense of the South to the defense of Greece in the Battle of Thermopylae. In Charles Scott's address, he claimed the song "Dixie" was recognized in France as an "homage paid by the civilized world to the memory of the Old South, once radiant with the glory that was Greece and the grandeur that was Rome."¹⁴⁶ Scott claimed that the South fought a "great fight for the sake of principle alone."¹⁴⁷ In L.Q.C. Lamar's 1887 oration at the unveiling of the John C. Calhoun Monument in South Carolina, he wrote that the South only fell to the

¹⁴⁵ Catherine W. Bishir, "Landmarks of Power: Building a Southern Past, 1885–1915," *Southern Cultures* 1 no. 1 (1993): 7, accessed March 12, 2019, <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/430576>.

¹⁴⁶ Mrs. N.D. Deupree, *Confederate Veteran* 14 (July 1906): 307, in *A Brief Historical Contextualization of the Confederate Monument at the University of Mississippi* by John Neff, Jarod Roll, and Anne Twitty, May 16, 2016, accessed November 9, 2018, <http://history.olemiss.edu/wp-content/uploads/sites/6/2017/08/A-Brief-Historical-Contextualization-of-the-Confederate-Monument-at-the-University-of-Mississippi.pdf>.

¹⁴⁷ "Dedication of the Monument to the Departed Confederate Soldiers," *Oxford (MS) Eagle*, May 17, 1906, Microfilm, University of Mississippi Libraries, Oxford, Mississippi.

Union Army “after a resistance as heroic as any recorded in the annals of Greece and Rome.” Like Scott and other public speakers, Lamar used the moment to claim Reconstruction as an “odious injustice” but “the result” as “the full and equal restoration of the Southern States” to the nation.¹⁴⁸ Structures like the University of Mississippi monument continued to be built throughout the early twentieth century. On Decoration Day in 1923, members of the United Daughters of Confederacy mentioned Lamar as an “orator, statesman, and friend” in speeches near another monument located in the Confederate cemetery on the campus of the state university.¹⁴⁹

After Lamar’s death, North Mississippians wrote with reverence for the late politician, praising him for his actions in war as well as reunion. In 1893, his close friend E.C. Walthall gave an address on Lamar which can now be seen as one of the first examples of the hero-making literature published following his death. Walthall confirmed Lamar’s reputation as a philosopher-statesman, writing that he read “books of the law, philosophy, history, science and literature in every branch that he could enrich his mind.” He challenged the critique of Lamar as an idealist in the claim that he “retained nothing which was mystified or clouded,” arguing that what Lamar saw, “he saw clearly.” Though he cited the eulogy and spoke of Lamar’s love of country, Walthall nonetheless connected the politician to the memory of the Civil War: “Entering the service of his section as a volunteer soldier,” Lamar was “eager, gallant and efficient in the gigantic conflict of arms which grew out of the teachings which he sanctioned, and the institutions he approved.” Instead of ignoring the politician’s secessionist views, Walthall used

¹⁴⁸ L.Q.C. Lamar, “On the Unveiling of the Calhoun Monument,” Extracts from an Oration delivered at Charleston, South Carolina, April 26, 1887 in *Library of Southern Literature*, ed. Edwin Anderson Alderman and Joel Chandler Harris (Atlanta, GA: The Martin & Hoyt Company, 1909), 2983-2984.

¹⁴⁹ “Decoration Day,” *Oxford (MS) Eagle*, June 28, 1923, Microfilm, University of Mississippi Libraries, Oxford, Mississippi.

the argument espoused by Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes and others that Civil War service allowed him to act as a more experienced or objective judge.¹⁵⁰ In 1896, University of Mississippi student James Edmonds found it important enough to mention in a letter home that a friend was the nephew of the renowned L.Q.C. Lamar.¹⁵¹

A decade later, W. Lane Austin, presumably another student, published an article honoring Lamar as both a secessionist slaveholder and a national conciliator in the *University of Mississippi Magazine*. The student employs the language of the Lost Cause, pitting Lamar and Ben Hill of Georgia against Northern Republicans like Roscoe Conkling, James Blaine, and Charles Sumner. Austin wrote that “carpet-bag rule had been overthrown and Democrats were again in power” due to Lamar’s defense of his “prostrated land and vanquished heroes.”¹⁵² In this student’s view, posterity would know Lamar as both the “great pacificator” and the “worthy successor of President Davis.”¹⁵³ Lamar remained a loyal supporter of former Confederate President Jefferson Davis throughout the Civil War and after his fall from grace. Though Lamar and George Hoar resolved many differences with time, Lamar once equated Davis with Prometheus and Hoar with an attacking vulture when the Republican opposed Davis’ pension as a Mexican-American War veteran.¹⁵⁴ James R. Chalmers, a Mississippi Democrat with whom Lamar had significant differences, claimed that L.Q.C. Lamar was “always identified in action

¹⁵⁰ E.C. Walthall, “A Beautiful Tribute to the Memory of the Late Justice Lamar,” 1893, Box 1, Folder 50, L.Q.C. Lamar Collection, University of Mississippi Libraries, Oxford, Mississippi. On Holmes and the Civil War, see Louis Menand’s *The Metaphysical Club* (2001).

¹⁵¹ *Letter from James E. Edmonds to Major & Mrs. J.E. Edmonds*, October 27, 1896, James Edmonds Collection, University of Mississippi Libraries, Oxford, Mississippi, accessed May 3, 2019, <https://egrove.olemiss.edu/edmonds/14/>.

¹⁵² W. Lane Austin, “Senator Lamar,” *University of Mississippi Magazine* 20 no. 6, (April 1896): 2-8, University of Mississippi Libraries, Oxford, Mississippi.

¹⁵³ Austin, 7-8.

¹⁵⁴ George F. Hoar, *Autobiography of Seventy Years, Vol. 1-2* [1903] (Project Gutenberg: 2006), eBook #19548, <http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/19548/pg19548-images.html>.

and spirit” with Jefferson Davis.¹⁵⁵ Austin emphasized Lamar’s argument that the former Confederate president was “no more culpable than himself.” Alluding to the early republic, the Mississippi senator compared Davis to eminent statesmen who notably retired from politics such as John Hampden and George Washington. To end his tribute to Lamar, the student wrote that a “golden chain of Southern statesmanship” consisted of Thomas Jefferson, John C. Calhoun, Jefferson Davis, and L.Q.C. Lamar.¹⁵⁶

In the decades following Reconstruction, reconciliation, and Lamar’s death, many southerners viewed the politician as a symbol of moderate statesmanship while continuing to associate his memory with the antebellum image of the planter. Charles Galloway wrote that Lamar wanted to live the “quiet, luxurious, literary life of a Southern planter” but was called instead to serve the public.¹⁵⁷ A Washington journalist called the politician one of the “old time Southern statesmen” and a “type of a Southern planter.”¹⁵⁸ In the *University of Mississippi Magazine* article, W. Lane Austin lists Lamar’s status as a slaveholder in the context of his accomplishments and positive attributes, explaining that he was, “a slave-holder and secessionist, a lover of liberty and of the sisterhood of states, a soldier and a diplomat, a teacher in our State University and a law-maker.”¹⁵⁹ During Lamar’s time as a plantation owner in Abbeville, Mississippi, he was content practicing law in Holly Springs and studying politics and philosophy in his office overlooking the Tallahatchie River. Lamar’s property was south of the railroad

¹⁵⁵ *L.Q.C. Lamar to E.D. Clark*, July 15, 1881, Box 1, Folder 40, L.Q.C. Lamar Collection, University of Mississippi Libraries, Oxford, Mississippi.

¹⁵⁶ W. Lane Austin, “Senator Lamar,” *University of Mississippi Magazine* 20 no. 6, (April 1896): 8, University of Mississippi Libraries, Oxford, Mississippi.

¹⁵⁷ Charles B. Galloway, “Lucius Q.C. Lamar” in *Library of Southern Literature*, ed. Edwin Anderson Alderman and Joel Chandler Harris (Atlanta, GA: The Martin & Hoyt Company, 1909), 2963.

¹⁵⁸ D. B. (De Benneville) Randolph Keim, *Society in Washington: Its Noted Men, Accomplished Women, Established Customs, and Notable Events* (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Publishing Company, 1887), 46, Library of Congress, Washington D.C., <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=loc.ark:/13960/t8z89gc2j&view=1up&seq=7>.

¹⁵⁹ W. Lane Austin, “Senator Lamar,” *University of Mississippi Magazine* 20 no. 6, (April 1896): 7, University of Mississippi Libraries, Oxford, Mississippi.

crossing over the Tallahatchie and near General U.S. Grant's line during the Civil War.¹⁶⁰ Like his father-in-law Augustus Longstreet, Lamar was not overly preoccupied with managing affairs at his plantation Solitude, often relegating tasks to Virginia Lamar and employees. During this period, Lamar had frequent discussions with Longstreet on matters of politics and the law. Moreover, Lamar, Longstreet, and his daughter Frances Branham contributed to a large library of Greek and Latin classics, British literature, philosophy, and theology.¹⁶¹

On a parcel of some of the most expensive land in Lafayette County, Lamar's plantation was comprised of about a thousand acres and around 26-31 slaves.¹⁶² In the words of William Faulkner, the slaves, "in the power of life and death had removed the forest from it and in their sweat scratched the surface of it...to grow something out of it which had not been there before."¹⁶³ According to the 1860 Census, Lamar owned exactly 31 slaves, likely all born in Georgia. The census listed none of Lamar's slaves as mixed race or mulatto, but the true ancestry of enslaved individuals was not always disclosed during this period.¹⁶⁴ Many scholars have emphasized the paternalist argument of the politician's son-in-law Edward Mayes, who wrote that Lamar was "surrounded by his slaves...at once master, guardian, and friend."¹⁶⁵ Mayes plainly stated in the first Lamar biography that slavery was not only "a unifying agency for the South" but "also understood to be a source of political power to each State" due to the Three-

¹⁶⁰ Jack Mayfield, Lamar and Grant's unexpected first meeting," *Oxford (MS) Eagle*, June 5, 2016, accessed February 2, 2020, <https://www.oxfordeagle.com/2016/06/05/lamar-and-grants-unexpected-first-meeting/>.

¹⁶¹ John Donald Wade, *Augustus Baldwin Longstreet: A Study of the Development of Culture in the South* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1924), 302.

¹⁶² Donald H. Doyle, *Faulkner's County: The Historical Roots of Yoknapatawpha* (London and Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 168.

¹⁶³ William Faulkner, *Go Down, Moses* (New York: Random House, 1942), 254-255.

¹⁶⁴ Joel Williamson, *William Faulkner and Southern History* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 131.

¹⁶⁵ John Donald Wade, *Augustus Baldwin Longstreet: A Study of the Development of Culture in the South* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1924), 312-313.

Fifths Compromise.¹⁶⁶ After the war, according to Mayes, “The [southern] country, moreover, was utterly impoverished. Not only were the slaves freed, but also land values were enormously reduced.”¹⁶⁷

Oxford native and author William Faulkner chose to memorialize the politician L.Q.C. Lamar as a morally bankrupt middling planter in North Mississippi rather than a moderate southern conciliator with international appeal. Faulkner’s 1942 novel *Go Down, Moses* is considered one of the most blatant social critiques in his prolific catalog. In the novel, Faulkner exposes the South, writing of “the rich white lawyers and judges and marshals talking to one another around their proud cigars, the haughty and powerful of the earth.”¹⁶⁸ He reveals Mississippi to be a place with “too much cotton and corn and hogs, and not enough for people to eat and wear” instead of a place invoking “the glory that was Greece and the grandeur that was Rome.”¹⁶⁹ One historian claimed Faulkner gave the fictional slaveholder L.Q.C. “Old Carothers” McCaslin Lamar’s name “in dubious honor.”¹⁷⁰ Despite the ambiguity of Faulkner’s intentions, the reference to Lamar is inarguable: “Father dide Lucius Quintus Carothers McCaslin...Missippuy 1837.”¹⁷¹ Like the patriarch L.Q.C. McCaslin, his sons Amodeus and Theophilus have classical names.¹⁷² Faulkner also used the politician’s name for Carothers’ grandson, the product of the rape of his own daughter, a slave woman named Tennie. The

¹⁶⁶ Edward Mayes, *Lucius Q.C. Lamar, His Life, Times, and Speeches, 1825-1893* (Nashville, TN: Pub. House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1896), 46.

¹⁶⁷ Mayes, 119.

¹⁶⁸ William Faulkner, *Go Down, Moses* (New York: Random House, 1942), 72.

¹⁶⁹ Faulkner, 339.

¹⁷⁰ Donald H. Doyle, *Faulkner's County: The Historical Roots of Yoknapatawpha* (London and Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 147.

¹⁷¹ William Faulkner, *Go Down, Moses* (New York: Random House, 1942), 266. Faulkner also used Lamar’s name for the character Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus Priest in *The Reivers* (1962).

¹⁷² Faulkner, 105.

grandson, named Lucas Beauchamp, changes his first name from Lucius to Lucas to make it “no longer the white man’s but his own.”¹⁷³

L.Q.C. McCaslin is probably a combination of the names of two Mississippi plantation owners with small holdings, L.Q.C. Lamar and Holly Springs planter and sheriff John R. McCarroll.¹⁷⁴ In 1833, McCarroll started construction on a home called McCarroll Place in Holly Springs, Mississippi before the town had its charter. A small number of enslaved people lived on the property, and more lived on McCarroll’s plantation outside of Holly Springs. For slaveholders like McCarroll, farming was not of primary concern.¹⁷⁵ Similarly, Lamar wrote that slaveholding was not his main occupation but that many owned plantations for supplementary income. He mentioned “property,” meaning enslaved people, as naturally “accumulating” and therefore a good investment.¹⁷⁶ Rather than writing the character as a more sophisticated or established planter, the type typically memorialized in southern literature, Faulkner chose to combine the names of two individuals who owned relatively small amounts of property.¹⁷⁷ After he bought the land from the Chickasaw, “Carothers McCaslin, knowing better, could raise...his descendants and heirs,” Faulkner wrote, “to believe the land was his to hold and bequeath.” For over two

¹⁷³ Faulkner, 281.

¹⁷⁴ Sally Wolff, *Ledgers of History: William Faulkner, an almost Forgotten Friendship, and an Antebellum Plantation Diary: Memories of Dr. Edgar Wiggin Francisco III* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2010), 175. Some scholars doubt Francisco and Wolff’s claims. See Jack Elliot’s “Confabulations of History” (2012). John R. McCarroll’s grandson Edgar Francisco III claims his father’s friend William Faulkner studied the plantation diaries of Francis Terry Leak, another ancestor, at McCarroll Place during the 1920s and 1930s. Leak wrote to Lamar about business concerns, and Faulkner had access to the correspondence. He knew of Lamar outside of the diary and letters, but the fact that Lamar’s name and many others can be found in both Leak’s papers and *Go Down, Moses* supports Francisco’s claims.

¹⁷⁵ Wolff, 147.

¹⁷⁶ Donald H. Doyle, *Faulkner's County: The Historical Roots of Yoknapatawpha* (London and Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 132.

¹⁷⁷ Sally Wolff, *Ledgers of History: William Faulkner, an almost Forgotten Friendship, and an Antebellum Plantation Diary: Memories of Dr. Edgar Wiggin Francisco III* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2010), 3-5.

centuries, white southerners had enslaved African Americans on this land, and “for another hundred years not even a bloody civil war would have set them completely free.”¹⁷⁸

Despite Faulkner’s disavowal of the idealization of L.Q.C. Lamar, he could never quite escape the politician’s influence. Lamar directly shaped Faulkner’s fiction through the library of his son-in-law Edward Mayes. Before it burned in 1942, the Greek-Revival Avant-Stone mansion in Oxford served as the venue for lavish fundraisers for powerful politicians like Jacob Thompson. After incurring financial troubles from the Civil War, the builder W.T. Avant sold the house to Edward Mayes. Mayes’ large collection of books included many given to him by his father-in-law, some of which were passed on to Lamar by Jefferson Davis. For unknown reasons, Mayes did not move the library when he sold the house to the Stones, a prominent local family. Phil Stone, a friend and advisor to Faulkner, allowed him to use the space and borrow books from the family library. As a graduate of Yale and the University of Mississippi School of Law, Stone acted as a mentor to the younger writer.¹⁷⁹ Many scholars have since mentioned the influence of Mayes’ collection, and therefore many of Lamar’s books, on William Faulkner’s writing.¹⁸⁰ Faulkner stands out as the only Mississippian to memorialize Lamar as a slaveholder without also venerating the politician as a secessionist. In marked contrast to the language of the Lost Cause, Quentin Compson spoke in Faulkner’s 1929 novel *The Sound and the Fury*, “Because no battle is ever won... They are not even fought. The field only reveals to man his own folly and despair, and victory is an illusion of philosophers and fools.”¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁸ William Faulkner, *Go Down, Moses* (New York: Random House, 1942), 266.

¹⁷⁹ Joel Williamson, *William Faulkner and Southern History* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 177.

¹⁸⁰ See Jack Mayfield’s “An Oxford house ghost visit” (2016) in the *Oxford (MS) Eagle*.

¹⁸¹ William Faulkner, *The Sound and the Fury* [1929] in *William Faulkner: Novels 1926-1929*, ed. Joseph Blotner and Noel Polk (New York: The Library of America, 2006), 935.

IV.

Through Lamar's national legacies, the politician is considered separately from his Confederate past and work to secure home rule. This can most clearly be seen in his influence on Republican President Theodore Roosevelt. Though Lamar held questionable beliefs about race and political representation, aspects of his thinking were advanced for the time and similar to many progressive policies to come. The politician supported government intervention in two specific areas, funds for education and funds to establish state and federal lands. Little has been published on the influence of southern Democrats like Lamar on Roosevelt. Scholars usually discuss Roosevelt's southern connections through his mother's family, the War of 1898, the historic dinner with Booker T. Washington, or the Indianola Affair.¹⁸² This work, in emphasizing shared political ideas across sections, traces Lamar's political legacies through Theodore Roosevelt's relationship with Mississippi Democrat Edgar S. Wilson and his national conservation agenda.

As evidence for a direct connection between L.Q.C. Lamar and Theodore Roosevelt, the president named a Mississippi Democrat to reform the state Republican Party, who then recommended that he should educate himself on Lamar's political strategy. Because he was controversial in Mississippi, Theodore Roosevelt needed a conservative southerner like Edgar

¹⁸² See Deborah Davis' *Guest of Honor* (2013), Shennette Garrett-Scott's "Minnie Geddings Cox and the Indianola Affair, 1902-1904" (2018), and Henry F. Pringle's "Theodore Roosevelt and the South" (1933).

Wilson to reform the Republican Party in the state.¹⁸³ Decades later, like his relative TR, Franklin D. Roosevelt valued the support that came with placating the Solid South and sought to form partnerships with segregationists like the powerful Mississippi Democrat Pat Harrison.¹⁸⁴ In 1904, Edgar Wilson wrote that he had the “honor” to send the recently published biography of L.Q.C. Lamar to TR. He pointed out Lamar’s opposition to the Bland-Allison Act and the Charles Sumner eulogy as passages relevant to Roosevelt specifically. Wilson also mentioned that media coverage on TR’s “gracious treatment” of Lamar’s son, perhaps a symbolic gesture to appeal to the South, had been “widely reproduced.”¹⁸⁵ Roosevelt had previously admitted to Wilson that Mississippi would likely never support him in this lifetime.¹⁸⁶ However, he still employed the conservative Democrat as part of a “novel political experiment” during the elections of 1903.¹⁸⁷

It is widely known that Lamar’s stint as secretary of the interior influenced the progressive Theodore Roosevelt’s conservation policies.¹⁸⁸ General Walthall explained that though Lamar had no previous experience in the Department of the Interior, he had the skills and

¹⁸³ On Roosevelt, see Louis Auchincloss’ *Theodore Roosevelt* (2002), Doris Kearns Goodwin’s *The Bully Pulpit* (2013), Edmund Morris’ trilogy ending in *Colonel Roosevelt* (2010), Henry F. Pringle’s *Theodore Roosevelt* (1931), Paul M. Rego’s *American Ideal* (2008), and Jean M. Yarbrough’s *Theodore Roosevelt and the American Political Tradition* (2012).

¹⁸⁴ See Ira Katznelson’s *Fear Itself* (2013), William E. Leuchtenburg’s *The White House Looks South* (2005), and Martha H. Swain’s *Pat Harrison: The New Deal Years* (1978).

¹⁸⁵ *Letter from Edgar S. Wilson to Theodore Roosevelt*, December 14, 1904, Theodore Roosevelt Papers, Library of Congress Manuscript Division, Theodore Roosevelt Digital Library, Dickinson State University, Dickinson, North Dakota, <https://www.theodorerooseveltcenter.org/Research/Digital-Library/Record?libID=o48048>.

¹⁸⁶ *Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Edgar S. Wilson*, October 29, 1903, Theodore Roosevelt Papers, Library of Congress Manuscript Division, Theodore Roosevelt Digital Library, Dickinson State University, Dickinson, North Dakota, <https://www.theodorerooseveltcenter.org/Research/Digital-Library/Record?libID=o186326>.

¹⁸⁷ Willard B. Gatewood, “A Republican President and Democratic State Politics: Theodore Roosevelt in the Mississippi Primary of 1903,” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 14, no. 3 (1984): 428, accessed April 1, 2020, www.jstor.org/stable/27550103.

¹⁸⁸ Brian Wilson, “L. Q. C. Lamar,” *Mississippi Encyclopedia*, Center for the Study of Southern Culture, University of Mississippi, last modified May 2, 2018, accessed November 9, 2019, <https://mississippiencyclopedia.org/entries/lqc-lamar/>.

temperament to succeed in the position.¹⁸⁹ Lamar's national environmental policies directly influenced conservation efforts during the Progressive era through his designation of millions of acres as federal lands. Additionally, Lamar was significant in the establishment of national parks prior to Roosevelt's creation of the National Park Service in 1905. The Lamar River and Lamar Valley in Yellowstone National Park were therefore named in honor of the Mississippian.¹⁹⁰ In his first annual report as secretary, Lamar criticized logging enterprises that made massive profits from the untapped resources of the American West without compensating the federal government. Considering regulation of the railroads, Lamar used symbolic rhetoric as Theodore Roosevelt did against figures like J.P. Morgan at the turn of the century. Lamar specifically wrote that "still less was it intended that the system should be appropriated to the enriching of the few at the expense of the many." He frequently criticized corrupt cattle ranchers who built fences illegally, often appealing to Lockean principles like TR and the small imperialist elite: "Good government seeks to secure to the citizens its undisturbed enjoyment of his natural rights. Among these is the enjoyment of his lawful acquisitions. Land, lawfully acquired, is among the most important of his possessions."¹⁹¹ The Yellowstone Park Improvement Company had a monopoly over lodging, communications, and staging in the park. In 1885, Lamar investigated the corrupt Superintendent Robert Parker, close associate of the company and brother of the Iowa governor, and he was eventually removed from the position.¹⁹² Similarly, Lamar argued

¹⁸⁹ E.C. Walthall, "A Beautiful Tribute to the Memory of the Late Justice Lamar," 1893, Box 1, Folder 50, L.Q.C. Lamar Collection, University of Mississippi Libraries, Oxford, Mississippi.

¹⁹⁰ *L.Q.C. Lamar Foundation*, <http://lqclamar.org/lqc-lamar/>.

¹⁹¹ Wirt Armistead Cate, *Lucius Q.C. Lamar, Secession and Reunion* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1935), 448-449.

¹⁹² Sarah Ellen Broadbent, "Sportsmen and the Evolution of the Conservation Idea in Yellowstone: 1882-1894," MA Thesis, Montana State University, 1997, ScholarWorks at Montana State University, 72, <https://scholarworks.montana.edu/xmlui/bitstream/handle/1/7478/31762102370598.pdf?sequence=1>.

that the building of a railroad through Yellowstone would conflict with the preservation of natural resources, for which the park was originally founded.¹⁹³

In contrast, Lamar had a hand in the assimilationist and paternalist approach to Native American tribes by the U.S. Department of the Interior and federal government in general during the late-nineteenth century. Lamar's uncle and the "Poet President of Texas" Mirabeau Lamar was instrumental in the removal of Native Americans from the South during the early half of the century.¹⁹⁴ Known for driving tribes from his state by military force, the veteran of the Texas Revolution previously wrote in a poem on the prospect of war, "I bear no love but the love of arms."¹⁹⁵ Much of Mirabeau Lamar's administration, including his policies toward Native Americans, met significant disapproval and resistance.¹⁹⁶ Lamar's own views were less harsh but equally degrading, as he argued that Native Americans possessed an innate dislike of labor. In his opinion, tribes had been mistreated by corrupt cattle barons and government agents, and he advocated for a paternalist plan including funds to establish small farms and Native American schools.¹⁹⁷ Theodore Roosevelt expressed similar views in *The Winning of the West* (1889-1896). In Roosevelt's view, the superior manhood of white American men allowed them to conquer and civilize Native Americans. Roosevelt advanced American imperialism through related arguments which espoused that uncivilized nations like Hawaii and the Philippines "would be far happier

¹⁹³ Langdon Smith, Jr., "The Evolving National Park Idea: Yellowstone National Park, 1872-1890," MS Thesis, Montana State University, 1999, ScholarWorks at Montana State University, 140, <https://scholarworks.montana.edu/xmlui/bitstream/handle/1/8566/31762104216229.pdf;sequence=1>.

¹⁹⁴ See Stanley E. Siegel's *The Poet President of Texas* (1977).

¹⁹⁵ Mirabeau B. Lamar, "Give to the Poet His Well-Earned Praise," Written on the prospect of battle, Inscribed to General E.B. Nicholas, Galveston, Texas, *Library of Southern Literature*, ed. Edwin Anderson Alderman and Joel Chandler Harris (Atlanta, GA: The Martin & Hoyt Company, 1909), 2999.

¹⁹⁶ A. K. Christian, "Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 24, no. 4 (1921): 317-24, accessed March 2, 2020, www.jstor.org/stable/30234810.

¹⁹⁷ Wirt Armistead Cate, *Lucius Q.C. Lamar, Secession and Reunion* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1935), 444-446.

after the white man conquered them.”¹⁹⁸ Though he disapproved of extralegal violence such as lynching and other forms of racial terror, Roosevelt openly believed during the first half of his career that Africans and African Americans were at the bottom of a global hierarchy of races, and he argued for white control over all races in the United States deemed lesser or beneath Anglo-Saxons. Even after Lamar left the Department of the Interior, he continued to develop his interest in land use. Lamar brought in an English expert for his plantations in Abbeville and Taylor, Mississippi with hopes of turning former cotton fields into pasture land.¹⁹⁹ In an 1880 speech, Lamar had explained that “the planter...is striving to upbuild the waste spaces where labor is the only salvation for both negro as well as of the white man.”²⁰⁰ Lamar’s remark that the ruined cotton land and wilderness of the South were “waste spaces” is similar to TR’s belief that the Anglo-Saxon race should improve colonial “waste spaces.”²⁰¹ Roosevelt and Lamar also employed similar appeals to civilization in their rhetoric, as Lamar wrote the year prior to giving the Sumner eulogy that, “It does seem to me if there ever was time when the white people of this State, the men in whose veins flows the blood of the ruling races of the world, should rise.”²⁰²

In his adopted state of Mississippi, Lamar was honored as a slave owner and secessionist as well as a national political figure in both speeches and published remarks. In William Faulkner’s 1942 novel *Go Down, Moses*, the name Lucius Quintus and initials L.Q.C. are given to one of the worst examples of southern slaveholders. On a national scale, L.Q.C. Lamar is

¹⁹⁸ Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 189.

¹⁹⁹ Donald H. Doyle, *Faulkner's County: The Historical Roots of Yoknapatawpha* (London and Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 298. Also see Willie D. Halsell’s “L.Q.C. Lamar’s Taylor Farm” (1943).

²⁰⁰ L.Q.C. Lamar, “Speech of Hon. Lamar in the Senate of the United States,” June 14, 1880, Library of Congress, University of Mississippi Libraries, Oxford, Mississippi.

²⁰¹ See Thomas G. Dyer’s *Theodore Roosevelt and the Idea of Race* (1992) and Matthew Frye Jacobson’s *Barbarian Virtues* (2000).

²⁰² *Letter from L.Q.C. Lamar to E.D. Clark*, October 16, 1873, L.Q.C. Lamar Collection, Box 1, Folder 10, L.Q.C. Lamar Collection, University of Mississippi Libraries, Oxford, Mississippi. On Roosevelt and civilization, see Gail Bederman’s *Manliness and Civilization* (1995) and Kristin Hoganson’s *Fighting for American Manhood* (1998).

largely remembered as a centrist or even progressive due to examples such as his influence on Theodore Roosevelt. Secretary of the Interior Lamar protected federal lands and worked to establish national parks decades prior to the liberal domestic reforms of Roosevelt's presidency. Though Lamar's ideas about conservation were progressive for the time, he held assimilationist beliefs and refused to negotiate with Western Native American tribes as equals. Like his views on race and representation, Lamar's assimilationist and paternalist beliefs were not exceptional and came to be reflected in the policy of future administrations. After the Apache warrior Geronimo rode horseback with Comanche leader Quanah Parker and four others in Theodore Roosevelt's 1905 inaugural parade, he asked the president to be allowed to return with his people to their home in Arizona. Through an interpreter, Roosevelt replied, "I have appointed the Indian commissioner...to watch you. I cannot grant the request you make for yet awhile, we will have to wait and see how you act."²⁰³

²⁰³ Robert M. Utley, *Geronimo* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 258, ProQuest eBook Central #3421092.

CONCLUSION

As white Mississippians threatened violence over the integration of the state university in September 1962, John F. Kennedy used the words of L.Q.C. Lamar in an attempt to ease racial tensions, presenting a sanitized version of the senator in the speech as he did in *Profiles in Courage*: “This is the state of Lucius Lamar and many others who have placed the national good ahead of sectional interest.”²⁰⁴ He continued, “You have a great tradition to uphold, a tradition of honor and courage, won on the field of battle.” Consensus historian and presidential advisor Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. gave Kennedy “historical material” for his speech to the nation. Schlesinger wrote that states’ rights or “interposition” was a theory, and it was important for the administration to discredit it in Mississippi and the other southern states where it remained popular. Schlesinger appealed to what he saw as a particular southern Shintoism, the “tendency to venerate ancestors,” including information on Andrew Jackson’s disapproval of the interposition of South Carolina for Kennedy to use in the speech.²⁰⁵ Instead, the president chose L.Q.C. Lamar to use as an example of statesmanship and moderation. Just as Kennedy appealed to Lamar’s memory decades after his death, Lamar used John C. Calhoun’s words to advocate

²⁰⁴ John F. Kennedy, “Televised Remarks from the President to the Nation, September 30, 1962,” Series 3, Speech Files, Box 40, “Radio and television report on situation at the University of Mississippi, 30 September 1962,” Archives, John F. Kennedy Presidential Papers, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library & Museum, Boston, Massachusetts, <https://www.jfklibrary.org/asset-viewer/archives/JFKPOF/040/JFKPOF-040-028>.

²⁰⁵ Arthur [Schlesinger, Jr.] to President [John F. Kennedy,] Undated Note, Series 3, Speech Files, Box 40, “Radio and television report on situation at the University of Mississippi, 30 September 1962,” John F. Kennedy Presidential Papers, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library & Museum, Boston, Massachusetts, <https://www.jfklibrary.org/asset-viewer/archives/JFKPOF/040/JFKPOF-040-028>.

for a new conception of nationalism in 1887. Lamar spoke, “[Calhoun] would say that a heroic and liberty-loving State like [South Carolina,] should cherish...the great Republic of which she is part.” As Kennedy attempted to use Lamar’s rhetoric to dispel conflict and violence, Lamar argued that Calhoun’s “great talents would have been...directed to save this people from the horrors of disunion.”²⁰⁶ In reality, John C. Calhoun could not stave off Civil War and Kennedy did not prevent violence over the integration of the University of Mississippi. The following month, Mississippi Governor Ross Barnett “personally and physically” blocked the entrance of James Meredith into the university, leading the Kennedy Administration to send Federal Marshals to Oxford. As a result, two people were killed and 160 Marshals were injured as they fought a mob of students and locals.²⁰⁷ Southern author and Jackson native Eudora Welty wrote after the violence that, “The really depressing thing is [Mississippi] thinks Barnett is a 100% glorious hero.”²⁰⁸

L.Q.C. Lamar was an individual political scholar with nuanced and at times contradictory views that had unquestionable reach in American politics for generations after his death. Lamar’s personal life, career, and policies had, as the Washington journalist William Preston Johnson wrote, their share of triumph and wretchedness. Scholarly literature can flatten Lamar as a mild, moderate politician or as a rabid demagogue affiliated with the Ku Klux Klan. In contrast to historian James Murphy’s view that Lamar was only a propagandist, Kennedy rightly called the Mississippi “scholar and professor” one of a small number of “original thinkers of his time.”²⁰⁹

²⁰⁶ L.Q.C. Lamar, “On the Unveiling of the Calhoun Monument,” Extracts from an Oration delivered at Charleston, South Carolina, April 26, 1887 in *Library of Southern Literature*, ed. Edwin Anderson Alderman and Joel Chandler Harris (Atlanta, GA: The Martin & Hoyt Company, 1909), 2985.

²⁰⁷ C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1955), 174.

²⁰⁸ Suzanne Marrs, *Eudora Welty: A Biography* (Orlando, FL: Harcourt, 2005,) 293-294.

²⁰⁹ John F. Kennedy, “Chapter 7: Today I Must Be True or False...Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus Lamar,” Part 3, Chapter 7: Lucius Q.C. Lamar: Item 13- mimeograph, transcript additions, deletions

On Lamar, historian Joel Williamson wrote, “Conservative, learned in the classical style, and gentlemanly, he came to be in the eyes of many Americans the personification of a safe and sane South – beyond rebellion.”²¹⁰ However, Lamar was also known as “a man of eccentricity” in Washington.²¹¹ Henry Adams wrote that the former fire-eating Confederate was “eccentric by environment,” “not by nature.”²¹² For better or often for worse, Lamar held strong views throughout his life and advocated strong policies. He remained loyal to John C. Calhoun’s interpretation of the U.S. Constitution and consistently argued for southern home rule over a period of four decades. In the symbolic 1874 eulogy for the Northern Republican Charles Sumner, Lamar emphasized the “courage of Americans in a war of ideas.” In Lamar’s view of the Civil War, “each section signaled its consecration to the principles, as each understood them, of American liberty.”²¹³ George Hoar claimed Lamar referred to the South as “his people” long after the war had ended.²¹⁴ Lamar did propose a new conception of American nationalism but one that included and honored the southern states’ “restoration to the privileges of American citizenship.”²¹⁵ Philosopher, writer, and activist W.E.B. DuBois considered the Reconstruction period as “a tragedy that beggared the Greek...an upheaval of humanity like the Reformation and

1954-1955, *Profiles in Courage*, John F. Kennedy Personal Papers, Series 10, Manuscripts, Box 40, Archives, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library & Museum, Boston, Massachusetts, <https://www.jfklibrary.org/asset-viewer/archives/JFKPP/029/JFKPP-029-013>.

²¹⁰ Joel Williamson, *William Faulkner and Southern History* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 111.

²¹¹ D. B. (De Benneville) Randolph Keim, *Society in Washington: Its Noted Men, Accomplished Women, Established Customs, and Notable Events* (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Publishing Company, 1887), 46, Library of Congress, Washington D.C., <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=loc.ark:/13960/t8z89gc2j&view=1up&seq=7>.

²¹² Henry Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams: An Autobiography* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1918), 150.

²¹³ L.Q.C. Lamar, “The Eulogy of Sumner,” in *Southern Prose and Poetry for Schools*, ed. Edwin Mims and Bruce R. Payne (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1910), 369, Electronic Edition, accessed April 23, 2019, Library of Southern Literature Collection, Documenting the American South, University of North Carolina Chapel Hill Libraries, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, <https://docsouth.unc.edu/southlit/mims/mims.html>.

²¹⁴ George F. Hoar, *Autobiography of Seventy Years, Vol. 1-2* [1903] (Project Gutenberg: 2006), eBook #19548, <http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/19548/pg19548-images.html>.

²¹⁵ L.Q.C. Lamar, “Policy of the Republican Party in the South,” Speech delivered in the House of Representatives, August 2, 1876, in *Library of Southern Literature*, ed. Edwin Anderson Alderman and Joel Chandler Harris (Atlanta, GA: The Martin & Hoyt Company, 1909), 2974-2975.

the French Revolution.”²¹⁶ For DuBois, the tragedy was the continued subjugation and servitude of African Americans under both southern and Northern whites and the ultimate failure and inadequacy of the radical aspects of Reconstruction. According to DuBois, black workers “transferred [their] labor from the Confederate planter to the Northern invader.” After a war of ideas won by conservative political thinkers like L.Q.C. Lamar, W.E.B. DuBois’ words on the Civil War have a particular resonance, as he wrote that any “war’s end is evil, despite all incidental good.”²¹⁷

²¹⁶ W.E.B. DuBois, *Black Reconstruction in America: An Essay Toward a History of the Part Which Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America, 1860-1880* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1935), 727. Also see David W. Blight’s *Race and Reunion* (2001).

²¹⁷ DuBois, 55.

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VITA

Ashley Steenson received a BA in history from the University of North Alabama in 2017. As of May 2020, Steenson is a graduate of the University of Mississippi MA program in history, where she specialized in American intellectual and political history from Reconstruction through the Progressive era. She received a graduate certificate in gender studies through the Sarah Isom Center for Women and Gender Studies and has previously served as research assistant to the Chancellor's Committee on History and Context through the Center for Civil War Research. Steenson will enter The University of Alabama history PhD program in Fall 2020, where she is a National Alumni Association Fellow.