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DEFEATED AND COLONIZED:
THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE PLANTER AND
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DEFEATED AND COLONIZED: THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE PLANTER AND EX-CONFEDERATE CLASS IN THE POSTWAR SOUTH

By

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ABSTRACT

DEFEATED AND COLONIZED:
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EX-CONFEDERATE CLASS IN THE POSTWAR SOUTH

By

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The following Master's thesis is a study of the psychological reactions and conditions of the planter and ex-Confederate class after the Civil War. It investigates how this group confronted defeat and a colonial economy during the Reconstruction and New South periods. In particular, this study analyzes the psychology of withdrawal, avoidance, and repetition compulsion behavior and it addresses the ways in which the Lost Cause and New South movements interacted with this group and these conditions. Overall, this study concerns the social and economic changes in the South during the postwar era and draws conclusions about class restructuring and regional identity.

DEDICATION

To Meghan,
I am grateful for your presence in my life.

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INTRODUCTION

Sun. 18, 1871, June

> An intensely hot day. Between four and five o'clock from the city was visited by a heavy thunder and rain storm. Presbyterian steeple was struck by lightning. A sheet of electricity ascended from the earth enveloping the tall spire in a circle of fire, and as it reached the hall, it was met by a streak of lightning from the thunder clouds overhead descending in the shape of a spiral cord. Two currents met and burst, scattering a thousand jets of molten metal, which fell in great flakes upon the roof of the church. Rain was pouring down in torrents.[1]

Rain poured down over the postwar South from many sources, not the least of which was a social and cultural front that struck the region well before and long after this 1871 thunder and lightning storm in Savannah, Georgia. Particularly since it converged over a house of God, this storm provides a useful analogy about the South and the ways in which certain Southerners dealt with defeat in the aftermath of the Civil War. At a time when masters became partially enslaved and the enslaved partially free, many of the former erected a mental blockade to ward off the fire of defeat. The initial years after Appomattox stamped many planter and ex-Confederate minds with despair and ruination as it did the broken plantations upon which they lived. A strong reminder of yesterday's fallen fortress spread over mind and matter alike.

To most, defeat meant an inner psychological loss as well as an outer lost nation. As a pervasive doom accompanied the shattered Confederacy, returning soldiers and war-torn citizens reacted in ways that announced an imbalanced mentality. With 258,000 dead, a 43% decline in wealth in four years, two billion dollars lost in slave property, and exponential destruction of land, an indelible trauma shook a populace that was already long used to grief. Indeed, "the psychological trauma of the South's defeat was enormous."[2] In the immediate years after 1865, planters and ex-Confederate commanders

(many one and the same) in particular displayed what can be described as psychological conditions of defeat. As a group and class, they were the current that had risen to control the South, but were now sent tumbling to the ground.

Both planters and Confederate commanders who had resided in the upper class in antebellum times, upon return from the war, demonstrated notable reactions to their altered world. As the following study reveals, this group tended to respond with denial and avoidance behavior to their current predicament with some resorting to physical and mental withdrawal. Collectively, these psychological responses distinctively marked this group with a mentality of defeat, and their thoughts and actions significantly influenced the development of a larger Southern culture of defeat. As this class represented an affected group of Southerners, they formed and advanced a collective means of avoiding and coping with defeat – the Lost Cause movement. Not only did the individuals discussed below significantly contribute to the Lost Cause as a memorial and organizational movement that operated to preserve and honor Southern regional identity, but they also largely directed it toward lessening the trauma of the postwar era.

As planters and former Confederate commanders lead collective community efforts to commemorate the dead and the past, they created a mythic belief system to form a protective layering around the source of their loss and anxiety. As this mythic ideology strived to shoulder the burden of the present, they also employed it to cast aside invasions to the top of the class pyramid. In particular, those planters and ex-Confederates who attempted to avoid and/or withdraw from the present also constructed barriers in an attempt to salvage what remained of their dissolving social and cultural position. In addition, their avoidance of the present entailed a forgetting of slavery, race

relations, and causes of the war. Their behavior and Lost Cause ideology was meant to barricade them and their class into an estranged, but secure mental region, safe from the onslaughts of class restructuring and social change.

While this study examines some of the major psychological responses and conditions of planters and former Confederates during the era of Reconstruction, it is also concerned with examining the different aspects of defeat that are associated with them. Likewise, while this study addresses the South overall from 1865 to the early 1880s, it concentrates on the states of Mississippi and South Carolina and the early 1870s. In the first section, the multiple dimensions of defeat are examined in relation to individual and collective planter and ex-Confederate psychology and behavior. In particular, this study analyzes the threats to plantation society that began with defeat and the continuing impact of trauma in connection with the Reconstruction period. It also evaluates the significance of the Lost Cause movement in relation to these mental developments and the formation of a culture of defeat.

In section two, the study proceeds to probe into the changes that occurred in regard to planter and ex-Confederate mentality from the 1870s to the 1880s (the transition from the Reconstruction to New South periods). In regard to these changes, the study considers the interaction and role of the New South movement. As this study is also concerned with class restructuring, race relations, and Reconstruction and New South economic, social and political issues, these areas are integrated into the discussion throughout. Ultimately, in the third section, this study works toward a speculative conclusion about implications of defeat and economic-social colonization upon regional identity. This section is based upon the previous analysis of how the planter and ex-

Confederate class experienced a transformation from being characterized as a culture of defeat to a colonized culture. As the following pages will reveal, the longevity of economic prostration eventually surpassed the other dimensions of defeat to become the most pressing concern. Thus, the fundamental cultural and societal challenge for this group was the transition from a culture of defeat, where a colonial economy was one of the contributing factors, to a colonized culture, where economic dependency became the primary factor involved in understanding the mental and behavioral characteristics of the planter and ex-Confederate class. In essence, this is a study of overlapping psychological developments and the individual to collective responses to them during a moment of transition.

SECTION ONE

Planter Anxiety and the Dimensions of Defeat

> The soul-eroding war had ended, but apprehension and anxiety continued unabated, and planters still stared northward.[3]

As the Civil War has been described as "precisely the moment of transition from the Old to the New South," it has also been recognized as the "chasm dividing one South from another." Accordingly, this fissure has been an important subject of investigation, particularly in regard to its effect "upon the fundamental beliefs and everyday behavior of the Southern planter class." James L. Roark examined the beliefs and behavior of this class by analyzing over 160 families from it. Out of the roughly forty-three thousand Southerners who made up the master class just prior to the war, almost all were white and 90% were male. Since "their words and actions do illuminate their interior worlds," this analysis provides a gateway to studying the postwar psychology of planters.[4]

While Roark's study determined that very few planters "consciously adopted the role of defender of their region and class," at least overtly in their letters and diaries, they did express such defensive ideas through their social position. To establish the connection between individual and collective planter psychology, it is important to recognize that the growth and maturation of the slave system had established planters as "a powerful and distinctive social class." As such, they had also developed a self-consciousness concerning their position in society and about being slaveholders. In essence, they were "bound to each other and to slavery by their class position, racial fears, and conservative social philosophy."[5] This bond and mutuality through slavery and class position also connected them after the war when their social and economic situation became unstable.

Before the outbreak of the Civil War, the Mississippi planter-politician James Lusk Alcorn had foreshadowed what his class would face both physically and mentally when he wrote: "when the northern soldier would tread her cotton fields, when the slave should be made *free* and the proud Southerner stricken to the dust in his presence." His comments foretold that the planter would have to confront the disruptive change of defeat and emancipation. If the 1850-1860s had been an "age of anxiety," where "men of property and standing were disturbed by the disorder and instability of American society," the 1870s and 1880s would prove to be even more anxiety-filled for the planter class. Likewise, "while anxiety was a national, not a sectional, malady" during the war and after it, "the anxiety of conservatives in the North was faint compared to that of the traditionalist conservatives in the South." As Southern conservatives, planters would claim a unique form of anxiety during the Reconstruction era especially because: "No one else was quite in their position. No other group had to defend a society constructed upon the institution of slavery." While anxiety during social change is not unusual, "planter anxiety" was singular because it was based in a "social upheaval" that had destroyed the central labor system upon which they depended for their wealth and class position.[6]

After the war, when planter fears about labor, race, and class destabilization were realized, they experienced a unique calamity. As a group, they came to think, "looking backward offered the only hope of real progress." Before Appomattox, most planters conceptualized themselves and the South as distinct and exceptional. After it, they feared for this regional identity that seemed to be sliding into the past. For most within the planter class, the Civil War had been "the War for Southern Security." Now that security

had vanished, they looked longingly back to the days before it to try to revitalize their social position and way of life.[7]

At the heart of their besieged tradition was the plantation. This problem was twofold in nature. In addition to attempting to control the former labor force of the plantation, planters were faced with the loss and diminution of their land due to taxes and the war. Planters had hoped to resolve their "labor problem" with the Black Codes. The central tenet of these state laws was the stabilization of the black labor force by limiting other economic alternatives like autonomous farm ownership and keeping ex-slaves tied to the plantation. States like Mississippi and South Carolina, in particular, "enacted the first and most severe Black Codes toward the end of 1865." However, Mississippi overturned the most restrictive measures while South Carolina suspended its entire code. By the end of 1866, almost all Southern states had repealed the laws that applied only to blacks. This course of action was a precedent to the changes that lay ahead during Congressional or Radical Reconstruction. After the Reconstruction Act of 1867, the Black Codes were completely dismantled. With Republicans securing an even greater hold on politics from 1868 to 1870, it became increasingly clear that, "For the first time in Southern history, planters found themselves unable to use public authority to bolster their control of the black labor force." In addition to this lack of control over labor, planter inability to pay state taxes during Reconstruction caused "immense tracts" of it to be forfeited. In Mississippi, for example, over six million acres or one-fifth of the area of the state was lost in this manner.[8]

These dilemmas existed on top of the basic issue of plantation destruction. After the war, planters had to confront the desecration of the previous four years. In

Mississippi, plantations were in ruins, "lying idle and deserted, the wild grasses taking the place of rich former days, the houses tenantless, or if occupied, by some colored family, living in a room or two, and all seemingly going rapidly into decay." This historical description matched what the chief fiction writer of the state described about the plantation during Reconstruction. William Faulkner wrote in *Light in August*, "the plantation is broken now by random Negro cabins and garden patches and dead fields erosiongutted and choked with blackjack and sassafras and persimmon and brier." In addition to describing the physical disruption of the plantation, Faulkner also wrote about the planter Thomas Sutpen returning from the war in 1866 in *Absalom, Absalom!* to find: "his plantation ruined, fields fallow except for a fine stand of weeds, and taxes and levies and penalties sowed by United States marshals and such and all his niggers gone where the Yankees had attended to that." Thus, the fictional Sutpen encountered the same combined issues that real planters had confronted after the war.[9]

Even before the war was over it was evident that the planters had a considerable struggle ahead of them. In 1864, for example, a Northern man had come down to take over an abandoned plantation in Mississippi, but was "brought to his knees in a matter of months." As the production of staple crops was disrupted by the war, planter income declined severely and plantations collapsed. James Heyward of South Carolina testified to these developments by only "planting barely a tenth of his property" in 1864. By 1865, another planter from South Carolina, James Gregorie, "had trouble putting together two small bales" of cotton. Accounts like these foreshadowed a trend toward planter fears of displacement in the postwar era. As "shortages in food and clothing, of credit and money, became common on most plantations," the planter class lost the foundation

for its collective identity and were plagued with anxiety over it and the possibility of intruders taking over their social position.[10]

The most conspicuous intruder was the conqueror. After the war while planters began to struggle with rebuilding, planters expressed their hatred of Yankees with new intensity. As Northerners had long been associated with industry and commerce, they now were scorned for being "vile money worshippers" and a "puritanical, deceitful race." This contempt was directed particularly at the carpetbagger, "a member of the 'lowest class' of the Northern population."[11] To planters, carpetbaggers were the lowest of the low, and they despised what they considered to be exploitative pursuits of personal advancement. This type of intrusion along with loss of land and control over labor began to produce a compounded effect associated with defeat.

Lower class white Southerners were another potential intruder into the social position of planters. "Of the many changes in the social landscape of the South, few were more distressing to planters than the fragmentation of white solidarity." As planters had seen their region "divided along two axes – that of political loyalty and that of class affiliation," new cracks in that paradigm emerged and caused anxiety about class conflict. Planters feared "the entire social order was about to become unhinged." Pro-union Southerners before and during the war had previously put the idea of white solidarity on shaking ground. With the "cry that it was rich man's war but a poor man's fight," planters saw new threats rising from below. Slavery had also been an incentive for white solidarity, as it had offered the insidious possibility of advancement to the ruling class. Once that possibility disappeared, so did many other illusions about harmonious class relations. Confronting planters then was a class-based anxiety where they "feared not

only that the lower class would rise up but that their own class would slip down." As they were "continually scanning the horizons for signs of class eruption, planters revealed their own deep anxieties."[12]

Catherine Edmondston, a planter's wife in North Carolina, had commented on this particular source of anxiety: "You know the lower classes of the counties of that part of Carolina have always been very degraded. They could always be bought, so they have sold themselves to the Yankies..." Not only did planter households think that the lower classes were turning on them, they also thought that these Southern whites were aligning themselves with the primary intruder. This made sense to the planter class since the North was a "'lower-class nation,'" they were "natural allies for poor white Southerners."[13] Both Northerners and poor whites were seen as marauders who wished to dismantle the planter class. Joining them to provoke further anxiety were the planter's former slaves.

The perception of the freedmen as potential invaders had developed alongside the myth of the faithful slave. As the latter image developed with postwar romanticism, especially through literature, many planters "registered shock, hurt, disillusionment, and rage" in reaction to "insubordinate blacks." These emotions marked "the early stages of a trend that would lead to disdain and hostility toward blacks during Reconstruction." As this trend developed, "instead of being sympathetic, disappointed, or angry, some planters were simply terrified."[14] Hence, blacks would eventually be viewed in terms of a manufactured image from the past, as insubordinate workers, or as intruders to be feared.

Kate Stone, a planter's wife from Louisiana, expressed the early manifestations of the combined fears of plantation disruption, Yankee, lower class white, and freedmen

intrusion. On May 15, 1865 she wrote about defeat in her journal, "*Conquered, Submission, Subjugation.*" Wondering about herself and her class she thought they would be "slaves, yes slaves, of the Yankee Government." Stone's words reflected upon a confluence of fears based upon military defeat, Yankee barbarity and her present economic collapse. "In Kate Stone's struggles to cope with the personal and collective elements of defeat, we can see the beginnings of white Southern Civil War memory." Providing the thoughts of a planter family, we can also begin to see the effect of defeat upon the mentality of the planter class.[15]

Catherine Edmondston had also given testimony to the embittered feelings that stemmed from defeat and the effect it was having upon her class. As she shared the belief in the superiority of Southern society and culture, she also began to illustrate the "path of disillusionment and estrangement" that many members of her class followed. As she stated about secession and war: "Men & women looked the alternative stern in the face and preferred death, extermination, anything to being conquered, subjugated, our God given blessing of self improvement infringed or even tampered with..."[16] Edmondston's thoughts upon subjugation can certainly be attributed to the socioeconomic changes that occurred after defeat. Moreover, her words also begin to demonstrate another more intangible infliction behind the disillusionment that she and others felt. Edmondston, the class she represented, and most Confederates had believed that God had blessed them long ago with a destiny that included victory in a war against the unblessed. When that victory did not come and subjugation did, a pronounced feeling of being estranged from God developed.

In "A Rebel's Recollections," George Cary Eggleston voiced the loss of or estrangement from God that the South would experience in the immediate postwar years. A serialized memoir that ran in *Atlantic Monthly* in 1865, "Recollections" foretold "the spiritual and emotional sense of calamity shared by an entire defeated generation." As Eggleston stated, "We were convinced, beyond the possibility of doubt, of the absolute righteousness of our cause." In fact, he said it was "our religion to believe in the triumph of our cause." Hence, when this religion failed to deliver military victory, most southerners felt that a terrible spiritual catastrophe had stricken the land. This calamity produced by defeat caused the "Reconstruction generation" to experience a collective "*estrangement* from their Creator."[17]

In addition to "the abject poverty, the disruption of the old social order and racial order," estrangement from God was another dimension of defeat. Moreover, estrangement developed from the psychological trauma of the war and would provide substantial inspiration for the Lost Cause movement. In the midst of social upheaval and disorder, "there was something far more difficult to reconcile." Besides plantation destruction and liberation of the slaves, the psychological disturbances of the immediate postwar era for planters, ex-Confederates and the South in general also sprang from "the awful prospect that God had turned His back upon the Confederacy." For a deeply religious region, this prospect severely accentuated the meaning of defeat.[18]

At least from the beginning of the nineteenth century, with the "Great Revival" of 1801, a deeper faith in organized religion had been instilled in the South. While this religious revivalism rested largely on the Calvinist view of seeing man as "a doomed sinner," man was also "the prime agent of his own salvation," and thus personal morality

was emphasized in the antebellum South. Likewise, "the southern concept of the Trinity was not the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, but God, man, and Satan." Hence, as man was "a battleground between good and evil," he was responsible for his destiny. Accepting God into the individual's life was the path to salvation and the church served as the means to finding it.[19]

Personal salvation through organized religion had a sense of hollowness then when the holy crusade was vanquished. As beliefs about an intimate relationship with God and divine intervention became destabilized, Southerners were left searching for answers in a storm of abandonment. Salvation seemed to be washed away, and a "pervasive sense of alienation," "an estrangement from God," became a central aspect of life. "Southerners were accustomed to finding the hand of God in all things, and some wondered if the disastrous war was not divine retribution for the sin of slavery." Others that did not consider slavery a sin wondered if the South was being punished for not practicing it according to the law of God.[20]

With these doubts an estranged relationship with God enveloped the region and the South reached for and formed a branch of civil religion to strengthen their faith – the Lost Cause. According to Charles Reagan Wilson, it was the influence of an interdenominational alliance, particularly between the Baptists and Methodists, which formed the heart of the Lost Cause movement. Seeking to support the defeated Confederate nation, this cultural movement was composed of myth, history, and religion. Since this "Southern public faith involved a nation – a dead one," it focused on providing "confused and suffering Southerners a sense of meaning." The Lost Cause "emerged because the experience of defeat in the Civil War had created a spiritual and

psychological need for Southerners to reaffirm their identity."[21] Viewed in terms of a civil religion, a blending of a religion and culture, this movement was meant to revive regional, communal, and individual identity based upon a relationship with God.

Ministers like Father Abram Ryan performed this task by directly connecting the Lost Cause with the church. From the war's end until his own in 1886, the "Poet Priest of the Lost Cause" edited the newspaper the *Banner of the South* while delivering orations on how defeat would lead to a deeper faith. "The Conquered Banner," his most famous poem, sanctified both the Confederate flags and the nation for which they stood with religious piety. Ryan and other ministers reinforced the association between the Confederacy and faith and helped to solidify a strong relationship between the Lost Cause and religion in the postwar era. Increased evangelism and the formation of the Lost Cause were responses to an estrangement from God that had spread over the South. As both sought a reassertion of "moral superiority," interconnections between religion and the Cause developed to jointly address this aspect of defeat.[22]

Along with estrangement, however, a loss of honor played a major role in the formation of the Lost Cause. As regional honor seemed to be conquered with the outcome of the war, the South struggled to recover it. For white Southerners in general and the planter/ex-Confederate class in particular, honor had supported "the other two pillars of their society: white supremacy and Christian faith." Thus, the Lost Cause was not only directed at resurrecting faith and identity, but at supporting this trinity of beliefs. Honor had to be restored in order for the foundations of Southern society to survive. To many, "God had clearly withdrawn divine favor and at the same time, the vulgar, godless Yankees had tossed Confederate aspirations in the dust." The combined effect of the loss

of God and honor left Southerners grappling with the ramifications of defeat. As Thomas Sutpen's son Henry had said in *Absalom, Absalom!*, "*it wont be much longer now and then we wont have anything left: honor nor pride nor God since God quit us four years ago only He never thought it necessary to tell us.*" Fundamentally, the Lost Cause was created to restore regional identity, religious faith, and honor while providing a coping mechanism for these (and other) dimensions of defeat.[23]

For planters, an additional dimension was related to their peculiar form of anxiety. Collectively, planters experienced anxiety about "unpredictable poor whites," "untrustworthy blacks," despicable Yankees, and "about where to find food and how to fend off destruction." These dimensions of defeat became "the companion of every planter." Combined with a perceived estrangement from God and loss of honor, planters, and ex-Confederates, developed a pronounced form of anxiety from their experiences in the immediate postwar period. Yet, the roots of this anxiety derived from the experiences of wartime trauma. Since "few families escaped the trauma of death," grief, and anxiety associated with the war, it provided the foundation for continued postwar anxiety. In 1864, for example, one planter described his inner condition as, "Day by day and hour by hour does the deep seated enmity I have always had...for the accursed Yankee nation increase & burn higher."[24] The trauma of death mixed with hatred for the enemy, and this mixture would provide the psychological framework of many planters and ex-Confederates in the Reconstruction era.

Ella Canton Thomas, a planter's wife in Georgia, said in 1864, "I feel as if I did not have energy to raise my head." In 1865, she claimed, "My mind is sluggish and my will is weak and undecided. I lack energy...spiritually, intellectually, & physically."[25]

This weakened state of mind offers an indication of what lied ahead for the planter/ex-Confederate class into the next two decades. As plantation difficulties intensified the psychological hardships of defeat, as a group planters and former Confederates would feel the ramifications of war and postwar anxiety. That is, they would experience the lasting mark of trauma that lay behind their anxiety. While class, racial, and Northern intrusion, alongside estrangement and loss of honor, most notably provoked planter and ex-Confederate anxiety, trauma lay behind all these factors as the major source of mental affliction. The trauma of death, war, and the postwar environment more accurately provides a description of the individual to collective psychology of this class. To understand why, an analysis of trauma in relation to this group will be necessary. While the above factors help explain the mentality, or the inner and emotional state of mind, of the planter/ex-Confederate class in the postwar period, an analysis of trauma in relation to them will more thoroughly reveal their collective psychology or their mental and behavioral characteristics.

Trauma, Avoidance and Withdrawal

Although "there is no firm definition for *trauma*, which has been given various descriptions at various times and under different names," a general definition describes trauma as "an overwhelming experience of sudden or catastrophic events in which the response to the event occurs in the often delayed, uncontrolled repetitive appearance of hallucinations and other intrusive phenomena." Most commonly, trauma of this kind is associated with the soldier's experience with death and the reliving of these wartime events. In this case, mentality is "understood in terms of the effects of *post-traumatic stress disorder*." Post-traumatic stress disorder is the name that the American Psychiatric Association in 1980 attributed to "what had previously been called *shell shock*, *combat neurosis*, or *traumatic neurosis*, among other names used at various times in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries." This definition is in accordance with what Sigmund Freud had described in his works on trauma, including what he termed "positive symptoms," flashbacks and hallucinations, and "negative symptoms," numbing, amnesia, and avoidance of "triggering stimuli." It is this definition and description that provides the basis for understanding trauma in relation to planter and ex-Confederate postwar psychology, especially in regard to avoiding traumatic events and their triggering associations.[26]

In addition, the planter/ex-Confederate class also experienced trauma in terms of "any experience that causes" "psychic pain or anxiety" to a degree which "overwhelms the usual defensive measures which Freud described as a 'protective shield against stimuli.'" By experiencing the trauma of the postwar era along with wartime trauma, many of this group's mental defenses were overwhelmed, causing a psychological

reaction. In medical and psychiatric usage, and particularly in Sigmund Freud's *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* (1920), "the term *trauma* is understood as a wound inflicted not upon the body but upon the mind." Moreover, this "wound of the mind" is not "a simple and healable event," it is a complicated mental affliction that involves a "breach in the mind's experience of time, self, and the world."[27] For planters and former Confederates, many experienced trauma in these deep and long-lasting terms. Reference then to a specific theory and analysis of trauma will be very useful to further discussion of it in relation to them.

In 1959, Thomas G. Stampfl had developed a psychological theory concerning trauma based upon the "insistence that the neurotic's symptoms, defense mechanisms, and general maladaptive behavior" resulted from the "anticipation or expectation of some catastrophe." Stampfl then expanded upon this premise and "concluded that what was feared involved the anticipation of abandonment, injury, annihilation, condemnation and disapproval, humiliation, enslavement," and "utter deprivation." In prescribing treatment for trauma that involved these fears of abandonment, annihilation and the like, Stampfl borrowed from physics and called it "implosion" therapy, derived from "the inwardly bursting (dynamic) energy process inherent in the release of affectively loaded memorial cues encoded in the brain." Hence, he postulated that anticipated emotional fears were stored in memory and treatment resided in releasing them from mental storage. This conceptualization of fear being stored in memory allows access to a fuller understanding of the mental framework of many postwar planters and ex-Confederates.[28]

Contemporary psychologists like Donald J. Levis have applied Stampfl's theory to elicit the memories of a traumatic event in order to treat the "anxiety-arousing

associations." In his use of this theory and technique, Levis was trying to confront similar symptoms of planters and ex-Confederates. In particular, planters and former Confederate commanders (as previously discussed and in the cases below) demonstrated that a strong fear and anxiety had developed from the anticipation of abandonment or estrangement from God, the annihilation of plantation life, and economic deprivation. Moreover, they also experienced the compounding effects of trauma through the storage of traumatic memory. The combination of post-traumatic stress disorder with postwar anxiety implanted and propagated traumatic emotions stored and elicited in memory. Instead of addressing their conditions through implosion therapy, however, Southerners adopted "defense mechanisms" in response to these memorial-based traumas. In particular, they responded with avoidance behavior.

Based in Freud's conclusion from 1936 that humans attempt "to escape the anxiety elicited by stimuli ("danger signals") associated with previous traumatic experiences," avoidance behavior can be understood as "an attempt to ward off the occurrence of a catastrophic event." As trauma associated with the Civil War and its denouement was the original catastrophe, planters and former Confederate commanders attempted to avoid it and the related traumas associated with defeat. In the cases discussed below, they exemplified the "symptoms and maladaptive behaviors" of avoidance through mental and corporeal withdrawal. Their withdrawal also demonstrated the "two-factor theory of avoidance" that Stampfl provided in his theory of implosion treatment.[29]

The "first factor of this two-process theory states that fear (emotional) learning is governed by the laws of classical conditioning." This conditioned fear possesses

"motivational or energizing properties" that "set the stage for the learning of the second class of responses, referred to as avoidance behavior." That is, instrumental (active) learning governs avoidance behavior because it results in the reduction of the fear or anxiety. In turn, this reduction "serves as the reinforcing mechanism for the learning of avoidance behavior."[30] For the planter/ex-Confederate class, this meant that if mental or physical avoidance of trauma resulted in the reduction of fear and anxiety, the behavior was repeated. In addition, the repetition of thought and behavior is connected with the next major condition discussed in this study – repetition compulsion. Particularly in connection with the Lost Cause movement, planters and ex-Confederates would repeat themselves in word and action in an attempt to avoid or remedy the sources of trauma.

Before the formation of the Lost Cause took hold over the region, however, the initial avoidance response for ex-Confederates and planters was withdrawal. In the cases discussed below, "overt symptomatic behaviors" associated with avoidance were displayed through "flight responses," "phobic behavior," and "passive avoidance behavior" related to trauma. This first section turns to specifically address withdrawal and avoidance behavior and then proceeds to discuss repetition compulsion in relation to the Lost Cause movement. While both conditions are connected with trauma and anxiety, the key distinction between them is that while avoidance behavior is the willful attempt to avoid "unpleasurable conflict," repetition compulsion "can only be understood as the absolute inability of the mind to avoid an unpleasurable event." All of the conditions discussed, however, entail "a network of cues" that motivates "a given symptom." These cues are "stored in memory" and are triggered from responses to that memory. Hence, memories of wartime trauma are implicated in Reconstruction and New

South psychological conditions. Whether in reference to early postwar reactions or to those in later years, "these memorial encoded cues are activated by a stimulus situation in the patient's current life that is similar on a generalization dimension to those cues associated with previous traumatic conditioning events." Thus, current and past trauma stimuli are implicated in psychological responses. Moreover, traumatic memory cues serve as the bridge between the psychological conditions of defeat and colonization.[31]

As this study argues in the second section, anxiety and fear became primarily associated with colonial economic and social circumstances by the mid-1870s. Once this occurred, fear and anxiety were principally enacted through contemporary triggering stimuli. Yet, these fears and anxieties were also elicited by memories of trauma associated with the war and postwar dimensions of defeat. Likewise, the trauma associated with the immediate postwar years called upon memories from the war. The result in both situations was a compounded anxiety and fear. In essence, the colonized stimulus summoned previous trauma cues while it produced fears concerning dependency and prostration; the dimensions of defeat also elicited wartime memories while producing its own anxieties. It is a process then that was directed by current circumstances and "a complex set of cues that are encoded in long-term memory."[32]

The Virginia planter Edmund Ruffin chose the ultimate form of avoidance behavior over attempting to deal with the compounded effects of trauma. As an "ultimate irreconcilable," Ruffin's "world was in shambles, and his beloved Southern nation was lifeless." Thus, he opted for the most extreme form of withdrawal. In the note he left behind his suicide he said, "I here repeat and would willingly proclaim my unmitigated hatred to Yankee rule." Responding in this way indicated that he was not able to deal

with his changed world after defeat. "Unable to free the South, he chose to free himself." While Ruffin exemplified the final form of avoidance behavior, other planters displayed it through less severe means.[33]

Since "the psyche's normal reaction to a traumatic experience is to withdraw from the scene of injury," many planters and ex-Confederates chose a course of action that allowed them to escape the place of injury without taking their lives. As they battled with the implications of defeat, "more than 10,000 Southerners went into exile after 1865." The planters and former Confederates who mostly represented these exiles elected to avoid the ramifications of defeat by leaving the region. By doing so, they exemplified the "tendency to deal with threat by ignoring or denying the problem." Moreover, "for every planter who actually packed his bags and left," "there were several others who longed to join him." One Mobile, Alabama newspaper reported that many who had returned from the war had become so withdrawn from society that they "lived like hermits in a desert." Hence, many who stayed in the South would try to avoid reality through mental instead of bodily means. In both scenarios, many among the planter/ex-Confederate class took refuge from an environment of continuing trauma through denial, avoidance and withdrawal.[34]

As many "prominent citizens had deserted the South after Appomattox," the list of migrants included former generals, colonels, governors, and judges. In regard to ex-commander planters, they looked for areas that might enable them to revive their former lifestyles based upon slavery, or something close to it. "Thousands had fled across the Rio Grande to Mexico, Brazil, and Venezuela" with this purpose in mind. Others had gone to Europe, particularly England and France since they harbored "enduring pro-

Confederate sympathies." But, Mexico and Brazil were the top two destinations because of the amount of open land and the availability of slave or cheap labor, which provided emigrating Southerners with the hope of restoring their former plantation society. At the same time, these migrants were motivated by a fear of the implications of defeat. "That so many planters actually left – ripping families from their homes and neighborhoods, selling or giving away whatever had been saved from the war, risking a dangerous, expensive journey, often to an unknown alien land – was dramatic evidence of the terror of their visions of the postwar South." This terror sprang from the trauma of the war and was perpetuated by postwar conditions that continued to elicit severe fear and anxiety in planter/ex-Confederates. To them, withdrawal became the only means available to cope with their changed world. This response reflected upon a shared "mental picture of a devastated, degraded, and uninhabitable South." As a woman from Virginia stated, she was "nearly crazy to go to Europe," and John Perkins purposely burned his Louisiana plantation to the ground before going to Mexico.[35]

An estimated eight to ten thousand Southerners immigrated to Latin America and most fled to Mexico. One of the most prominent was the ex-commander General Jo Shelby, who crossed over the Rio Grande with several hundred former soldiers from his Iron Cavalry Brigade. Shelby had been known as the "Jeb Stuart of the West" and "had been one of the wealthiest slave and landowners in Lafayette County, Missouri." Hence, Mexico contained the possibility of resurrecting his wealth and estate if not his rank and position. More pressing for him though was the prospect of defeat and what it would entail for high-ranking ex-Confederates and members of the upper class. One of his companions, the former regimental commander Brigadier General Alexander Watkins

Terrell expressed the emigrating group's thoughts: "We all felt that an era of oppression was before the people...and we sought a foreign country with feelings reckless of consequences." For Shelby, Terrell and the other ex-Confederates, Mexico provided the only means for avoiding the trauma that trailed behind them.[36]

Like Mexico, Brazil contained the potential of avoiding this trauma and the possibility of reawakening antebellum dreams. Brazil did not end slavery until 1888, which contributed to soliciting between two to four thousand Southerners in the immediate postwar years. "The romantic dream of Brazilian Dixielands – where ex-Confederates could plant cotton, hold slaves, and treasure the memories of their Lost Cause far removed from the Damnyankees" shaped their mental perceptions of withdrawal. Brazil contained the possibility of reestablishing the world of the Old South and it actually materialized for a brief time in Sao Paulo and Santa Barbara. As at least 154 families, including six from South Carolina, went to Brazil between 1865 and 1875, they testified to the hope of reestablishing the plantation order in places where slavery still existed. Accordingly, the planter and ex-Confederate Ambrosio Jose Gonzales and his family withdrew to another country where slavery-based plantation life still survived – Cuba.[37]

Gonzales was a Cuban revolutionary exiled in the United States when he married Harriett Rutledge Elliott in 1856. Two of their six children, Ambrosio Jose Jr. (1857-1926) and Narciso Gener (1858-1903), supply a lens into the experiences of this once again exiled family after the war. Before it, the Gonzaleses had lived primarily in Washington, D.C., but they also spent a large amount of time in Beaufort and Adams Run, South Carolina, where the Elliott family had been prominent cotton and rice

planters for over forty years and owned numerous plantations in the Beaufort and Colleton districts. While Gonzales served in the Confederate army, his family stayed at the Oak Lawn plantation near Adams Run. After the war in 1866, he bought the Social Hall plantation in the Colleton district from the Elliotts, but in January 1869 decided to move his family to Cuba. At this time, the Spanish colonies of Cuba and Puerto Rico still contained more than 300,000 slaves. From 1851 to 1870, Cuba had imported over 150,000 slaves, and this labor system was still very important to colony and empire alike. Since Spain had been the last European empire to abolish the slave trade in 1867, and would not end slavery in Cuba until 1886, the island appeared to be a viable option for reestablishing slave plantation life. Ex-Confederates and planters like Gonzales recognized Cuba as place for restoring his family and avoiding war and postwar trauma.[38]

After Harriet Elliott Gonzales died of yellow fever in October of 1869, however, Gonzales brought four of his six children back to the Oak Lawn plantation in South Carolina. He left his sons Narciso and Alfonso in Matanzas, Cuba for another year before also bringing them back. The correspondence between Narciso, or "Nanno," and his older brother Ambrosio, or Ambrose and "Brosie," as well as other family members during this time and after Nanno's return at the end of 1870 allows access to the postwar conditions and this families' response to them. Whereas return to the South signaled the end to an attempted but failed withdrawal response in reaction to war and defeat, the continuing legacy of trauma continued. The actions of Ambrosio Jose Gonzales, Sr. exemplify avoidance and withdrawal behavior, while his sons' letters provide further insight into the psychology behind this behavior and the social-economic factors within planter and ex-Confederate lives.

The sibling letters reflect how the Gonzaleses "struggled to regain title to their land and to make a living from their plantations" in the immediate postbellum years. Their plantation and economic struggles correspond with the dimensions of defeat previously discussed, namely the planter problems of retaining their land against destruction, taxes, and intrusion. They also help to explain why Ambrosio and Narciso eventually went to work as telegraphers and "then as correspondents for the Charleston News and Courier to help support the family in the 1870s and 1880s." Together with their brother William Elliott, they also established and published *The State*, a daily paper in Columbia, S.C. The difficulties of the postwar period eventually made other employment options much more attractive and the Gonzales brothers abandoned plantation life.[39]

Before this occupational and class transition occurred, however, Narciso had written to Ambrosio, Jr. about life in Cuba. In the midst of turmoil over the gradual abolition of slavery and epidemics of yellow fever, the situation was not very bright there either. Narciso wrote about the commonness of fever in Cuba, the "Breakbone fever" and "acclimating fever" that were common in 1870. After Nanno's return, Ambrosio began to comment about the economic conditions in Adams Run, South Carolina. While their family "had to struggle very hard," elsewhere in the state and region conditions were not any better. Brosie wrote, "I would not go to Charleston on any account. Savannah might be better." It seems that the possibility of fever might have been equitable to struggling with economic and social declension. As Brosie averred, "I have suffered more since I have been here from different causes & from trials...than I have since I left Cuba."[40]

Ambrosio's words provide testimony to the hopes that resided in withdrawal from the South. By withdrawing from the trials of the postwar South, many planters and ex-Confederates wished to avoid the dimensions of defeat. While Cuba contained its own blend of misery, the South offered social despair and depressed economics for the planter and ex-Confederate class, resonating down to this sixteen-year old boy who shifted between school and work. The postwar state also affected his Uncle Tom, whom Ambrose writes about: "I am sorry Uncle Tom has not been able to get Employment – he has my deep sympathy." It was certainly the worsened economic environment of the immediate postwar era about which he expresses lament. "No ruling class of our history ever found itself so completely stripped of its economic foundations as did that of the South in this period." Others in commerce and industry were also affected "in the downfall of the old planter class," yet planters seemed to experience a unique combination of problems that were more specifically connected with defeat.[41]

At the same time that these letters express anxiety over social and economic difficulties, they also reflect upon the residual effect of defeat or the lasting mark of trauma. For example, in response to his Aunt and Narciso, Ambrose had written in 1873, "and you still think we will lick those cursed Yankees yet! It's quite refreshing & makes me feel that there is life in the old land yet!"[42] These sentiments resonate back to those ex-Confederate and planter irreconcilables who had grasped on to their last hope of overcoming the Yankees by withdrawing to places like Mexico, Brazil, and Cuba. The fact that Brosie was attuned to these sentiments demonstrates that these viewpoints had been passed down to him from his father, other family members, and elders of the community. Statements such as preserving life in "the old land" and licking those

Yankees exemplify that even eight years after the war the trauma of defeat was still reverberating through Southern minds and was a pressing psychological concern. Like Brosie's individual remarks, the collective movement of the Lost Cause also demonstrated such an emotional mental state.

The Lost Cause had began as "a public memory, a cult of the fallen soldier," and represented "a righteous political cause defeated only by industrial might," to eventually become the primary form of support for planter and ex-Confederate individuals and community alike.[43] Beginning as an effort to memorialize the dead and the Confederacy for which they died, the Lost Cause offered solace to the region and this class. Yet, it also sought to protect Southern identity from the onslaught of defeat. Hence, it was concerned with the same matters that Ambrosio expressed in his letters – maintaining faith in Southern heritage and warding off Northern intrusion.

Ambrose's words also show that defeat and economic ruin were overtaking the plantation and aspirations to remaining within the planter/ex-Confederate class. He stated in March 1873, "I must say that all my former desires for a farm in Virginia have vanished." At the same time, planters had become dismayed about their son's continuation of a livelihood based upon the plantation. "It was in their consideration of their son's futures that Southern planters displayed their deepest misgivings about the future of plantation agriculture." Accordingly, many planters advised their sons to take up careers in business and industry. As a planter from Ambrosio's home state claimed, "The day of the wealthy and independent planter is past and gone." Anxiety over their current predicament and the tremors of wartime defeat shook planter confidence about themselves, their offspring, and the future.[44]

Ambrosio also wrote about the relocation of planter families that contributed to this collective uncertainty. For example, he stated, "I suppose Hamilton has moved by this time to the Tucker mansion." As the compounding effects of defeat included economic displacement, this statement alludes to such developments. With the loss of land from taxes, many planters were not financially able to rebuild their plantations and lost out to those who could. By 1870 in Louisiana, for example, sugar planters had lost about one-half of their estates to Northern investors. These class-related changes would contribute to eliciting and prolonging the trauma of defeat because it provided concrete evidence that the planter/ex-Confederate position was unstable at best.[45]

Once back in South Carolina, Narciso also expressed similar concerns about the economic difficulties connected to the pattern of trauma and anxiety. In another letter from 1873, he commented on how he had been "shooting robins and potatoes. The latter are being planted in front of John Gordon's residence (now Luash's)." "We intend to have enough of them this year," he wrote. His comments about planter life correspond with William Faulkner's character Thomas Sutpen in *Absalom, Absalom!* A former Confederate general and planter, Sutpen was reduced to "haggling tediously over nickels and dimes with rapacious and poverty-stricken whites and negroes, who at one time could have galloped for ten miles in any direction without crossing his own boundary." Both history and fiction about the planters/ex-Confederates testify to a diminishment of the planter class, sometimes to the point of bare minimum existence. While Narciso's words reflect upon a level of subsistence living, they also comment on occupational and class restructuring.[46]

His unemployed uncle Tom "went and came from Savannah" where he was "promised a place by Mr. Dawson on Rantowles to superintend phosphate works." It appears that his uncle had shifted to other employment due to the problematic nature of plantation work in the postwar years. As for Nanno, he was looking into "opportunities for keeping accounts on a small scale and by Sept could make enough to pay for one term at school." This shift in occupations will result in an altered class structure (discussed in section two) and keep the fire of trauma burning in the South.[47]

In South Carolina in particular, planter anxiety and trauma were sustained by their clashes with poverty. "I do not believe that the ruin of the French nobility at the first Revolution was more complete than... that of the proud, rich, cultivated aristocracy of the low country of South Carolina," is what one Northern reporter wrote. Likewise, the Charleston *News and Courier* reported how the state was bankrupt and that tremendous amounts of savings and investment had been lost. "Although the owner of two of the best and largest cotton plantations in . . . South Carolina," former Governor Milledge Luke Bonham stated in 1874, "my life has been absorbed in trying to keep my head above water." In comparison, the Jackson *Weekly Clarion* of Mississippi reported, "Our people have lost their property, lost their government, lost their prestige, are aliens and strangers in the land of their fathers." The British journalist Robert Somers had also written in such terms about the South in the *Southern States Since the War, 1870-1*. He commented on how countless landowners were ruined and how plantations throughout the South were being rented out or broken up into small farms.[48]

Back in Cuba, Narciso had written that there was "no news to tell except that there has been another terrible hurricane here and another is expected day-after-

tomorrow." Apparently, another kind of hurricane was storming through his homeland with streaks of lightning "from the thunder clouds overhead." Likewise, as he waited for a "box of books" that were in Havana, it contained what Southerners at home also awaited. As Nanno said, "The locket, pen paper + envelopes are in the little box but I'm sorry to say that the Testament has not come." It apparently had not arrived in the South either. Many Southerners had "awaited 'the vengeance of Heaven' against the North for its 'perfidy' to the South." Yet, this retribution had not been delivered. Whether in exile or at home, the planter/ex-Confederate class longed for ultimate redemption, but estrangement from God, the hardship of penury, Yankee, black, and poor white encroachment, and the other dimensions of defeat compounded their trauma instead, and the failure of avoidance behavior was primarily what they experienced.[49]

As 1870 had been "a year which Cuba will long remember" for its "Hurricanes and Cholera" that "killed thousands of people," it was a year that most planters and ex-Confederates wished to forget. Physical and psychological conditions were torn and afflicted. While Narciso was among streets "blocked up with fallen houses, dead people, dead oxen, horses, cows, poultry, ect which made an intolerable stench," the planter/ex-Confederate class was blocked with mental, social, and economic burdens produced and revived within a culture of defeat (discussed at the conclusion of the first section). In both places perhaps, "Its worse than war." The individual and collective response to the situation in the South was avoidance.[50]

Where Gonzales had attempted physical withdrawal for himself and family to avoid the anxiety and trauma of past and present, Sutpen's response had been one of denial and mental withdrawal. While planters like the Gonzales family returned to the

South and began "focusing their fear of the war's and Reconstruction's threats to their way of life," Sutpen serves as an example of a planter that "interiorize[d] and willfully denie[d] the threat" from the outset and chose mental instead of physical withdrawal. By doing so, he also became a "mad impotent old man."[51] While both the Gonzales and Sutpen family struggled with defeat and trauma, Sutpen's response would become more common as Reconstruction continued. Whether in actual or mental withdrawal, however, denial and avoidance behavior characterized the psychological responses to defeat and the legacy of trauma.

Narciso also voiced how this mental avoidance would manifest itself in the coming years. He had written that "50'000 spaniards + 10000 italians" had come to support the French in the Prussian War, and "even Uncle Sam sends out volunteers." Most importantly, he declared, "Gen Beauregard has joined the French I hope he will thrash the Prussians as he did the Yankees at Mannassas." These sentiments again reflect upon the state of mind that was passed along to future generations. Through the Lost Cause movement in particular, ex-Confederates embarked upon a course to resurrect and enthrone the honor and integrity of past heroes like P.G.T. Beauregard. Just as reverently, Narciso proclaimed, "Is Gen Lee dead! They say he is. How sorry every Southerner must be." As Southerners began to revere their fallen heroes and the defeated past, they also started to enshrine memories of both in the collective movement of the Lost Cause. What Nanno's thoughts express is that this movement by 1870, the time of Robert E. Lee's death, had taken a substantial hold over the South.[52]

Lee's death has been recognized as the turning point for the Lost Cause, and it was through its efforts during Reconstruction that Lee attained godlike stature.

Subsequently, the Lost Cause would "mold Lee into the totally invincible leader of the Confederacy." By the 1880s, Lee would become "the embodiment of the Confederate cause."[53] According to Lost Cause advocates, the leaders and the ideology of the Confederacy were not vanquished and gone. To the contrary, they had become the cornerstone of thought for the planter/ex-Confederate class and their children, especially as a defense against their ongoing world of trauma.

While defeat had started this reaction, Reconstruction events and issues inspired the dual process of collective memory-making and avoidance behavior that would come to be expressed through the Lost Cause movement. Beyond defeat, as an Alabama planter said in 1867, "military despotism" and "enfranchisement of the negroes" had caused more planters "to abandon the country" and seek out other means of avoidance. While defeat and emancipation were the source of trauma and anxiety, Reconstruction's political, economic, and military developments fueled already enflamed minds. Instead of adapting, "scores of plantation families chose to leave the South," "rather than suffer its final destruction." Although former Confederates and planters recognized that Appomattox signaled political, social, and economic subjugation, many also responded to these subordinating conditions through the Lost Cause.[54]

Most Southerners during this period saw this "Second American Revolution" in terms of the French Revolution where the aristocracy was attacked with "plans for massive redistribution of wealth and power." The difference was that instead of a revolt from below, "this was a revolution from above and from outside the region." Enacted through the expanding power of the Federal government and the Constitution, much of this threat came from Radical plans to "reconstruct the South in the image of the North,

or its idealize self-image." To the Radicals, the South had actually withdrawn from the Union and it was their job to reintegrate it through "appropriate legislation." At the heart of their plan was the goal of transforming the southern economy, which included the "wholesale destruction of the plantation system." The prospect of this certainly weighed heavily on planter and ex-Confederate minds. While secession and any idea of independence might have been buried with defeat, the planter/former Confederate class that did not physically withdraw, or had returned from it, had not laid to rest the ideas of state sovereignty and white supremacy. They would press these two issues against Radical Republican plans for reconstructing the South.[55]

As previously indicated, their struggle also included control over labor, most pressingly that of the freedmen. In conjunction with controlling the state, this contest would be about citizenship, and social and political equality. For the planter/ex-Confederate class, this meant trying to "utilize the power of the state to reestablish planters' control over their former slaves." The Black Codes were designed for this purpose, consisting of labor contracts, apprenticeship, and vagrancy laws, among other stipulations. These codes were partly responsible for the Radical initiative and their Reconstruction Act of 1867. After this legislation partitioned the South into military zones, many white Southerners reacted with "massive resistance" to Republican state governments that they thought were illegitimate. Many also reacted to the combined dimensions of defeat by organizing into a movement bent on avoiding the present and the turmoil it contained.[56]

Ex-Confederate Commanders, Avoidance, and the Lost Cause

For reasons connected to war, defeat, Reconstruction, and trauma, ex-Confederates continued to withdraw from society. William Nelson Pendleton, the former chief of artillery for General Lee, left in mind if not body. "Given the bleak landscape of Reconstruction Virginia, Pendleton gave himself up to prewar nostalgia." As his daughter said, he "grieved and his mind and heart seem carried out of the sad present."[57] This intense romanticism would prove to be a lasting response for the region overall. Others still opted for physical withdrawal, but would return and resort to mental avoidance.

For Confederate General Jubal A. Early, Mexico was the place where he could "get out from the rule of infernal Yankees." As Early continued to write, "I cannot live under the same government with our enemies. I go therefore a voluntary exile from the home and graves of my ancestors to seek my fortunes anew in the world." Thus, he immigrated first to Havana, then to Mexico, and eventually to Canada. In Mexico during the winter of 1865-66, he began to craft and defend the preliminary elements of the Lost Cause. In articles exchanged through a newspaper with "his old foe" Philip H. Sheridan of the Union army, Early provided a defense for the South's defeat, "cast his own performance in better light and sustained the honor of hopelessly outnumbered Confederates." Thus, as he attempted to avoid the ramifications of defeat through withdrawal, he also began constructing other barriers for this purpose.[58]

Representatives of the planter/ex-Confederate class had attempted unsuccessfully to recreate the Old South in the immediate postwar years in places like Mexico and Brazil. The irreconcilable Early, along with minister Robert L. Dabney, even looked into

the "feasibility of establishing a colony of prominent southerners in New Zealand." Yet, as previously mentioned, those who did not actually leave the South behind dreamed of it. "Countless southerners who never left the country filled letters and diaries with discussion of emigration." In them, many "swore that when they had the money they would go," or "if only they were younger or did not have a family." However, most who discussed it probably did not seriously consider it a possibility. Their discussions of immigrating to Mexico or Brazil were much like that of one Georgia preacher who wrote about escaping to "some soft green island, far out in the Pacific," "where no Yankee ever had come or could come." In such pensive writings, "emigration apparently offered a means of psychological as well as physical escape from the consequences of war." It was psychological escape to which most ex-Confederates would turn as Reconstruction continued.[59]

As withdrawal provided some with complete avoidance of defeat, for many others it was necessary to find "a temporary, psychological one." The psychological impact of defeat also pushed many other ex-Confederates to withdraw into a world of alcohol and drugs, into another "private world safe from the traumas of life in a conquered South." Other former Confederates like A. Dudley Mann, a Confederate commissioner in Europe during the war, avoided the postwar changes by remaining as an expatriate in Paris. From there, he "condemned developments in the South, damned citizens of the United States" and clung to physical and psychological withdrawal. Lucius B. Northrop, former commissary general, was in "isolated retreat in Minor Orcus, Virginia," writing about "his hatred for the United States and the paganism of the present era." After physical

withdrawal receded as an option though, former Confederates sought out other forms of avoidance.[60]

After some of the shock and disorder subsided, southerners sought to adjust to defeat in various ways. The previous cases reflect upon those who looked "to escape to a new land or to withdraw into a private world" away from the "very real trauma of defeat" associated with the immediate postwar period. However, the ideology of the Lost Cause also played a major role in dealing with defeat and provided another means of avoidance. The myths and rituals that accompanied this ideological movement represented planter and ex-Confederate responses to trauma and functioned as a device for mental avoidance.[61]

Myth has been conceptualized in terms of "sacred ideas" that are "ritualized in memory," and by how it "purifies" history, working to make history "innocent." David M. Blight defines myth as "the deeply encoded stories from history that acquire with time a symbolic power in a culture." These multiple definitions of myth reflect upon the myths of the Lost Cause, particularly in regard to their unifying and ameliorative effects. These myths were premised upon sacred ideas, purified history, and encoded stories that provided the basis of regional memory. In many ways, myths served as "cultural symbols," conveying "a special meaning (thought and feeling) to a large number of those who shared the culture."[62]

Myth as a "vehicle for meaning" tends to "develop with special cogency among people who have experienced situations of critical or tragic proportions." As was the case with postwar Southerners, "people turn to myth in a desire to become 'at ease' with the world around them once again." Whether in mental or corporeal withdrawal, myth

also provided a means to reenter the present world without fully facing its instability. At its most fundamental level, the myths of the Lost Cause "helped Confederates deal with defeat and its attendant anxieties" by serving as a coping mechanism.[63]

Anthropologists and psychologists alike have recognized myth and the use of them as "an attempt to unify contradictory, ambiguous experience of a people." In particular, psychologists have stressed that myths function "as a form of 'ego defense' against threatening conditions." As C.G. Jung emphasized, "*mythology is where the psyche 'was' before psychology made it an object of scientific investigation.*"[64] In relation to defeat and Reconstruction, the myths of the Lost Cause attempted to form a protective defense around an unstable and threatened region. In the turbulent years of Reconstruction when planters and ex-Confederates displayed psychological reactions to wartime and postwar trauma, they resorted to myth in order to establish some stability in their lives.

Despite the major obstacles and anxiety that this group confronted, they consistently adhered to ideas and principles that sprang from their former days of unmitigated power. Their "basic ideas about slavery, blacks, agriculture, and Southern civilization revealed a remarkable resistance to change." While some chose to abandon the present or deny its existence, others clung to a cultural ideology to protect them from rapid change. This ideology largely provided the foundation for the Lost Cause since the "nexus of related myths" associated with it were based within antebellum plantation ideology.[65] Those that returned from a withdrawn state also drew upon this ideology from the past as a salve for the present. Accordingly, the Lost Cause became as much a psychological brace as a memorial and organizational movement. The ideology of the

Lost Cause provided a mental fortress for planters and ex-Confederates and served as a means to transition from one form of avoidance to another. Through an ideology based in myth, the Lost Cause was a way to stay in this world and be detached from it.

In the postwar South because the myths of the Lost Cause developed out of a need to restore regional identity, "temporarily lost in military defeat and Reconstruction humiliation," the power of it derived from its ability to reconsolidate a defeated and colonized region while masking over aspects of the past that disturbed this process. In particular, this meant basing the movement in ideas that were consistent with the plantation ideal without the scars of slavery. Hence, the Lost Cause rested upon a mythic history concerning a chivalrous, refined, and romantic plantation civilization. This foundational myth placed the revered and vanquished Confederate nation, populated with countrified Southern gentlemen, at its center. More bluntly, however, this myth was directed at white supremacy, the distillation of memories of the war, and the purification of slavery. Based in a "feeling for the past" that was driven by "deep human emotions," the Lost Cause became a mythical-historical movement directed at bringing the South out from the grasp of defeat and Reconstruction.[66]

Thus, the Lost Cause was a "Southern reaction to military defeat, to the interfering presence of United States troops for ten years on the soil of the former Confederate States" and "to a condition of poverty in the midst of a prosperous America." It functioned as mental device for dealing with the multiple dimensions of defeat, or the collective elements involved in planter/ex-Confederate trauma, but it did so in a way that avoided and denied past and present reality. Similar to how withdrawal behavior actively rejected the present with its socioeconomic realties, the Lost Cause

allowed for a passive avoidance of anything that tarnished a regional past in order to speciously bolster a constructed regional identity. By committing to the mythic ideology of the Lost Cause, Southerners were able to swim in a rose-colored sea and mentally drift into a nostalgic past in order to deny what actually lay before them. Viewed in this way, the Lost Cause was crucial to efforts directed at elevating Southerners out from the Reconstruction period, and by1880, this era began to drift into memory while the Lost Cause flourished.[67]

Edward Alfred Pollard has been credited with starting this process by moving the phrase into widespread acceptance when he published *The Lost Cause: A New Southern History of the War of the Confederates* in 1866. In antebellum times, the Lost Cause had referred to Scottish independence in connection with Sir Walter Scott's novels on the subject. After the Civil War, Pollard vested the phrase with a meaning that pertained to Southern cultural superiority. "It would be immeasurably the worst consequence of defeat," he wrote, "that the South should lose its moral and intellectual distinctiveness as a people and cease to assert its well known superiority in civilization...over the people of the North."[68] He set the tone for what would develop into a multi-faceted movement based upon myth and ideology and directed at resurrecting a defeated region.

When Pollard had published his first volume, the Lost Cause began to form with the dual ideas of preserving a superior heritage while honoring the dead. "The Conquered Banner" was one of the most popular poems that initially developed this second thematic. Father Abram Ryan, the "Poet Priest of the Lost Cause" and author of this poem, wrote and spoke about defeat in a way that glorified the dead, both the Confederacy and its soldiers. As "the talk of death offered a temporary psychological

escape not unlike that found in discussions of emigration," words and poems by people like Ryan soothed Southern minds.[69] Just like mental withdrawal, many also wrote of their longing to die but never acted upon it in a way that provided a temporary avoidance of reality.

Memorial work also offered a way to alleviate the experience of loss and defeat. Memorializing activities allowed for grief and mourning, and was a means to "assimilate disruptive change." In activities that became collectively associated with the Lost Cause, grief during memorial services functioned to reconcile "a profound conflict between contradictory impulses." On one hand, Southerners wished to preserve the past; on the other, they sought "to reestablish a meaningful pattern of relationships" premised upon accepting the loss of it. Memorial activities established an intermediary pathway between these impulses and enabled Southerners to protect the past while regaining some hold on the present. The Lost Cause as a "revitalization movement" grew alongside this impulse. It became a "conscious, deliberate organized effort on the part of some members of society to create a more satisfying culture" by means of restoring "a golden age." Accordingly, honoring the dead, preserving regional identity, and dealing with the present all entailed a looking backward to an idealized past. While "the trauma and scars of defeat" marked the postwar period, the Lost Cause enabled the mental restoration of a glorious age comprised of the Confederacy and plantation.[70]

Lost Cause memorializing rituals served this purpose of mental restoration. Like myths, rituals can act as "carriers of meaning" and "serve to bind people together through the ceremonial restatement of their heritage." Especially through the process of repetition, rituals can "enable their participants to transcend time by attaching the present

to the past." Rituals connect people through time and when repeated can act as an attempt to retrieve the past, to relive it, honor it, or correct it. What came to be Memorial Day or the unveilings of monuments could thus provide a way to restore the past and a means for coping with the present. The Lost Cause from this ideological, mythical, and ritualistic perspective sought to "symbolically overcome history" particularly through "ritualistic repetition." Likewise, followers of the "Lost Cause religion" who "recreated the mythical time of their noble ancestors" through ritualized memorialization also displayed a form of repetition compulsion.[71]

Psychologist Carl G. Jung recognized compulsive behavior as "the great mystery of human life." He saw it as "an involuntary motive force in the psyche ranging all the way from mild interest to possession by a diabolical spirit." The Lost Cause, its rituals and myths, acquired this range of compulsive force particularly in the way that they embraced melancholia and anxiety. As Sigmund Freud had explained, a melancholiac would compulsively repeat "a scene of trauma or loss in order to gain at least a degree of control." As many Southerners in general struggled with the dilemma of cherishing the past and confronting the present, many of the planter and ex-Confederate class in particular were also caught in a "widespread, melancholic nostalgia for an idealized prewar South." According, they reacted with rituals and myths to try to gain some control over their trauma and anxiety. Like the character Rosa Coldfield in ***Absalom, Absalom!***, many Southerners became "back-looking ghosts" who fantasized about a wistful past compulsively through collective and individual means.[72]

Just as the "repeated exposure to traumatic activity" during Reconstruction provoked avoidance behavior, it also facilitated this fantasy mental state. "Fantasying is

a dissociated state, which is neither imagination nor living in external reality, but a kind of melancholic self-soothing compromise." For many Southerners, avoidance came through this fantasy state or mental withdrawal. Fantasying in this detached manner was "a defensive use of the imagination in the service of anxiety avoidance."[73] Along with collective ritual activities, individual mental escapism was connected with the lasting effects of trauma.

Much of the success of the Lost Cause movement was due to this mental fantasy state. "The triumph of the Lost Cause" was "in the realm of the imagination." Accordingly, from Appomattox through the 1880s, literature substantially fueled this effort. From writers like Joel Chandler Harris and Thomas Nelson Page to national magazines like the *Century Illustrated Monthly* the South, "the glamorized South" of Lost Cause legend, was pushed to the forefront of regional and national imagination.[74] As some of this literature sought reconciliation with the North through inoffensive, heroic accounts of the war, it also supported the Cause and its efforts to restore identity and psychology in the South.

Joel Chandler Harris provided many stories directed at these goals and became best known as the "Glamorizer of the 'happy slaves on the old plantations.'" In particular, through his "Uncle Remus" and "Brer Rabbit" tales, he circulated an idealized image of the antebellum South that corresponded with Lost Cause ideology and avoidance fantasying. Harris had created his "Uncle Remus" tales in 1879 about "Mr. Rabbit and Mr. Fox," stories about "the triumph of agility over strength, of guile over privilege, the trickster over the whole world of power." This message corroborated Lost Cause history about greatly outnumbered Confederates outfoxing the cumbersome

Yankee army. In the work "Free Joe and the Rest of the World," published in the *Century* in November 1884, Harris crafted the story of "poor Joe," the free black, who wandered "aimlessly about the neighborhood of Hillsborough, Georgia, in 1850" until he "finally realized that 'though he was free, he was more helpless than any slave.'" Placing soothing images of docile blacks who wished they were still in bondage with idyllic images of chivalric plantation life helped to solidify the Lost Cause movement through imagination.[75]

Thomas Nelson Page published his "Marse Chan – A tale of Old Virginia" in the *Century* in April 1884 and also helped the Cause. It was composed in a "rich Negro dialect," and depicted a former slave in the year 1872 telling the tale of a Confederate or "de captain" killed in the war while "leadin' a charge and carryin' de flag." The slave had brought his master back to his sweetheart, and her death soon after delivered a "romantic tribute to the Lost Cause and to the Virginia gentlemen who died for its glory." Through this kind of work, Page also helped to provide a world of mental withdrawal and avoidance. He created "an alternative universe of gallant cavaliers and their trusted servants," along with a "prewar and wartime Virginia inhabited by the thoroughly stock characters of Southern gentlemen ("Marse Chan"), gracious ladies ("Meh Lady" or the "Mistis")," and "the numerous Negro mammies and the unwaveringly loyal bondsmen ("Sam", "Unc' Billy")." In particular, his story "Marse Chan: A Tale of Old Virginia" published on its own in 1887 took hold over the South and the nation. By this time, years of accumulated myth had blended with history through the Lost Cause.[76]

The *Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine* also "played a powerful part in the development of the Lost Cause Legend" through its blend of myth and history. The

magazine was initially called *Scribner's Monthly*, which had issued "The Great South" series from 1873-74. Renamed in 1881, it garnered a reputation for being the "interpreter of the South to the nation," as the *Century* promoted both the restoration of the union and aided the elaboration of Lost Cause mythmaking. This came forth most evidently in its series "Battles and Leaders of the Civil War," which ran from November 1884 to Nov. 1887. Providing Northern and Southern perspectives on the war, the series "unwittingly" provided a "significant piece of Lost Cause propaganda."[77]

In particular this series stressed the importance of the "contemplation of sacrifice, resourcefulness, and bravery" in regard to Confederate and Union forces. Wishing to avoid political questions, the causes, and death of the war, the series emphasized "the picturesque features of the battle," and "special incidents of gallant conflict." The series revealed a pattern that supported Lost Cause orthodoxy: "Once again the less effective generalship of the North fails to take advantage of superior numbers; once again the small, gallant well-led Southern army arouses the admiration of the reader." What this pattern conveyed was significant to the Lost Cause movement. In the case of the Battle of Gettysburg, for example, it was the Union's victory, but what became glorified was a Confederate memory, the "gallant Picket leading the flower of Southern chivalric tradition into certain destruction."[78]

Similarly, the series had depicted "the gala days of war" with "rallying" images of the First Battle of Bull Run or Manassas, while supporting the image of Southern "Feminine heroism." Sending their men off and "bravely" listening for the battle, the writer Constance Cary Harrison had explained in the series that "during the autumn of '61" she and her cousins were "intrusted" with "the making of the first three battle-flags

of the Confederacy." Another article by Mary Bedinger Mitchell elaborated on this mythic tale and wrote in a "Southern Woman's Recollections of Antietam": "The better people kept some outward coolness, with perhaps a feeling of '*noblesse oblige*'; but the poorer classes acted as if the town were already in a blaze"; and, "The negroes were the worst, and with faces of a ghastly ash-color, and staring eyes, they swarmed into the fields." Here was "the spirit that made of Southern women the inspiration of Southern men." As the series and the *Century* overall contributed to the Lost Cause, it did so specifically through the instrument of myth.[79]

Myths were deployed through stories and soldiers' tales as "instruments" to make the war more comprehensible. Robert Penn Warren said about myth that it "defines the myth-maker's world, his position in it, his destiny, and his appropriate attitude." In Paul M. Gaston's words, myths "are not polite euphemisms for falsehoods, but are combinations of images and symbols that reflect a people's way of perceiving truth." Myths work by fusing "the real and the imaginary into a blend that becomes a reality itself, a force in history." As myth can also serve as a "collective dream or fantasy," Lost Cause myths, this blend of truth and fiction, collective fantasy and defense, helped organize traumatic experience. In addition to romantic plantations, war heroism, and home front sacrifice, myth also worked through the veneration of Confederate heroes.[80]

During the postwar period in the South, prints of "Confederate civilian and military heroes became popular in homes, schools, and veterans' lodges." Placed in parlors throughout the region, lithographs and engravings worked to preserve "Confederate immortals frozen forever in a mythically triumphant parade." Of all the heroes, it was General Robert E. Lee who obtained the most prominent position through

"the retrospective romanticism of the Lost Cause era" and the multifarious operations of myth. Emerging as a popular pictorial subject only after Appomattox, Lee's fame increased after his death in 1870. Beyond his military accomplishments, Lee's family lineage gave him a regal and gentlemanly quality that was well suited for mythic prints. His family ancestry was also bolstered by Lee's renowned allegiance to honor. While his real life was not as one-dimensional as images and writings would claim, he served the mythical role well.[81]

If Confederate heroes like Lee in word and image were honorable and heroic, the key term for "the black role in the Confederate myth was 'loyal.'" Like descriptions of blacks in the works of Harris and Page, the myth of the faithful slave was a central aspect of prints as well as stories based in Lost Cause mythology. The creation of this image had occurred during the Reconstruction era in accordance with Lost Cause historical memory, which portrayed slaves as loyal aids and cast race relations as amicable and peaceful only in antebellum times. In the turmoil of Reconstruction, blacks had slid into a "moral retrogression," which resulted in the juxtaposition of "an 'integrated' plantation pastoral against current racial conflict." Prints and literature of the Lost Cause that depicted the faithful slave were so important to this message because they placed "the loyal 'Old Negro'" against the contemporary "black beast rapist" as justification for social control and segregation.[82]

Another myth of the Lost Cause expressed in story and image pertained to Northern society. Lost Cause advocates invoked images of the "marauding Yankee" or "Yankee monster" who "symbolized a chaotic, unrestrained Northern society that had threatened the pristine, orderly, godly Southern civilization." While the antebellum

South was elevated and enshrined, the North was cast as villainous in conquest. Similarly, Confederate soldiers became exalted and Union soldiers were cast as wicked and destructive. "Because Southerners continued throughout the postbellum years to fear the materialistic, heterogeneous Northern civilization, for many people the Yankee continued to be a monster symbolizing evil." Hence, the form of the evil stayed constant while the meaning behind the fear shifted. [83]

By the 1870s, this collective mythic structure became integrated into the Lost Cause movement through the efforts of "a group of ex-Confederate officers in Virginia [who] had forged a coalition of memorial groups that quickly took over the creation of the Lost Cause tradition." In additional to memorial activities, they conducted their campaign through writing and myth-making. In 1866, former general Daniel H. Hill started the magazine *The Land We Love*, which was "devoted to demonstrating the skill and prowess of Confederate armies against all odds." Albert Taylor Bledsoe, former undersecretary of war in the Confederacy, had also created the *Southern Review* in 1867, which along with *The Land We Love* "kept up an intensive defense of the Confederate legacy until the end of Reconstruction." By 1876, these efforts included the *Southern Historical Society Papers* under the leadership of the former Confederate chaplain John William Jones. Under Jones' direction this publication spread the vision of the Lost Cause for fourteen years. Yet, "the driving ideological and emotional force behind the SHS was the former Confederate general Jubal Early." As the leader of Virginia veterans in the 1870s, Early began to offer "a heroic vision of the Confederacy as an antidote to the changes they perceived in the postwar South," especially through the SHS *Papers*. As previously discussed, Early had initially withdrawn from his war-torn and

Reconstruction-ridden land. However, once he returned to his home in Lynchburg, Virginia in 1869, he began his assault upon securing the history and memory of the Confederacy.[84]

"The spirit of the Southern people would be redeemed, in Early's view, through the story of the irrepressible and heroic Confederate soldier." Early advanced a filtered and glorious version of the Confederacy and the South. In particular, he worked to "exaggerate Lee's military prowess" through articles, books, and speeches, and deflected criticism away from Lee and himself about matters like Gettysburg. Early was the first commander to publish a book about his memoirs in late 1866 and in it he sought to protect the image of Lee, the Confederate army, and himself. "In lectures, writings, and personal correspondence over the last twenty-five years of his life, Early sought to place his impressions of the war on record."[82] Through these efforts, he not only substantially influenced history and provided many of the psychological barriers associated with the Lost Cause movement, but also displayed avoidance behavior of a different kind than withdrawal.

Like fantasying, by subscribing to and advocating a purified version of the past, Early attempted to avoid the present. His avoidance behavior consisted of repetitive recapitulations of the war and the reasons for defeat with an elision of the causes. Likewise, Early recognized blacks "only as time-warped, loyal antebellum slaves." Early represented many ex-Confederates and planters, the base of the Lost Cause movement, who thought in the same manner. In effect, Early and his followers demonstrated avoidance behavior through their need "to stay in the past, frozen in time." The character

Reverend Gail Hightower from *Light in August* also presents such a state of mind and provides a useful analogy for discussing the psychology of Early and his followers.[86]

In this Faulkner novel, Hightower is caught in a moment in time, an episode of glory, that he compulsively repeats. It is the moment of his grandfather's death during the Civil War, and he revisits it time and again because of his desire to remain within it. He is fixated on the one moment in the past when his grandfather had triumphantly ridden in Earl Van Dorn's cavalry and burned Ulysses S. Grant's supplies. The success of the attack had resulted in the destruction of over two million dollars worth of Federal supplies, the capture of 1,800 soldiers, 150 officers, and the withdraw of General Grant's army of 75,000 from Mississippi. Hightower appears to everyone to be "born about thirty years after the only day he seemed to have ever lived in – that day when his grandfather was shot from the galloping horse." Accordingly, Hightower is repetitiously enclosed in time and in a psychological framework where he is "doomed to relive in his imagination every evening at twilight the entrance of his grandfather's cavalry troop into town," with his mind "full of galloping cavalry and defeat and glory." Thus, he is frozen in time like Jubal Early, and is trapped within a cycle of anxiety and trauma, clinging to this moment of glory in order to remain detached from the present.[87]

What Early and other Lost Cause advocates attempted to do through their writing was to regain these moments and establish the "correct" version of the Civil War. Among the areas they pressed, the Longstreet-lost-it-at-Gettysburg excuse was an appealing explanation for defeat. It was more attractive than the overwhelming numbers explanation because it allowed for the belief that success had been possible. "To rewrite Faulkner's well-known phrase, for the Virginians it was always not yet dawn on 2 July,

Longstreet was not yet late, and it all hung in the balance."[88] Early and others claimed that Longstreet had failed to carry out Lee's alleged order for an early attack on the second day at the Battle of Gettysburg. By clinging to when it all had "hung in the balance" and the moment of time when victory seemed possible, Early mentally avoided the war's denouement and the travails of defeat while trying to salvage this moment in time. Thus, while he displayed the condition of repetition compulsion through attempts at avoiding the present by remaining in the past, he also demonstrated it through trying to correct history.

This type of compulsive mental condition was expressed in the "obsessive writings" of Lost Cause advocates, especially through the Southern Historical Society *Papers*, where "the Virginians continually refought the war and obsessively battled the Yankees." These efforts have been compared to the Plains Indians Ghost Dance.

> The Ghost Dancers preached that white culture would disappear if only the Indians believed and danced. Similarly, the Virginians seemed to believe that if they wrote their articles and kept southerners from deserting after the war, the Yankees and all that had occurred after Appomattox would simply disappear.

What Early and other Lost Cause writers exemplified then was a focused anxiety condition expressed predicated on repetition compulsion. That is, their repetitive writings took "the phobic form of a narrowed focus on an external threat." Early in particular fixated on correcting the past by focusing on key elements of it. Hence, his behavior is comparable to both Rosa Coldfield in *Absalom, Absalom!* and Gail Hightower in *Light in August*. Like Coldfield, Early had attempted "to reduce the various vicissitudes of history to a repetitive, even a single outrage," and similar to Hightower, he was consumed with remaining in and correcting a turning point in the war because he blames it for the resulting dimensions of defeat, anxiety, and trauma. Early's thoughts

and actions can be viewed as part of a conscious and unconscious attempt to fix the past in order to stabilize the present, or an attempt "to get even" on a personal and social-collective level "for an insult or affront to the psychic apparatus." However, due to the irreversible nature of time, the action can never really get at the original source of anxiety and trauma. Mental repetition thus acts in a vicious cycle against time events that can never be resolved.[89]

Furthermore, what appears to be have been involved with this condition is analogous to Faulkner's conception of time as circular. That is, in many of his novels, Faulkner employs the technique of temporal circularity, "the way in which the circle of the self-enclosed repeats itself through time as a cycle." This repetition in relation to time and identity results in the "inability of successive generations to break out of the cyclic repetition of self-enclosure." Individually and collectively, the cyclic repetition of moments in time appears unavoidable and a sense of helplessness develops with the continuation of trauma and anxiety. For ex-Confederates like Early, acts of trying to redeem the past or exist within it work in this way and oscillate out into the surrounding culture.[90]

Ultimately the Lost Cause attests to the role of trauma within nineteenth-century Southern culture while its use of mythology provides a vital link to the "*inner* world of trauma." As with fantasying, Lost Cause myths were constructed as avoidance and coping mechanisms, but they also reflect upon that which caused and perpetuated individual and collective trauma. While mythic writings had attempted to both avoid and correct the moments of time that produced the initial trauma, the repeated confrontations with the dimensions of defeat perpetuated and renewed it. In effect, "the psyche seems to

perpetuate this trauma in unconscious fantasy," by "flooding" the mind "with continued anxiety, tension and dread." Likewise, the "anxiety-ridden inner world of trauma is recapitulated in outer life and the trauma victim is 'compelled to repeat' the self-defeating behavior." In the case of the ex-Confederate/planter class, the trauma victims were expressing and perpetuating their anxiety by repeating the act of writing about the war and defeat.[91] Accordingly, the Lost Cause represents an essential connection between the inner world of trauma and the repetition of that trauma in the outer world. Whether individually or collectively, the Lost Cause had revealed the psychology of defeat.

As trauma was perpetuated through repetitive thought and behavior, it became enmeshed in the lives of Southerners not only as a source of anxiety, but also as "an enigma of survival." For many, life became a maneuvering between two stories: "the story of the unbearable nature of an event and the story of the unbearable nature of its survival." Freud had concluded in ***Beyond the Pleasure Principle*** that traumatic repetition was responsible for shaping the lives of individuals caught within this dual narrative. Hence, for those dealing with trauma, their lives were marked by "the peculiar and perplexing experience of survival." This was the experience that would provide the foundation for a culture of defeat in the postwar era. As the Lost Cause purified memory and crafted myth to provide a collective means of coping, it also established a heritage of victimization. This heritage would prove to be the lasting salve for a region crossed-over with defeat and would lead to the formation of "a collective identity as victims and survivors." For the postwar South and future generations, survival and victimization would provide the basis for regional identity.[92]

Culture of Defeat

For participants in a larger culture of defeat, "the act of survival, as the experience of trauma, is the repeated confrontation with the necessity and impossibility of grasping the threat to one's own life." This repetition of dealing with a threat to life and to way of life is bound to the process of survival and trauma thereby becomes imbedded in individual and community alike. For the postwar ex-Confederate and planter class who lead this culture through the Lost Cause, "the survival of trauma [was] not the fortunate passage beyond a violent event, a passage that is accidentally interrupted by reminders of it, but rather the endless *inherent necessity* of repetition."[93] It was necessary for them to repeat and relive trauma because their mental state became a matter of surviving with, and not passing beyond, it. Moreover, as previously discussed, this group's reactions to trauma and anxiety were also perpetuated by new sources. Hence, they substantially helped to form a collective culture of defeat that would have a lasting, even endless, impact on the region.

This lasting mark of trauma that infiltrated mere survival can be recognized in attempts to restore honor and confidence in manhood that had been threatened and undermined. "When the Civil War came to its bloody end, the white people of the Confederacy felt the shame of defeat, a sense of profound hopelessness, and a fear of the future in full measure." As anxieties over "the righteousness of the cause and the preservation of honor," continued to riddle the region, Southerners searched for a means to reestablish a claim to dignity that had been disrupted by the trauma that ran through the war and into their postwar lives. In this regard, the Lost Cause represented "southerners'

need to *repeat* their assertions of righteousness, honor, and manhood." The movement was a necessary confrontation with the threat to manhood and the wounds of the mind.[94]

The Lost Cause movement then was not just a place for memorialization and the laments of irreconcilables; it was the home to a culture of defeat. Whereas "the actuality of surrender was not just a matter of temporary dejection over getting whipped, stacking firearms, and leaving comrades to strike out for home," the Lost Cause was *the* collective attempt to deal with the implications of surrender that ran long and into the fiber of a culture and region. From this perspective, defeat defined "the general tone of Southern society for the next generation and even beyond," while the Lost Cause attempted to grapple with it. Defeat meant profound societal transformation in waves of threats and shocks. First, there had been "the initial shock when confronting the hopelessness of further action; second, the discovery of home conditions upon return; and third, the long-term problems of readjustment." The problems of readjustment registered into a dilemma with survival based upon the issue of honor. In essence, "the concept [of honor] involved more than its ordinary principles or corollaries – valor, courtesy, duty, loyalty, virtue. It was, in fact, the very foundation of the slaveholding ethic." As such, this foundation was saturated with defeat and the latter became instilled into honor, producing a mixture that Southerners embraced rather than rejected.[95]

As Southerners, and particularly ex-Confederates, attempted to locate and revive their regional honor, they found and harnessed it where it had been "lost." They determined that their honor, and their ongoing survival, was based in that which had placed it in jeopardy – defeat. Defeat became not a burden of shame that should be avoided, but a badge of honor that should be cultivated. What had occurred in surrender

was beyond their control, with a higher power, and what mattered most was the honor that resided in both wartime heroics and a lost crusade. "Former Confederates were suddenly a 'lost people.' They were not to blame. Instead, like the Old Testament Israelites, they deemed themselves to be victims of forces beyond their control." Likewise, the surrounding culture of defeat that they established fostered these ideas and turned defeat into an ethic of honor. "Honor could not produce a meal or saddle a mount, but it could salve the painful reality of defeat," particularly if honor could be located within defeat, and this was just what the Lost Cause had sought to accomplish. It looked to provide a sense of honor to a region submerged in defeat.[96]

One such manifestation of a region finding honor in defeat took placed on October 26, 1875, when thousands of Confederate veterans gathered in Richmond, Virginia for the unveiling of the statue of Stonewall Jackson. This was the first major monument to a Confederate general, and the crowd that reached nearly fifty thousand provided "a mass statement" concerning "the meaning of Confederate defeat and Southern revival." Through this ceremony, Southerners testified to how much the Lost Cause had enveloped the region and delivered a sense of honor. While the event signaled that regional cohesion was being affected by the ideology and actions of the movement, it also spoke to the longevity of defeat and its effect upon regional culture. Former General D.H. Hill, for example, who was still "deeply conscious of loss," remarked about "battle-torn" and "conquered" banners and stated that the latter was "wrapped around the dead hero's body in the dead hero's grave."[97] Lost Cause gatherings worked both to bring the community together under an umbrella of ceremony and ideas that were rooted in defeat. These ceremonies demonstrated that the lasting effects of defeat would continue to grip

the minds of Southerners, especially those most enthralled with trauma, and that finding honor within it would be central to regional survival.

Thus the Civil War, "with its enormous and almost permanent effect on the Southern white psyche during and even long after that conflict," became hallowed an sacred ground for a culture that nourished defeat. Defeat in war could be partially accepted if it was coated with myth and honor. For planter/ex-Confederates like Samuel French, defeat based in honor would serve as the anchor for redefining identity. After he returned home to Mississippi, he had written: "Fences burned, bridges destroyed; the plantation a forest of tall weeds." For him, what had served as the basis for his identity had been destroyed – "all means of support for my family gone; all lost save honor."[98]

As previously illustrated about planter psychology, their anxiety and trauma "stemmed in part from their own private struggle to retain a set of ideas in the face of the destruction of the institution which had produced those ideas." Likewise, it has been argued that the continuation of anxiety and trauma was connected to the ongoing attack upon this belief system. Physically and mentally, many planters had "sought to deny the reality of the emerging, and still quite inconceivable, post-slavery world." James Roark explains their mindset through the work of anthropologist Anthony Wallace. Discussing what he terms the "principle of conservation of cognitive structure," Wallace discusses the effects upon "thought systems when social systems become disrupted." As he describes, people (in this case planters), "will not abandon their particular world view, even when faced with direct evidence of its current inutility, without having had an opportunity to construct a new viewpoint." The Lost Cause enabled planter ideology to

survive by sustaining honor in defeat and establishing a lifeline to the dead Confederacy in order to survive along the trail of trauma.[99]

As avoidance and withdrawal behavior was supported by the Cause, it did so in order to meet the challenge of trauma and provide a basis for survival. Likewise, repetition compulsion was the expression of confrontations with trauma and anxiety. This second psychological condition would extend into the late1870s and 1880s and most notably figure into psychological responses to the New South movement. However, this form of repetition compulsion would be based more in responses to a colonized economic-social order and the New South movement's relationship with it. In other words, the economic dimension of defeat would supersede the other factors to drive the psychology of the planter/ex-Confederate class.

Most Southerners were "penniless" and "the business of beginning over from scratch could be a cause of severe anxiety." With ruined plantations and large debts, planters like Thomas Dabney of Hinds County, Mississippi lost his land and house to bankruptcy. "Years of penury followed," and his daughters were relegated to performing duties once done by domestic slaves. Not used to manual labor, "Dabney personally sawed firewood for the household's cooking and heating." Likewise, the Palmer family of South Santee, South Carolina fell victim to land taxes, labor shortages, and low prices, which "reduced the clan to the yeomanry class in one generation." Under these conditions, the economics of survival took precedence in the minds of this class that battled to retain its position.[100]

It was a "bitter cup of psychological ruin" that these white Southerners had to drink. And, "the long-lasting consequences of the Confederate defeat were first and

foremost a crisis of confidence in the leadership ranks of the fallen South." Since many had lost their property (in land and labor), planters and former Confederates faced the prospect of unemployment or low-level positions. Ex-Confederate planters like General Pendleton "had to plow his Kentucky farm in clothes so threadbare that he was mistaken for a hired man." From the toil of battling with the dimensions of defeat and then particularly with economic ruin, the Mississippi planter Henry Garrett claimed, "I am constantly stricken with fatigue." Likewise, General George Pickett, who never did "overcome his bitterness for the foolish charge at Gettysburg which Lee had ordered," came to live by "dreading the future." In connection with his financial problems, his wife's failing health, and the death of his son, Pickett thought that the postwar world was "a thousand times" more dangerous than wartime battles.[101]

The planter family of Reverend Charles Colcock Jones from Georgia underwent an experience with defeat that lead his son to follow the path of the Lost Cause. "He celebrated the Confederacy at every opportunity and wrote with deep nostalgia about the Old South." By 1882, he had regressed to a point where he mourned the entire landscape around him. "The entire region is strangely changed. It is people only with the phantoms of things that were, and present images are a mockery of the blessed idols once here enshrined."[102] For Jones and many like him, the emblems and sanctuary of the Lost Cause represented the remaining refuge from the present.

SECTION TWO

While the first section of this study has been concerned with the psychological conditions associated with defeat, the second section deals with how these conditions were altered when economic dependence became the most pressing concern in relation to the other factors of defeat. As withdrawal, avoidance, and repetition compulsion psychology/behavior characterized the South as a culture of defeat, this study turns next to how the South transitioned to and became a colonized region and how many planters and ex-Confederates responded to this development with a particular form of repetition compulsion. During the postwar era, while the region became dependent upon Northern capital and industry and the new middle-class managed to enact a more permanent position within society, the New South movement advanced a program of industrial expansion. Accordingly, the planter and ex-Confederate class attempted to fend off these changes through the Lost Cause movement, and their thoughts and behavior ultimately reflect upon attempts at trying to get at the source of anxiety and trauma more than denying and avoiding it. That is, their psychology was predicated upon the form of repetition compulsion that seeks to "correct" the past in order to salvage the present/future.

As repetitive behavior marked this class while it continued to adjust to postwar social and economic changes, this second section also directs attention to the psychological tensions experienced by Southern industrialists, or New South boosters. While they advocated growth and expansion, and relied upon Lost Cause ideology to support their stance, they also created a movement that can be viewed as an alternative coping mechanism. Just as the Lost Cause was involved in coping with defeat, the New

South movement served an ideological mechanism directed at dealing with socioeconomic dependency. Moreover, this movement was implicated in the development of a regional identity that is addressed in the third section. In particular, as a region the South became torn over the implications of the erosion of heritage and culture, especially since they were caught in the middle of a colonial economic relationship. In the third and final section, this study turns to a more thorough examination of identity in relation to the South as a culture of defeat and a colonized society. Both sections also continue to discuss the class confrontations that accompanied these psychological, social, economic, and cultural changes,

The Colonial Region

Before the rupture of the war that has been credited with dividing the South into new and old, antebellum Southerners had tended to think that "both the North and Europe were economically dependent upon the South" and that "the South was dependent upon no one." Southern independence was supposed to have delivered a direct trade route with Europe, "without the 'fools and swindlers' of 'Wall Street as mediators.'"[1] All of these notions were displaced, however, when the war ended and the fools and swindlers came to control the economy of the South.

If life for many Southerners had become "distinctly crude after the war," it was also marked by dependency. Like the South in general, planters became locked in a colonial relationship with North industry and investment. James Gregorie of South Carolina exemplified this relationship quite well. As a planter in "desperate circumstance in 1867," he sought out capital from the North. A New York financier responded and offered a loan so that Gregorie could continue planting. However, when his crop failed, he was not able to pay the interest, never mind the principal loan. So, he asked for more funds and received them. This occurred for six seasons and each one resulted in "economic destruction." In 1873, "after thousands had been invested and not a penny returned," Rose's accountant told Gregorie that he had to foreclose.[2]

Similar developments transpired with fellow South Carolinian planter John Jenkins. His tale also ended with foreclosure in 1881.[3] While most planters had been challenged by the implications of defeat, they seemed to encounter their most formidable enemy in its economic dimension. After the immediate postwar period, the focal point of

their anxiety began to shift. While other factors related to defeat would still be central to understanding planter psychology, economic pressures began to take precedence.

Although many planters experienced the type of financial ruin that James Gregorie had, the majority were able to escape complete disintegration. At the same time, "few escaped hardship" and these hardships had significant implications in terms of psychological stability. Planters became "as a general thing completely broke &worse than all, entirely destitute of anything like a spirit of enterprise." Many families resorted to what Ella Canton Thomas of Georgia did and experienced similar thoughts. To meet expenses in the 1870s she taught school and in the 1880s housed boarders. The debt that still accumulated, however, made her "feel cramped, confined, pent up, unable to stand erect and breathe the air of freedom." These physical and mental symptoms stemmed from a "loss of Faith, of confidence" and "the shame of being poor." Economic hardship not only reduced her class position, but also reduced her physiologically to where she was "tired mind, body, and soul."[4]

Tracing the effects of this regional economic situation during and after the Reconstruction era reveals that planters became most concerned with their reduced and dependent position. Privileging economics above politics in the lives of planters is supported by the fact that: "Economic survival was his first priority." "Although the political aspects of Reconstruction have often dominated modern perceptions of that period, politics did not fill the life of the average Southern planter." What drove their lives and psychological wellbeing more intimately and daily was their economic plight. Moreover, planters were not only less concerned with politics, but also for a time disengaged from it. As financial concerns certainly compelled this political

disengagement, it also "stemmed from a profound alienation from the postbellum South." As previously discussed, an estrangement from God had distanced planters from their community, region, and themselves. The changed sphere of economics also caused a societal alienation and political apathy overtook this group. In turn, this "detachment of planters from politics" contributed to their "sense of powerlessness."[5]

At the same time, gradually, planters began to recognize that politics was a means to reestablishing their position. As in the cases of withdrawal and avoidance behavior, most planters who abstained from political activity came back to it. More accurately, "the battle to preserve plantation agriculture and planter power became a political as well as economic affair." As politics gained more attention however, the pressure of their economic situation continued to intensify. Coinciding with this economic plight was the general agreement among planters "that the caldron of Reconstruction politics threatened to boil over with anarchy and ruin." Radical Republicans and carpetbaggers alike were a despised and threatening force that sought to ruin the planters through "free labor, confiscation, and disfranchisement." Moreover, class antagonism also came from the poor white scalawags. "Apparently threatened with multiple dangers, both internally and externally," planters sought to strike back through any means necessary.[6]

Outside of the realm of planters, during and especially after the close of Reconstruction, industry witnessed a remarkable growth, particularly manufacturing and mining. In seven out of the eleven former Confederate States, the number of manufacturing plants more than doubled between 1880 and 1900, and in nine states the employment of such workers increased three times.[7] Yet, notwithstanding these positive

developments, the main story of the postwar South is that it became a colonized region, subject to Northern capital and industry.

A new labor system had emerged in the South after the war from an alliance between capitalism and the planter class. After the struggle over compulsory contracts, Black Codes, and land redistribution plans, the sharecropping system took hold of the land. It was the "result of a compromise between the laborers' pursuit of independence and higher incomes and the landlords' desire to retain control and minimize risk." The resulting "revolution in the labor system" compelled farmers or sharecroppers to pledge "an unplanted crop to pay for a loan of unstipulated amount at a rate of interest to be determined by the creditor." Correspondingly, this crop lien forced the reliance upon the cotton crop in order to secure a loan and precipitated a revolving debt peonage. Hence poverty was the primary problem that developed from this system, which ensued from a dependence on one commodity. When too much cotton was sold, prices fell. If the crop was poor, there was no return at all. Additional problems included the neglect of subsistence crops and depletion of the land. The inefficient allocation of crops produced a detrimental effect on soil quality while landlords did not invest in agricultural improvement – drainage, fencing, farm machinery, and ways of maintaining soil fertility. At the same time, laborers had no incentive to bear the costs of such improvements. The sharecropping system, which eventually became detrimental to everyone, thus worked to establish and perpetuate the South as an impoverished and dependent region.[8]

At the same time, a post-Civil War Northern industrial order developed with railroads serving as the arteries of a North to South colonial relationship, extracting raw materials or partially finished goods from the South while finished goods were sent back

or went overseas, as was the case with the Steel industry in Birmingham, Alabama. "The greater part of the products from the South's mines, farms, and forests continued to leave the region in the form of raw or crudely processed materials to be fabricated at factories in the North or abroad." Concurrently, Southern tax policies favored railroads, utilities and insurance as well as the new manufacturing capital that entered the South, which oftentimes was tax exempt. In effect, by the 1880s, "the reconstructed South came to be regarded" "as a bulwark of, instead of a menace to, the new economic order." Consequently, "over the two generations after Appomattox the South became imperial America's first colony."[9]

Industrial progress meant that railroads were pulling tobacco, textiles, coal, and iron out of the region while population growths in towns and cities "were not so much signs of urban opportunity as of rural sickness." Moreover, the federal government, Northern capitalists and Southern political leaders were behind its orchestration. Looking "to promote the colonization and improvement of the South," as the Richmond *Dispatch* reported in 1894, "the penetration of the South by Northeastern capital continued at an accelerated pace" into the new century. "The giants divided the Southern colony at their leisure," and as local merchants held "territorial monopolies" of their own through the sharecropping system, "the Mellons, Rockefellers, Du Ponts, and other capitalists monopolized 'Southern monopolies.'" Likewise, Northern interests dominated the expanding railroad system where J.P. Morgan's lines controlled transportation in and out of coal, iron, lumber, and cotton regions.[10]

In regard to the central crop, railroads lead the way in changing the pattern of cotton shipments as they "altered the entire nature of the Southern trade." Railroads

moved cotton inland away from the antebellum markets along the coast, as was the case with Charleston 1870, while they gave "little return to the town itself" because they were merely moving through on their way to other markets. The Southern railroad boom in the 1880s continued this process, opening up more and more markets in the interior so that by 1875 it had become "general throughout the South." Even by 1869, it was reported that "Southern buyers from the 'minor villages, the corners and cross roads,' places 'unknown in Northern markets' before the war, 'now deal directly with the North.'" By the 1880s, it became evident that "an entirely new pattern had emerged in the cotton trade," and in the South's economic infrastructure.[11]

The combined effect of all these developments secured and perpetuated the South's colonial status, as the "missionary and political phase of the North's Southern policy that followed upon conquest was abandoned for a policy of economic exploitation."[12] In turn, economic exploitation worked with the already entrenched psychology of defeat to elicit anxiety and renew trauma in the planter/ex-Confederate class. Moreover, whereas this group had previously considered economic hardship to be primarily linked with outside invasion, they now recognized that local intruders also substantially supported it. In particular, the cotton industry fostered the growth of both the middle class and the new middleman, the furnishing merchant.

As the practices involved with selling cotton shifted trade to interior markets in the postbellum era, it "spurred the development of small crossroads market towns" and rural cotton centers became distributing centers for northern goods. Combined with "mill villages, these market centers introduced a new town culture into the formerly rural, isolated South." What remained of plantation culture then became surrounded by and

sometimes absorbed into the spreading market culture. "In the new town environment, shopkeepers, lawyers, physicians, small businessmen, and other professional people became increasingly influential." They constituted a "new middle class," who "shared the outlook of their big city cousins," to whom they were connected with the increase in railroad mileage. Hence, invasion continued with a new class culture flowing over the former planter elite. Moreover, this new middle class also harbored a particular occupational role that would be held responsible for invasion and dependency alike.[13]

Historically speaking the rural furnishing merchant was the axis upon which tenant farmers became entrapped within debt peonage and it was the role that received more of the blame than the overall economic system. This critical outlook originated with the lack of national and state bank involvement in agriculture and the corresponding rise of rural banks in the South. Beginning with the National Banking Act enacted during Civil War, national banks were discouraged from developing agricultural regions through the amount of capital requirements and deposit restrictions required of farmers. Subsequently, only 20 of the 1,688 national banks organized during first three years after the war were established in five Southern states; of these, five had already failed or closed by 1869. Likewise, by 1868, only 14 state-chartered banks were in operation in five cotton states and 10 of them were located in New Orleans while 2 were in Mobile, both large commercial centers. There were no state banks at all at this time in South Carolina or Georgia. From 1868 to 1880, the number of national banks grew in the South from 15 to 42 and state-chartered from 14 to 49. However, most were opened in urban areas.[14]

As the number of small towns (population fewer than 3,000) rose from 12 to 76 between 1868 and 1880, rural banks acted as intermediaries with city, state, and nation.

Mostly uncharted, private banks, they usually were an "adjunct to some other business, most often a general store." Whereas both national and state banks largely restricted their financing to large landowners and merchants, rural banks provided the link to more extensive financial services in the cities and also largely confined operations to large landowners and merchants. In turn, the local furnishing merchant then extended credit to smaller farmers.[15]

Legally the furnishing merchant gained protection from the crop lien laws that were passed by Southern legislatures in the years immediately following the Civil War. And, the widespread acceptance of the crop-lien system enabled a financial network to grow where the merchant was placed in the middle, combining "the consolidating role of the planter with the intermediary role of the factor," that is, the cotton factor or antebellum middleman. With this postbellum role, the rural furnishing merchant was able to develop a "territorial monopoly," where the farmer was forced to conduct all of his business at the merchant's store and was charged usurious interest rates on loans. Eventually, a uniform economic system emerged in the South based upon these arrangements, placing the farmer in a dependent and exploited position, or "locked in" to cotton production by the merchant. At the same time, the South continued its dependence on the cotton crop, which by 1880 made up fifty percent of the acreage in the Cotton South. As new lands opened to cotton production, the furnishing merchant system spread to these areas.[16]

In *The Hamlet*, William Faulkner captures the role of furnishing merchant quite effectively by writing:

> He owned most of the good land in the country and held mortgages on most of the rest. He owned the store and the cotton gin and the combined grist mill and blacksmith shop in the village proper and it was considered, to put it mildly, bad

> luck for a man of the neighborhood to do his trading or gin his cotton or grind his meal or shoe his stock anywhere else.[17]

"As landlord, storekeeper, and creditor, the country merchant became the most important economic power in the Southern countryside." Hence, furnishing merchants were blamed for creating a "'moneyed tyranny'" and for reducing "'its victims to a coarse species of servile slavery,'" especially since many thought they had become rich during the war through cotton speculation and were able to dictate the terms of credit to suffering farmers. However, the blame actually extended beyond them to Northern industry and investment. Because "the rural merchant" was actually "linked to northern wholesalers and cotton manufacturers," the trail of dependency stretched beyond him. As cotton factors before the war had been political and social allies of planters, postwar factors shrugged off this relationship. "The postwar crop lien system gave the merchants considerable independence from these local powers, for which they traded greater dependence on northern manufacturers and wholesalers." In order to compete with this new middleman, planters had to form new alliances. Gradually, planters joined the ranks of the furnishing merchant and vice versa. However, "while some planters were becoming storekeepers, others were losing their lands to storekeepers," which meant the planter domain was giving way to the new landlord class composed of merchant-planters.[18]

The Hamlet also comments upon the ways in which the plantation hierarchy was threatened by these developments. "*The Hamlet* begins by surveying the end of one order and its displacement by another," a displacement that is rooted in the immediate aftermath of the war and which came to fruition during the 1870s and 1880s. In *The Hamlet* a struggle for domination occurs between rising poor whites and the embattled planter order, and reveals the struggle of the planter-elites that occurred alongside the rise of the

merchants and the fusion of the planter with the merchant class. Through the Snopes family, Faulkner presents "a class of poor whites rising to usurp the positions of the peasantry and the old aristocracy and dominate the community." Yet, he also shows that this ascension was only possible through the alliance of particular classes.[19]

As a comparative lens reveals, class fusions were an essential element of industrial-colonial transformations that enabled the merchant class to gain power and the planter class to maintain it. In England, for example, industrial development during the Puritan Revolution in the seventeenth century brought about a fusion between the landed upper classes and the bourgeoisie. Similar to the American South, an alliance formed between parliament and the capitalistic tide where the "aristocratic order survived, but in a new shape, for money more than birth was now its basis." Similar developments also occurred in France, China, and Japan where revolutions leading to modernization caused the old order to retain social, economic, and political power through a merger with the developing commercial class. In India where colonialism flourished from 1750 to 1850, a system was formed on the basis that "the landlord and the moneylender took the economic surplus away from the peasantry." As in the U.S., British policy also supported and advanced the landlord's position, creating a "parasitic landlordism." However in the South, "the country merchant gave a local twist to the American situation" and its landlordism. While other nations fused classes, in the Southern states of the U.S., "the country merchant was often the larger planter," and it was through this occupational and class fusion that new merchants were able to gain power and that former planters managed to retain it.[20]

As "the structural basis of their wealth and power had been altered," planters experienced the encroachment of merchants upon their class position. While "planter persistence" varied, and in some states like Alabama, they appeared to have been able to defeat the "merchant thrust for power," in most of the region complete displacement was only avoided through a merger with this new class of middleman. As "the crop lien allowed the postwar merchants a source of additional profit that had previously been reserved for the planters," they wrestled income away from them. Moreover, their control over labor through the lien forced planters to join their ranks in order to maintain a hold over this power structure. The pressing issue then was a class restructuring that in many ways might have resulted not in planter-merchants, but "the triumph of merchants over planters, the destruction of the old planter elite, and their replacement in the agrarian economy by the merchant class."[21]

In *The Hamlet*, Will Varner's store is the site of this class conflict because the store had displaced the plantation house as "the new center of economic power and privilege." Like the inhabitants of Faulkner's Yoknapatawpha Country, planters in the South began to think that "a low, unprincipled class of traders, keepers of small shops" had become the primary force behind the threat to their livelihood. In their minds, these "shark storekeepers" became primary responsible for their underlying anxiety about class instability.[22]

The Hamlet also illustrates how this anxiety was provoked through the character of Flem Snopes. Snopes works to renegotiate his families' sharecropper status with the Varners and the social community by first gaining a clerk position at the store and then continues to gain control and power throughout the story. As Flem assumes control of the

town, Faulkner demonstrates that he is a new kind of merchant in the South who is able to monopolize the local area. While the "limited market of the southern general store permitted the merchant to extend credit service to tenants farmers whom banks and other financial institutions avoided," they were thus enabled to create their territorial monopoly. Through charging interest rates that averaged around 60% and combining the roles of merchant and landlord, the "territorial monopoly of the merchant was made even more secure."[23] Like Will Varner, Snopes also represents the class role implicated in producing the mental conditions that are associated with a colonized state of mind.

This central role was connected to the colonized conditions of anxiety and trauma because the furnishing merchant shifted power away from the planter class while it operated under the dominion of Northern capital and industry. Snopes represents the furnishing merchant that shouldered most of the blame for the re-shaped economic and social environment. He becomes the focus of the town's hatred, and like the historical furnishing merchant, Flem is vilified as the corrupt element behind the inequities and impoverishment of a colonial economy, instead of the sharecropping system and Northern capitalism. To the villagers, Flem is the one who is "taking over the power and thus responsibility and blame for the store and the entire spider's web of economic relationships it represents."[24]

"Thus Flem comes to represent the mysteriously unlocalizable unknown in the workings of their economy." And, he becomes the anxiety focal point to which the morbid fear of the displaced and disadvantaged community directs its colonized and confused state of mind. The character Ratliff, for example, reflects this state of mind by harboring a paranoid perspective that either underestimates the Snopeses "as no more than

unruly pawns or cogs securely contained within a system," or he overestimates Flem as "the untouchable mastermind who is in control of the whole weblike system."[25] Ratliff is an extension of that colonized perspective that began with the displacement of the plantation order, grasping furiously for explanations and instead finding confusion and anxiety. However, Ratliff will eventually escape this confusing state of mind through his humor and the fact that he is not economically impoverished. The poor farmer Armistid, on the other hand, who is trapped in the colonial economy, is left at the end of the book in a state of madness and desperation. Planters and ex-Confederates also struggled with desperation, displayed an irregular mindset, and fought to ward off intrusion into their mental and societal sphere.

The Curse of King Cotton and the New South Movement

"The Prostrate South" took its name initially from defeat, but "the poverty and lethargy that hung over the South in the years after the war" eventually invested the phrase with its most germane meaning. Eventually economic prostration would become the most pressing concern, but would always be underlined by the bitterness of defeat. Since part of the drive behind secession had been "to invigorate economic growth and destroy colonial dependence on the North," the reassertion of this position with defeat was painfully ironic. Not only did regional dependence seem inescapable, "but the smashing victories of the Union troops seemed to symbolize the hopelessness of the venture in the first place." The years of Reconstruction would reinforce this message with an increased prostration while the North continued to prosper.[26]

While "the structure of the postemancipation economy was established well within the decade following the Civil War," the effects of this structure became much more conspicuous as the years ran past Reconstruction. From 1878-1880, for example, per capita crop output was only 63.5 percent of the 1859 level. By 1880, only 8.9% of the cropland in the Cotton South was still on plantation farms; over 80% was now operated by tenants with 72% sharecropped and the rest rented for cash. The region persisted in concentrating upon cotton production after the war because the sharecropping system blocked farmers from operating independently. "They were locked in to cotton production." Moreover, the problem was that "the South did not take control of the production or of the marketing of its staple, either before or after the war." This was left to Northern industries. Therefore, the ultimate curse of King Cotton was the lack of prosperity in the South.[27]

At the same time, transportation and manufacturing sectors did experience a rapid regeneration. By 1870, "the physical restoration and rehabilitation of southern railroads was practically complete" and the manufacturing in five of the cotton states regained its prewar level of activity.[28] Southern industrialists clamored for more development of this kind to reshape the economy and lift the region out of dependence. These advocates of a "New South" thus began a movement to capitalize upon recent improvements.

In April 1870, Edwin DeLeon published the essay that might have given the movements its name. His essay "The New South: What It is Doing, and What It Wants," appeared in *Putnam's Magazine* of South Carolina and voiced approval of industry and railroad expansion in the region as well as reconciliation with the North. He wrote that he welcomed "utterly overturning the old system," and in 1874, he published a series of articles about his tour of the South in magazines such as *Harper's* and *The Southern Magazine*. These articles were read widely and the term "New South" became attached to the growing movement.[29]

The main advocates of the New South movement were born in the 1850s. Not old enough to fight in the war, "they passed through childhood and adolescence under its influence and reached maturity during the Reconstruction era." Hence, "their formative years coincided with the period of their region's greatest failure." These years would have a great influence upon them and the thoughts they expressed for reviving the South. As they matured, the Reconstruction period did have "a sobering effect on them," but they were not like the generation before them, the "veterans of secession and defeat – they were full of youthful optimism about the future." From the New South perspective, that future resided in industrial development.[30]

One of the most prominent advocates of this industrial course was Henry Woodfin Grady. From Athens, Georgia he was only age fifteen at the end of the war. His father had been the co-owner of "a notable mercantile establishment," and Grady's youth was "commercial in essence" with "none of the genteel leisure allegedly characteristic of the planter class." In the 1870s he began his journalist career with newspapers in Georgia and in 1876 was hired by the Atlanta *Constitution*, "the journal that he would mold into the major organ of the New South movement." Until his death in 1889, "he preached the gospel of the New South in editorial columns and in frequent public addresses."[31]

Industrial advocates like Grady looked upon the prostrate South in their formative years and searched for ways to revive the region. As "the burgeoning wealth of the North was incessantly thrust before them as evidence of their backwardness," they came to the conclusion that the region's difficulties were not attributable to the war and defeat. Rather, they thought they sprang from dependence on agriculture dating back to before the war and the lack of movement toward industry in the postwar years. As another prominent New South spokesman Daniel A. Tompkins stated, "long training as an agricultural people has brought to us a certain abiding degree of prejudice against manufactures and commerce." Hence, the New South advocates argument for industrialization would focus on severely criticizing the Old South and its institutions. For his part, Tompkins spoke of the "estrangement" between the North and South because of slavery. He also thought that the "paralysis of Southern society" was due to "slavery and to the shock of its sudden disappearance." The slave plantation economy had held the region back and the current advocates of its surrogate replacement were doing the same. Tompkins and other New South advocates thought that those who continued to hold on to Old South ideas were the

cause of prostration – they were "living in the dying conditions of ante-bellum life," and making the South die with it.[32]

Another outspoken critic of the Old South was William Darrah Kelley. "Pig Iron" Kelley was a congressman and industrialist from Pennsylvania who "traveled widely in the South, urging, scolding, and advising the region." While not a native, and a radical Republican, New South Southerners took heed of his advice and he "played a major role in formulating the New South creed." Kelley pressed against the planter class. He thought that their "fatally vicious economic and agricultural theories" had not been destroyed with the war. In the 1880s, particularly in the *Manufacturers' Record*, Kelley voiced his critique of the Old South and its advocates. In order to promote his vision and critique, certain cities would be selected as the "model city of the South." Anniston, Alabama, for example was presented in 1887 article as "Anniston: A Romance of the New South."[33]

In contrast Kelley also wrote in December 1886: "In 1867 the South was a land of desolation, her fields were fenceless and uncultivated." However, all that had changed he claimed. Like the growing cities that he displayed, "the systems of railroad that now traverse the South are as perfect in the construction of road-bed, track, and bridges, and in passenger cars and the means provided for the transportation of freight, as those of the North."[34] According to Kelley, by the 1880s the New South had risen out from the languishing past and was now equal to the North.

To an audience in Montgomery, Alabama in 1867 he had said, particularly to the planters, "In your devotion to your peculiar system of labor, you have forgotten that iron and coal are the most potent agents of modern civilization." In Kelley's and other New

South advocates eyes, the destructive past and the continuation of an equally destructive labor system had previously held the region back from modern life. The region needed to concentrate on its mineral resources and growing industries to pull it into the future. According to Kelley and others, "Iron is the muscle of modern civilization, and coal – ignited coal – is the nervous force that animates it."[35]

Kelley had also claimed, "I have said that prior to the war the South neither had, nor could have, great cities." However, this claim was no long accurate. For example, he stated, "Nashville is a beautiful city," one that "has become a manufacturing and commercial centre." In fact, "Nashville's manufacturers increase in variety as rapidly as they do in volume." Likewise, he argued, "for so young a city," Chattanooga's "industries are widely diversified." While coal and iron were on the of top the list, he made it clear that other industries like "its lumber trade, especially in white woods," were growing and "claimed to be second only to that of Chicago."[36]

In comparison, after the war Birmingham, Alabama, "an interior town," "was a tenantless wilderness," but had by the 1880s become "an industrial centre." Writing about Anniston again, also "an interior town of Alabama," Kelley claimed that "a direct trade with China" had been established, "at least to the extent of part of the productions of its cotton-mill." And, about Atlanta, Georgia he wrote: "In 1867 I saw the ruins of what had been the little city of Atlanta, which had prided itself upon the amount of cotton its merchants handled annually. It was literally in ruins – I may say ashes; but as I looked upon it now I saw that I had then looked upon the ashes from which a phoenix was to rise." The Atlanta of 1887 was a re-born phoenix leading the South out from despair and ruination. The 1880 census, Kelley stated, reported a population of over 50,000. The city

that Kelley now observed contained "great business houses" and "elegant residences of Atlanta's millionaires."[37]

Along with his promotion of these cities and towns, Kelley took particular issue with the sharecropping South when he wrote about South Pittsburg, Tennessee in 1886. It was the current system that continued to produce "old-time poor white cotton-growers," holding the South back with its "unremunerative employment in the service of King Cotton." Accordingly, Kelley spoke of a New South that will provide "a diversification of employments," and bring wealth to all classes. In particular, it was the "booming" towns that would cast life into the South and cast the planter aside.[38]

With all this promotion, however, Kelley himself had to concede that "last year [1886] we imported more than $43,000,000 worth of iron, which she [the South] could have produced had her material resources been thoroughly developed, and her laboring people been trained in manual dexterity and industrial art." Development and training would certainly have been beneficial to the region. However, the New South way of bringing it about encouraged the ongoing colonial relationship that Kelley described. For all his previous claims about the iron and coal of the South, these resources were still being imported. Moreover, production was primarily directed at delivering raw materials for completion in the North. Regardless of all his insistence on the rise of industry, however impressive and accurate, the region was still very much dependent and underdeveloped. For all his boosterism, as one respondent phrased it, "your assertion that the South can ever make her own steel rails from native ores is mere swagger."[39]

However, Kelley had pinpointed one of the predominant factors for dependent development in the South – "the artless and exhausting culture of cotton." He stated that

many "agriculturists" "know nothing of 'the art or science of cultivating the earth,'" and did not "practise 'husbandry with frugality and thrift.'" Thus, he accurately criticized the lack of crop diversification and improvement of the soil that accompanied the cycle of cotton dependency. Moreover, he also admitted, "the same wretched poverty prevails among the Southern people now, twenty-two years after the close of the war." As the result of "fatally vicious economic and agricultural theories," whatever prosperity had developed was "to be found only in the cities, and not all of them share it." "Towns, also, that are situated upon the new railroads" had also shared in some of this success. Yet, "their growth has been largely at the expense of less fortunate towns that have either stood still or have actually deteriorated." That is, their growth is not so much a sign of progress, but of "rural sickness."[40]

The Secretary of the Interior L.Q.C. Lamar, from whom the previous assessment was taken, also commented on the mistaken notions that could be concluded from this disparity in progress. For someone visiting the South might have received "an erroneous impression" upon seeing "the towns at the various stations apparently thriving, the centres of new commercial enterprises, and he naturally concludes that the South is making very rapid progress." The traveler did not know that "the man who opened a new store at one of these places has probably removed there from some town distant from the railroad where he closed his former business, or the man who is building a new house is possibly a farmer who has become discouraged in the vain effort to make a living planting cotton, and has sold out and come to town hoping to do better." As for the capital investment that has flowed from the North – "I only say that the returns have not yet been realized."

Hence, wrongful impressions about prosperity more accurately described the region rather than visions of affluence.[41]

Kelley concluded the letter by asking Lamar how to "account for the apparent stagnation" in the South. "By the depression of the planting interest," Lamar responded. "They are dependent upon the agriculture of the country for their trade." "But the crop to-day is not proportionally as great as it was before the war. It must be remembered that the population of the South increased nearly 50 per cent between 1860 and 1880. As agriculture is almost our only industry, and as cotton is our principal product, if we only held our own we ought in 1880 to have marketed 50 per cent more cotton than we did before the war. But the truth is that the large crop of last year [1886] was only 25 per cent greater than that of 1860." Thus, these depressed economic conditions, "especially when one goes away from the railroads," announced a pattern of colonial dependency that appeared to be entrenched in the region. While spokesman like Kelley promoted their vision and denounced the King Cotton and the ways of the Old South, they clung to the belief that industry would resolve this dependency. However, they needed to find a way to lift the farmlands out from its deleterious cycle. They sought to reverse the situation where: "Improvements are not kept up, and there is a general air of poverty, want of thrift, and the allowing of things to go to decay."[42]

Since the South continued to be predominantly rural and agricultural in the 1880s, the New South program also needed to include it its plan. Farming to these advocates, however, was to be made up of the small, independent kind. The movement wanted to attract the small farmer who was "driven to ruin by his persistent dependence on cotton." Their plan for more diversification and division of the land looked to take on the

domination of cotton. New South advocates recognized that the tyranny of cotton under the direction of Northern capital had "put the farmer at the mercy of a capricious international market and tied him to a credit system that drove him deeper into debt each year." They also recognized that "profits from the cotton crop went out of the region, never to return." Industrial development with agricultural diversification was supposed to break this cycle. Correspondingly, the "newly diversified farmer" would "replace the large planter." Thus, this movement was also directed at class restructuring by seeking to displace the large landholding planter, or by this time, the planter-merchant.[43]

Beyond a threat to the ideological foundations of the planter class, the New South movement represented a threat of displacement. As planters had felt themselves to be embattled already with Reconstruction's class and racial turmoil, this movement continued to harness the potential "disappearance of the planter and the 'all-cotton plan' which he had created." Both the emphasis on industry and agrarian reform pressed upon the planter class and provoked class conflict. As New South advocates attacked slavery and "lambasted planters as soft, self-indulgent snobs who were doomed to extinction in a rawer, more competitive society," they also continued to inflame their anxiety and trauma. "The New South advocates proposed rural democracy and yeoman agriculture and launched an assault on plantations, planter hegemony, and cotton." At the same time, they extended their hand to Northern investment, or to the primary intruder from Reconstruction.[44]

Lacking capital and skilled labor to bring about these changes, "the New South prophets launched a vigorous crusade for outside capital and immigration." These prophets sent out vast amounts of "industrial information" to solicit investment and "to tell

non-Southerners where they should come to make their fortunes." Through articles, brochures and the like, they promoted the South. Daniel A. Tompkins was among a "group of New South publicists" that "conspicuously championed many of the changes" associated with industry and outside investment. In particular, Tompkins passionately promoted "the benefits of industrialization and the merits of commercial values." He seemed all for marching into a New South future. At the same time, the planter and ex-Confederate class resisted this program of change.[45]

Daniel A. Tompkins, the Psychology of Colonization, and the Lost Cause

As a prominent industrial leader, Daniel Tompkins (1851-1914) would own three cotton mills and run the Charlotte *Daily Observer* and the Greenville (South Carolina) *News*. Originally from South Carolina, Tompkins went to his home state's university before going to Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute in Troy, New York. With a civil engineer's degree earned in 1873, he worked first at Bessemer Iron Works in Troy and then at Bethlehem Iron Company in Pennsylvania, where he spent ten years. He eventually went to Charlotte, North Carolina in 1883 at age 32 and three years later became involved in cottonseed oil mills. In all, Tompkins "built 500 cottonseed oil mills and 200 cotton-spinning and –weaving mills in an area extending from Texas into Virginia." Needless to say, Tompkins had become established in industrial enterprise and became a leading advocate of it. Before he gained controlling interest in the Charlotte *Chronicle* in 1891, Tompkins was a well-known writer and speaker. In both activities he unreservedly supported economic advancement of the South through industry. He was so outspoken and successful in this area that President Mckinley appointed him to the U.S. Industrial Commission in 1902.[46]

Tompkins' grandfather had been a first cousin of John C. Calhoun and Tompkins "had roots in the plantation South." His father had been a rich planter in South Carolina with two thousand acres of land and forty slaves. However, born in 1851, Tompkins like other New South advocates came of age during the Civil War and it appears that his experience with it and its aftermath pushed him away from these roots. When he moved to Charlotte, North Carolina in 1882, "he was to make his reputation as a promoter and exemplar of the New South creed." As an industrialist, he would become the president of

three cotton mills and the director of eight more. He also became owner of three newspapers with the Charlotte *Observer* being the most prominent and was a regular contributor to manufacturing journals.[47]

As a young man, before his most notable accomplishments, Tompkins received letters that probably influenced his motivation for industrial development and reveal the instability of the early 1870s, the transition years of the South. For example, Eliza R. Mims, a friend from South Carolina, wrote in October of 1870: "I have had 'the blues' all the week – was almost afraid to write to you for fear I would give them to you." The letter expresses a common enough mood. However, her remedy for it is particular to the South. While Tompkins pursued his degree at Rensselaer, Mims sought to ameliorate her situation in the South through "the Waverly Novels." "I have read only one of them, 'The Bride of Lammermoore,' and think I will like his (Scott's) works very much." That is, she reached for Sir Walter Scott and his romantic influence upon the South to ease the years of transition while Tompkins was pragmatically studying engineering to bring improvement to the region.[48]

Another letter from Mims on Halloween of the same year continued to express a solemn mood. While she felt "as if buried alive," "Mamie" had "found it so difficult of late to write a letter," and "that she thought she must be in her dotage." Likewise, Mims "concluded that I couldn't be very far behind her."[49] While these expressions may have been hyperbole, including the reference to dotage, or a state of mental decay, they also appear to be very aligned with the social and economic world around them. These sentiments seem to be attuned to the milieu of defeat and colonization.

The following May, 1871, however, Eliza left nothing in doubt about the source of her afflictions. She writes to Tompkins: "Our poor old State is indeed in a terrible condition, everything grows worse and worse." Her words resonated with many Southerners as economic and social conditions appeared grim across the South. She also captured a widespread response to these conditions – "Our only help is from a Higher Power."[50] In Mims' letter, one can recognize the feelings of prostration that were first associated with defeat and then became attached to a dependent economy. Moreover, if her letters expressed gloom, foreboding, and a general anxiety about the postwar South's economic situation, another friend of Tompkins, E. Keese focused his anxiety and anger at a precise source.

Writing to "Gus," as Mims also called Tompkins, in November 1873 from Edgefield, South Carolina, Keese explicitly commented on the colonial economy and its ramifications.

> I do verily believe that this infernal confusion in business circles is the result of a design – a cunning scheme to make the unfortunate planter pay his debts, satisfy liens, with cotton as a sacrifice for the benefit of the heartless speculator.

As he pinpointed the plight of the planter, and farmer, Keese also clarified just who was behind this speculation scheme. Referencing the "principles of Political Economy" he wrote:

> Where then is the cause for so much distrust, dismay, + suffering? The poor planter belongs to his factor, the factor belongs to Wall Street, + Wall Street belongs to Lucifer! [51]

While Mims had looked to a higher power for assistance, Keese blamed a lower one for the decrepit economy and the related suffering in the South. As he held the growing entrenchment of the sharecropping system and the role of the furnishing

responsible for economic prostration, Keese also focused on the supporting source – Northern industry and finance. His sentiments describe the colonial relationship as it evolved in the 1870s and 1880s.

Collectively, these letters support the description of the South in economic and social turmoil, and they might have provided Tompkins with some of his motivation for advocating New South industrial development. The same conditions that these letters describe also prompted planters and ex-Confederates to embrace the Lost Cause movement. With the rise of New South ideas and the continuation of economic prostration, proponents of the Lost Cause also directed their ideology at these developments. "Ironically, the plans for a New South were popularized in the same period that saw the triumph of the myths of the Old South and the Lost Cause." Accordingly, the Lost Cause became a movement that attempted to prevent the advancement of the New South. If a "central theme in planters' early postwar lives was a sense of powerlessness," as the war years fell further into memory, they felt a sense of dependence.[52] At the end of the 1870s and into the 1880s, they also confronted the growing strength of the New South movement, and together with other Lost Cause advocates attempted to diminish its influence over the South.

By 1868, Daniel Harvey Hill, who had published his magazine *The Land We Love* in 1866 in North Carolina, provided an indication of the position of Lost Cause advocates. He came to "attack" "the grasping drive for material success" that the New South movement represented. He was against the New South and its "new industrial oligarchy" – "a hundred-fold less respectable and venerable, than the landed aristocracy which the spirit of the age has swept away."[53] As the burgeoning New South movement promoted a

plan of industry, accepting defeat, and moving toward reconciliation with the North, many like Hill rejected it and sought to stop its advance.

Edward A. Pollard, who had provided the name for the Lost Cause movement, had also voiced concern about industry and materialism and its effect on the South. In 1866, he had written of a "danger" from without and within based upon *"material* prosperity." He warned against bringing in "Northern capital and labour; to build mills and factories and hotels and gilded caravansaries;" or making the South into "rivals in the clattering and garish enterprise of the North." Others like Albert Taylor Bledsoe followed Pollard's charge. He had become editor of the *Southern Review* in order to "damn Yankee civilization." Bledsoe had founded this publication in 1867 and served as editor until his death in 1877. He had felt the "whole spirit of Christianity" was against Northern ideals.[54]

Thus, Lost Cause advocates "heaped abuse on what they considered to be the brutal materialism of Northern civilization." Their wrath also became directed at the New South because of its solicitation of this materialism. As protectors of the "pure" and revered traditions of the South, they attempted to stave off the imposition of the "god of Yankee civilization in the shaken temple of the land of purity." Even if the New South movement did not consider themselves to be committing any such act of desecration, to adherents of the Lost Cause, "the New South was premised upon the repudiation and annihilation of the values of the Old South."[55]

By the 1880s the New South movement was taking precedence within the region, and to followers of the Lost Cause it represented "the greatest danger to traditional values." Correspondingly, their primary source of anxiety and fear shifted from defeat to colonization because Southern "virtue" seemed most threatened by Northern industry and

their Southern counterparts. Accordingly monument dedications, Confederate Memorial Day, and veteran group meetings also embraced the "Lost Cause sermon, prophesying Southern doom if virtue was not preserved." Most prominently, Southern preachers confronted the dangers of the New South, taking up the charge against New South materialism through Lost Cause rhetoric.[56]

As the "danger of the South's future degradation was readily embodied in the North's image," preachers like Bishop J.P.B. Wilmer in Louisiana warned against succumbing to its pressure. He proclaimed in 1875, "in no age have men been so eager to combine for purposes of worldly gain." Three years earlier, the Presbyterian minister Benjamin Morgan Palmer in Virginia spoke about "'the impending crisis' of the social effects of industrialization in the South." In fact he contended, "The spirit of materialism infused into all the transactions of business and common life, is the Angel of Pestilence dropping the seeds of death from its black wing." As this spirit "spread like a leprosy over the land" during the 1870s, the ministers voiced the strongest criticism of it, and their efforts lead to even greater denouncement in the 1880s. During this decade, the Presbyterian minister Robert Lewis Dabney became "the most bitter advocate of the old ways," providing a voice for others who shared his disdain for the intrusion of capitalism.[57]

However the target of his denunciation lay in the South as well. Dabney's sentiments attacked the New South movement as much as Northern materialism. By the 1880s, the movement with its program of renewal had gained considerable attention. Its growth caused concern and drew rebuke from those most concerned with the South's value system. However, as a new South seemed unavoidable, Dabney and the community

he represented did not outright reject the necessary turn towards industry. What he railed against was the "accompanying byproduct, materialism." He saw in the new too much of the North, and warned Southerners not "to BECOME LIKE THE CONQUERERS." The means to preventing this lay in the values of Lost Cause values, which Dabney recognized "as the only hope for preserving Southern virtue." Like other Lost Cause advocates, Dabney was "similarly depressed by a course of events which seemed to him to repudiate the principles of the old regime." He claimed that whoever made "selfish, material good its god" was "doomed."[58]

Reverend Dabney thought of himself as "the Cassandra of Yankeedom." During the postwar period when U.S. railroads expanded to 200,000 miles from 9,000, industrial workers tripled, and gross national product expanded by 10 times over a half century. Dabney remained a strong critic of this growing industrial society. However, his criticism was not driven by "convulsive labor violence or the continuing plight of the urban poor" like other reformers towards the latter part of the century. He was driven first by the effects of defeat and then the related invasion of Northern industry. Like other planters and ex-Confederates who aligned themselves with the Lost Cause, "Dabney held fast to the obsolescent principles of an agrarian past and an outmoded civilization" at a time when these ideas were being threatened from outside and inside the region.[59]

As "the son of a slaveowning planter, Dabney was a product of the Old South"; he was "nurtured in an ideological cocoon" which viewed the proper South as "the apotheosis of that agrarian, rural society which alone could produce and sustain a free people." He thought slavery was a "beneficent institution" that was supported by religion and he had been aligned with the Confederacy from the Battle of First Bull Run, serving then as

chaplain and returning to the war's end at Petersburg. After the war, Presbyterians saw him "as one of their finest teachers of divinity and as the southern Church's ablest theologian." Concurrently, he became known as "one of the most vitriolic and unrelenting defenders of the Lost Cause." The collapse of the Confederacy had devastated him mentally and Reconstruction embittered his already intense outlook. With time many even in the South came to see him as "a relic obsessed by incurable Yankee-phobia." In response, in 1883 he displayed some signs of withdrawal by removing himself to Texas into "semi-exile." Yet, he continued to embrace the principles of the Old South and the rhetoric of the Lost Cause, and when he died in 1898, "Dabney was as defiantly unreconstructed as ever."[60]

In life he had aimed his criticism more specifically at corporations and the concentration of economic wealth and power. He saw industrial "captains of industry" like Andrew Carnegie as immoral and corrupting, part of the "slimy anaconda embrace of the money oligarchy." This anaconda, he claimed, also had a stranglehold on government and was responsible for the rising social problems both nationally and regionally. Dabney located the brunt of the problem in the predicament of farmers. Industrial monopolies were keeping the prices of necessities high and charging excessive charges in shipping. His analysis was congruent not only with the Farmer's Alliances, social gospel preachers, and Populists, but with many twentieth-century historians. Yet, there was a crucial difference. Dabney was much more concerned with "unmasking the evils of the 'Yankee empire' and defending the society it had crushed."[61]

While others vociferously addressed similar issues, he was unable to look beyond the past and his antipathy that stemmed from it. Dabney "invariably returned to his

central themes: the superiority of southern ideals and institutions and the fearful consequences of their destruction."[62] While he embraced Lost Cause ideology, he was not capable of going beyond it. By repetitiously clinging to its tenets, he reflected a mental state that was consumed by the past. Moreover, he demonstrated the continuing ways in which the Lost Cause movement could be employed as a coping mechanism in connection with the psychological condition of repetition compulsion. For Dabney and other stalwart defenders of the Lost Cause, repetition compulsion became the primary psychological force behind their actions. In ways that were analyzed in the first section of this study, Dabney attempted to get at the source of affliction while at the same time wishing to avoid it. He also demonstrated a borderline neurosis that other Lost Cause followers might have shared.

Obsessive-compulsive disorders have been categorized with the neuroses of neurasthenia and hysteria. All three are "linked to a particular kind of conflict between the individual and society." In the case of compulsive disorders, the locus of the conflict resides in the wants of the individual in relation to the "moral imperatives" of society. For Dabney and others from the planter/ex-Confederate class, their obsession after the immediate postwar years became much more focused on the threat of a material society and the degradation of morals. As "all neurotic disorders are perceived as conflicts whose source lies in a mismatch between social expectations and norms and the individual's abilities to meet those norms," obsession/repetition-compulsion was produced by the mismatch between the changing values of the South and the minds of those clinging to the past. As Dabney was obsessively caught in the past, he desperately held to the belief that: "When Yankeedom destroyed itself, the Old South would achieve final, bitter

vindication." Since he was "confined by the orthodoxy of the Old South," Dabney "could offer little more than the slogans and shibboleths of the Old South." His words and reactions thus demonstrate a neurotic degree of repetition compulsion resting upon a mismatch between the society of the Old and New South.[63]

As the former chaplain and chief of staff for Stonewall Jackson, Dabney became "one of the most unreconcilable of the diehards." He recognized the Lost Cause "as a sacred trust that required theological devotion and a strong sense of denial." Like other planters and ex-Confederates, Dabney had also resorted to avoidance behavior because of his intimate connection with the war and the trauma linked to it. As "Dabney was obsessed with historical judgments about the war and Southern slaveholding," he defended the past while attempting to avoid the present. Particularly in his *A Defense of Virginia and through Her of the South* from 1867, he joined other Lost Cause writers in displaying this trauma-induced behavior. However, his writings and behavior most adamantly reflected upon the related condition of repetition compulsion. As he transitioned with the South out of the most intense feelings for defeat, he directed his obsession at the next major obstacle to a restored Confederacy – the New South movement. "Until his death in 1894, Dabney was never at home in the world the war had made. Almost as much as he hated Yankee rule, he eventually condemned the New South movement for its materialism and anti-agrarianism." Although not as extreme, other evangelists of the Lost Cause also offered this type of obsessive condemnation.[64]

The most fervent evangelist of the Lost Cause against the rising New South was Reverend J. William Jones. Beyond preaching, he became secretary-treasurer of the Southern Historical Society in 1875, which he held until 1887. He was responsible for the

publication of the *Southern Historical Society Papers* in 1876, and by the late 1870s and 1880s it became the central outlet for Lost Cause. Jones used his position to direct much of its content. Still concerned with defeat, he dedicated seven issues of the *Papers* to the battle of Gettysburg. He concentrated more, however, on the "real evangelical religion and devout piety" of the Army of Northern Virginia. Together with reverence for war heroes like Stonewall Jackson, Jones pushed his Lost Cause message into the New South. Recognized "as the single most important link between Southern religion and the Lost Cause," Jones used his position to ward off materialism and preserve a regional identity based in virtue. Jones was also heavily involved in the activities of Confederate veterans, especially the Association of the Army of Northern Virginia and the United Confederate Veterans. Through these organizations, he attempted to form a blockade around the South that preserved the past and thwarted a New South future.[65]

Charles Jones Jr., struggling with the bleak years of Reconstruction, had established the Confederate Survivor's Association of Augusta in 1879 for similar reasons. Ultimately recognized as an "ambivalent irreconcilable," Jones was forced to mix "his unreconstructed zeal for Confederate memory with a pragmatic embrace of life as it was." While he seemed to partially deal with the trauma of defeat, however, the advance of industry and capitalism continued to provoke anxiety. Jones was unable to completely reconcile himself to the industrial and commercial ways of the New South. As the catastrophe of defeat might have subsided, Jones still struggled with the effects of materialism upon the region.[66]

As Robert Dabney's said, "That people which makes selfish, material good its God, is doomed." Instead, the leaders of the Lost Cause thought the region needed to

focus on the "spirit of heroic self-sacrifice."[67] While legions followed this path, guarding their regional identity against the wrought of materialism, many others traveled along a markedly ambivalent course. With the coinciding rise of Old and New South ideology, many Southerners confronted a breach in thought. Although many were able to balance this conflict of interests, some within the middle of this divide confronted a significant obstacle. Accordingly, the conflict between myth-driven values and the rhetoric of prosperity also created anxiety for those Southerners undecided about the debate.

The New South Movement and Anxiety

While not as severe as withdrawal, avoidance or repetition compulsion behavior, anxiety related to the conflict between a mythic past and an industrial present/future was a major factor in the South. At issue, even for those supporting the New South movement, were "commercial values, obsession with personal profit, worship of money, and unequal distribution of wealth." The tension between a loyalty to regional distinctiveness and what appeared to be tearing away that distinction resulted in a "vaguely defined anxiety" that became associated with as well as experienced by the rising middle class. As "the plantation aristocracy lost its political ascendancy to a new elite – a business elite of industrialists, large merchants, and railroad officials," they also appeared to be losing the top position in terms of social and cultural identity. While planters and ex-Confederates gave ground to industrialists like Tompkins and merchants like Flem Snopes, they experienced anxiety over the ways in which this latter group began to define not only the political terms of the region, but its value system. At the same time, this middle class experienced anxiety over these developments and in the South during the 1870s and 1880s.[68]

"Although perhaps the most universal of all human emotions, anxiety has been difficult for theorists to define." One definition of anxiety is: "a cognitive-affective structure comprised of high negative affect, a sense of uncontrollability, and an attentional shift to self-preoccupation." In essence, "the anxious individual experiences a sense of uncontrollability and is focused on a possible future threat or danger." Moreover, the condition of "*anxious apprehension*" indicates "anxiety is a future-oriented mood state in which one is preparing to manage upcoming negative events." As discussed, planters

acquired a sense of uncontrollability and self-preoccupation because of their unique circumstances in the postwar environment. Likewise, planters and ex-Confederates that adhered to Lost Cause principles experienced anxiety in their struggle to deal with the present and the upcoming future that appeared to be slipping from their control. In a different manner, the new middle class also sensed a threat or danger with the coming future because of their ambivalent position in relation to it.[69]

Whereas repetition compulsion behavior was a unique and particular response to the disturbing events related to defeat and colonization, middle class anxiety reflected a more widespread response to such developments. As most southerners "did not identify completely with either side" of the new and old debate, "they worried that the social changes they only dimly perceived but apparently feared they could not avoid would somehow undermine southern character." Hence, "they focused most intently on 'commercialism,' a vaguely defined anxiety that the new order entailed." While Lost Cause advocates struggled to fend off the pursuit of economic advantage over honor and integrity, the middle class experienced also anxiety over this dilemma.[70]

As the New South movement helped cause this dilemma, it also attempted to assuage the fears of Old South adherents and middle class Southerners alike. While planter, Lost Cause, and middle class anxiety contained their own distinctions, they shared one common factor – economic dependency. The New South movement sought to address this factor primarily through industrial development. It also sought to provide an alternative means of coping with the anxiety of the present and coming future.

Civil War defeat and Reconstruction humiliation had created "an atmosphere for the growth of two images of the South that, on the surface at least, appeared to have little

in common." Beneath this surface, however, both the Lost Cause and New South movements looked to aid a suffering region and restore its collective psychology and identity. For one movement, "defeat and despondency called forth a collection of romantic pictures of the Old South and a cult of the Lost Cause that fused in the Southerner's imagination to give him an uncommonly pleasing conception of his region's past." This uncommon conception based in the ideas of a past plantation civilization infiltrated the minds of those trapped with confronting the realism of defeat and the hardship of dependency. However, since "this noble order had been assaulted and humiliated by the North," besides providing a pleasing escape, it was also "a source of poignancy and bitterness." The New South movement looked to pull the South out from this bitterness through other means than those employed by the Lost Cause. Since "no amount of nostalgia" "could gainsay the fact that the South in the generation after Appomattox was desperately poor, alternately despised, ridiculed, or pitied, and saddled with many unwelcome burdens," the New South movement sought to cast the nostalgic past aside. It was a movement that did not want to swim in the rose-colored past. Essentially, it spoke to those Southerners who were either ready to embrace the future or undecided about it.[71]

"During the first half-decade after the war Southerners responded in a variety of ways to the crushing defeat they had sustained and to the revolutionary consequences of emancipation." Many among the planter/ex-Confederate class "hoped to restore the old order" as near as possible and refused "to abandon their agrarian economic and social order." As previously discussed, some even resorted to withdrawal and many more avoided the present through the Lost Cause. For most Southerners, however, "total

resistance to change or flight from their country were unsatisfactory solutions." Many wanted to put defeat behind them and confront the challenges presently before them. The New South movement wished to aid this process. It built its program on being prepared for the future and meeting the anxiety that accompanied it.[72]

If anxiety describes a particular state of mind that anticipates danger and attempts to prepare for it, many anxiety-prone Southerners sought to prepare for the danger associated with the socioeconomic changes within the region. Hence, the New South movement formed in order to be prepared for the dangers of continued poverty and subsistence living. Hence, coinciding "anxiety or a preparedness for danger" accompanied this movement because those inside and outside of it worried about its success and the future of the South. In contrast, the Lost Cause demonstrated a failure to adequately prepare for these dangers. That is, "the evidence for *lack* of preparedness – repetition," marked the Lost Cause, and its "compulsion to repeat must be regarded as leading from unpreparedness." This unpreparedness stemmed from the trauma of defeat and Reconstruction. The New South movement, on the other hand, took a pro-active approach to confronting the psychological and physical dangers ahead. Moreover, while its advocates focused on releasing the past instead of harnessing it, their means of dealing with anxiety and trauma was to purge the memory of its marks.[73]

"Freud (1959) was the first major theorist to recognize the therapeutic importance of both reactivating these memories and discharging them through repetition." Instead of a repetition psychology that attempts to get at the source of the anxiety and fear, the New South movement sought to elicit memories in order to release them. New South advocacy can be viewed in terms of trying to overcome the inability of the psyche to get at the true

source of trauma by instead discharging thoughts of it. "It has been well established that the human brain regularly attempts through a variety of cognitive mechanisms to avoid or inhibit unpleasant emotion-eliciting thoughts and experiences." As discussed, the Lost Cause functioned according to this avoidance and inhibiting paradigm. Since it has also been established that the brain also tries to "discharge the affective component" to return the mind to a balanced state, the New South movement can be seen as operating upon this premise. It seemed to work according to a cyclic process that took into consideration the need to expel traumatic memories. The movement appeared to recognize, "the more intense the emotional experience, the greater the need for discharge." What occurred through it then was a release of some of "the emotional component of the avoided memory." Hence memory could be released instead of repetitiously contained.[74]

On a societal level, this study proposes that both the Lost Cause and New South movements worked with selective memory and both operated as psychological coping mechanisms. As attempts at correcting the past, these movements crossed over each other as dissimilar but associated means at trying to remedy the situation of the South. The primary difference was that the Lost Cause focused on reviving the past, purified and without conflict as it also tried to correct it, but the New South attempted to purge the past in effort to relinquish it and build an industrial South, or claim that one had already been in existence. Accordingly, as planters and ex-Confederates looked to the Lost Cause in order to deal with defeat and a colonial relationship, New South advocates offered middle class and other Southerners an alternative means of coping with the changing South. Just as the Lost Cause had served as an alternative avoidance technique for the planter/ex-Confederate class, the New South movement was an alternative to this alternative.

However, the New South movement recognized that "the mind of the South clung tenaciously to its past – its past seen through a rose-tinted haze," or, at least a substantial portion of its societal mind did. New South advocates did seek to elevate the region through appeals to the present and future, but it also had to elicit support by paying homage to the Old South. "For those who needed it, the Lost Cause became a tonic against fear of social change, a preventive ideological medicine for the sick souls of the Gilded Age."[75] The New South movement tried to serve another tonic, albeit flavored with industrial progress. Yet, it also paid respect to the past and, like the Lost Cause, relied upon myth to do so.

The primary difference between history and myth during this time period was that the latter worked to remedy the postwar psychological difficulties that Southerners confronted. "Pride and hope were destroyed by defeat, and humiliation was added by the Reconstruction," and both the Lost Cause and New South movements sought to provide myths that "gave back those very things which the Yankee had tried to take away – the knowledge of a proud past and a noble heritage." Henry W. Grady for one had talked "hopefully of a new scheme of things that would enrich the region," a scheme of industry and scientific agriculture. The "optimistic orator from Georgia," editor of the Atlanta *Constitution*, and "the first and foremost New South spokesman," also knew that this social and economic message would need to be clothed in mythic terms to appeal to a broader audience.[76]

Hence, a "mythic view of the past" still operated in the 1880s. The New South movement, "born to inspire a program of action," also worked to meet the challenges of the region through a mythic past. As the Old South myth had been wrapped in the

ideology of the Lost Cause, the New South one offered another means to relief and rejuvenation. As they advanced into the future industrialism, New South advocates still had to "supply a salve for the bitter wounds of defeat."[77] If defeat had become eclipsed by economics, it still echoed loudly with many in the South and particularly with those that most forcefully opposed their efforts – the Lost Cause adherents. For the creation of their alternate coping mechanism, they would also need to rely upon myth.

New South myths emphasized the "Southernness" of the plans for reviving the region while advocates reshaped the past in a way that was "congenial to the New South mentality; that is, they discovered in their history a heritage of nationalism and industrialism." This version of history included the idea that before slavery completely gripped the South, the region had been "well on the way to a bright industrial future." It was the "peculiar institution" that interrupted this progress. In their eyes, the South was now returning to its true course that the domination of slavery had disrupted. In this way, the New South movement was not a repudiation of the past, just the time period that went astray. Advocates worked to construct the past to their liking just as the Lost Cause did. At the same time, they paid tribute to and honored the Old South.[78]

The New South movement was supposed to correct the "defeat, grinding poverty, and oppression" that Southerners had known by delivering to them their "true" history. "No one was more zealous in this mission than Henry Grady." He commenced upon a crusade to convince North and South alike of the New South program. He spoke about removing the tensions between the regions as well as providing an "authentic Southern heritage." Grady paid homage to the "exquisite culture" of the Old South and even said, "the civilization of the old slave *regime* in the South has not been surpassed, and perhaps

will not be equaled, among men." Yet, the movement that advocates like Grady advanced was meant to be "substantial enough to replace the creed of the Old South." In effect, "they preached a new set of values as a primary requisite to both collective and individual success." Their value system confirmed the integrity of industrial and commercial pursuits, and validated it by drawing upon a mythic past. As an "appeal derived from its philosophy of progress, brash confidence, and sense of boundless optimism," it was supposed to infuse Southerners with that which "had been strikingly wanting in the Southern mentality of the early postbellum years." It was a mental mechanism that allowed younger Southerners to "rationalize the failure of their fathers and point the way to a future of unlimited glory." Hence, it was focused on the future and not the past.[79]

Positioned opposite of postwar suffering, this ideology emphasized the hopefulness of the future through present action. By 1880, the South they advocated "was ready to be no longer negative, but affirmative; not just the passive resultant of its past, but the conscious builder of its future." Instead of being consumed by the past, "their purpose was to rectify the errors of the past." New South advocates were intent on "correcting" what had gone wrong and hence their movement offered an alternate ideology and coping mechanism. Likewise, it also contained a compulsion to address the "backwardness" of the region.[80]

In 1875, Benjamin Harvey Hill, who was also an ex-Confederate general, indicated the root impulse behind the movement. He claimed that the South had to "correct the real cause" of failure, a "failure in the past" through New South measures. In essence, the New South means of correction was still concerned with dealing with the past. In contrast to Lost Cause ideology that was rooted in preserving and defending the past, or many times

attempting to relive it, however, the New South message was directed at erasing the mistakes of the past through present and future efforts. In this way, the New South movement can also be viewed in terms of the psychology behind repetition compulsion. The repetitive path of the movement was concerned with getting at the past, much like the Lost Cause had been, but the primary difference was in the ultimate goal in regard to it. As Hill explained in a speech at the University of Georgia, the South could "live neither *in* nor *by* the defeated past." The New South focus instead was upon the economics of the present and its advocates were concerned with the ways in which dependency had replaced defeat as the region's most pressing concern. It represented a change from the past controlling the psyche to colonialism pressing upon it, and the New South movement looked to correct the past through present endeavors. They said, "The past is behind us; we are one with the North in business and national ambition."[81]

J.D.B. DeBow's magazine in New Orleans, *DeBow's Review*, had begun to issue this corrective call back in 1866. In its "After the War" series, Southerners were told about the necessity of industrialization, diversification, immigration, and reconciliation since concern for the present economic conditions were the first priority. As DeBow stated in 1867, "*We have got to go to manufacturing to save ourselves.*" In addition, he continued to say that capital would "flow here to erect, equip and start every manufacturing establishment as fast as it can profitably be run." Attracting capital was a major part of DeBow's vision and the New South movement's plan for erasing the past and bringing national reunification.[82]

Francis W. Dawson, editor of the Charleston *News and Courier*, took up this charge after DeBow. As the main promoter of development in South Carolina, he coined

the phrase "Bring the Cotton Mills to the Cotton." Northern journalists traveling in the South began to press for capital and reconciliation, or reconciliation through industrial development, too. In the early 1870s, *Scribner's Monthly* launched its "The Great South" series. Robert Somers had also published his book *The Southern States Since the War* in 1870 and Charles Nordhoff issued *The Cotton States in the Spring and Summer of 1875* in 1876. All of these accounts presented a case for waning hostility and the coming of reconciliation. Moreover, "these journalistic outpourings were highly optimistic in reporting the abundant resources of the region and in designating the South as the section of the country in which great economic advances of the future were to be made." In promoting the coming future, however, these efforts also helped promote the next phase of Southern anxiety and trauma. These New South outpourings "invited an invasion of Northern men and capital into the region on terms that seemed to be unusually advantageous to the invaders." The conclusion of "alien Reconstruction" then "included the ironic invitation to a new kind of Northern invasion." What would replace defeat in psychological primacy was this invasion. Likewise, Lost Cause advocates would direct their mental energies at both this advance and its internal promotion. They recognized that the New South movement could "bring them to a point of subjugation quite as serious as the one they were trying to escape." New South advocates, on the other hand, defended their plans for business and national integration.[83]

Within their plan for nationalism, these advocates sought to elevate the region, but the South continued to exist as "a colonial, dependent stepchild." The national integration that New South advocates promoted was meant to bring prosperity and prominence to the region. Even as they solicited Northern capital, the New South advocates "resented any

suggestion that the South they were creating was a product of foreign or outside elements." As Henry Grady stated, "southern brains, and southern enterprise, and southern energy and courage" were responsible for lifting the South out from Reconstruction and into a brighter future. Yet, that future seemed to be elusive.[84]

Overall, the New South movement was a carefully balanced orchestration of interests, loyalties, and psychologies. It needed to direct the South toward a prosperous future while providing continued alleviation of the embittered past. They "were aware of the swollen meaning that now inflated the Southern past as a result of defeat." They had to take on the "theme of doubt and despair that was already two decades old." At the same time, the Lost Cause criticized "the mammonism of the New Order" and the culture of defeat that it had helped create and focused on discrediting it as it had Yankee victory. "One of the ironies of Southern history lies in the simultaneous rise during the 1880's of both the New South creed and the mythic image of the Old South." Both were movements directed at elevating the South out of its defeated and dependent position. Both were collective psychological mechanisms aimed at restoring Southern identity.[85]

SECTION THREE

Home Rule

The most significant development for regional identity was the regaining of "home rule" or the "redemption" of state governments that concluded the Reconstruction era. The gradual overturning of Republican Reconstruction by Southern Democrats within their respective states culminated with the federal overthrow in 1877. Throughout the previous period, South Carolina was the only state where blacks had dominated the state legislature, comprising a majority of the House throughout it and a majority of the Senate by 1874. However, since over 600 blacks had served as legislators in the South overall, to the planters/ex-Confederate class they had been a significant force of "intrusion" into white politics and social position. "The spectacle of former slaves representing the lowcountry rice kingdom or the domain of Natchez cotton nabobs epitomized the political revolution wrought by Reconstruction." In addition, by 1869 in places like Mississippi, black and white Republicans controlled thirty-six senate seats to seven held by the Democrats; in the House it was eighty-two to twenty-five. Planters and ex-Confederates sought to oust these intruders from their home soil.[1]

After Reconstruction, the Charleston *News and Courier* reported that since "the redemption and regeneration of the State, in 1877, the growth of manufactures has been astonishing in its rapidity and volume." It reported that in 1880 the value of South Carolina cotton mill products was only $2.9 million, while three years later it increased 170%. The newspaper credited "the worst period of African and Carpet-bag dominion" for the previously diminished state of manufacturing and the economy at large. The *Courier* was also one of the voices that had championed the overthrow of this regime and

it now celebrated that the South had regained its territory. Former Confederate senator Benjamin H. Hill also provided the rhetoric used to effect this change. He had spoken of the South in terms of being ruled by a "foreign power" and "negro rule" that was bent on dishonoring and completely vanquishing the South. He battled against Reconstruction politics by insisting upon white supremacy and a heritage of victimization. The terms of a culture of defeat thus aided the overthrow of the Reconstruction period and helped restore some degree of ex-Confederate and planter control over the postwar region.[2]

In particular, the 1875 elections in Mississippi had ended six years of Radical Republican rule in the state and restored the political power of white Democrats. As elsewhere in the South, the "Redeemers" in Mississippi were white social conservatives who persistently held on to the past and fought against social, political, and economic change. Among their ranks were the irreconcilables who "never forgave and never forgot." They would not only long-remember the war and its legacy of defeat, but would not forgot carpetbaggers like General Adelbert Ames, who had removed conservatives from office while appointing Republicans.[3]

As home rule alleviated some of the major obstacles of the postwar period, however, it was not able to erase the region's economic predicament. At the close of the Reconstruction era, most planters were trapped into the production of the cotton and, just like tenant farmers, enmeshed in a destructive system of credit. While all of the New South ideology was focused upon becoming independent from the North, the South nonetheless "remained the poorest and economically least progressive section of the nation." Even with the steam of the New South movement, "the region found itself in the uncomfortable, if familiar, role of a colonial dependent." If it had managed to throw off

most of the burden of defeat and then Reconstruction, the South, planters, and ex-Confederates were still deeply entrenched in a colonized relationship. If the New South movement had been fueled by myth from the start, in response to this continued economic lethargy, it extended "a bewildering mixture of fact and fantasy, wish and reality" toward the late 1880s in an effort to proclaim an apocryphal victory over it. Based in bombastic oratory and "endless statistics," the New South movement claimed that sectional reconciliation as well as "economic interdependence" had been achieved.[4]

To the contrary, C. Vann Woodward has demonstrated that in 1880, when the movement was becoming most formidable, the per capita wealth of the South was $376 while the national average was $870, or 56.8% below it. By 1900 the South had climbed to $509, but was still 56.3% below the nation at $1,165. Other figures from 1880 showed that per capita income was only $88 while the national average was $175; by 1900 it was $102 compared with $203. The continuation of poverty and a subsistence economy then marked the region and in essence, "the South remained saddled with the burdens of a colonial economy."[5]

While an over-reliance on natural resources and lack of skilled labor rank among the reasons for this situation, the hold of the Lost Cause was also an important factor. As a strong loyalty to the past and its value system pulled at the region, Lost Cause irreconcilables attempted to push the region back into the past. While the 1880s saw many irreconcilables fall to the wayside, the South could not dismiss its moans of discontent about the economic predicament of the region. Lawyer William H. Payne still heard the cry against the new order even while he tried to embrace it. He bewailed the fact that the South continued "flinging herself into the arms of the North, weeping upon

that icy bosom, and indifferent to the kicks and disgust with which her fawning is repelled."[6] He cried over the continued colonial state of the region.

In the 1880s, crops like sugar did regain antebellum production levels, but as with cotton, increased production did not necessarily result in prosperity for planters or region. Concurrently, industrial progress also meant social instability. In 1883 to 1884, for example, industrial workers at the Birmingham steel factories went on strike, and fears of labor rebellion threatened the South alongside agricultural poverty. Journalist James Wood Davidson of South Carolina associated this kind of "unrest" with "the principles of northern society." As the South industrialized, witnessed the growth of town culture, and began to be integrated back into the national framework, class confrontations appeared just as formidable as the days of Reconstruction.[7]

The United Confederate Veterans (UCV) formed out of the social tensions of the 1880s and 1890s just as much as it did from feelings of reconciliation. While the UCV has been characterized by its "celebration" of the Confederacy and the past, moving the Lost Cause away from dealing with defeat, it still functioned as a salve for Southerners who were caught in the changing tide associated with industry, town culture, and national reintegration. Many struggled with a feeling of losing their sense of community and the connected implications for regional identity. Likewise, even as the UCV drew much of leadership from the middle class that was supposed to be aiding and abetting this change in community, values, and Southern life overall, it expressed genuine concern over these changes.[8]

This phase of the Lost Cause movement was not so vociferous about matters related to defeat but with the leading economic dimension that had originated from it.

Leaders of the UCV did not entrap themselves in repetition over issues like the overwhelmed-by-numbers argument. They instead focused on celebrating the heroism of South and North, and tried to retain only the glorious past while leaving the traumatic one behind. All the same, they could not escape the realities of the present and the Lost Cause lament about the encroachment of the modern world did not die. To the contrary, the deep scourges of defeat and colonization would live on in the South, effecting mind, matter, and region into the twentieth century.[9]

Defeat, Colonization, and Regional Identity

> The essence of the modern Lost Cause is not the South of 1861, but the Confederacy of 1865. It is an awareness of defeat, alienation from the national experience, and a sense of separatism from American ideals.[10]

As the first objective of this study has been to explore the mental and behavior responses of planters and ex-Confederates to defeat and colonization, a related topic is the effect of these psychological conditions upon individual, group, and regional identity. As a woman from Alabama claimed in the immediate postwar era, "I am almost tempted to doubt my self sometimes and ask if this is really I, to doubt my own identity."[11] Her thoughts reflected upon the effects of defeat upon the stability of identity in the South. As the years passed, however, the economic realities of the present forced most planters and ex-Confederate households to put the war and what they could of its memory behind them. Hence, their individual and group identities came to be impacted the most by economic factors. Yet, many also could not relinquish defeat and repudiated the new rising South. Some Southerners like Jubal Early, who came to be recognized as "unreconstructed rebels," adopted an identity based upon denial, avoidance, and a longing for the past. In either situation, however, the trauma of defeat would continue through and beyond the fluctuating years of Reconstruction, leaving the planter/ex-Confederate class searching for an anchoring regional identity.

As an era of transition, Reconstruction left many Southerners searching for a new identity or flailing to preserve an old one. To many, "the period could be considered either a brief hesitation before final collapse or an interval of only temporary chaos before better days." With the closing of this era, the region was still grasping for economic independence and "remained agricultural, rural, illiterate, racially divided, and

sectionally oriented." In 1887, William D. Kelley had reported in the *Manufacturers' Record* what he had seen in his visit to Tennessee, Alabama, and Georgia. He gave readers "but faint intimations of the resources of the South, of the impulses that now animate her, and of the rapid strides with which the spirit of the nineteenth century is changing not only the aspect of the country but the purposes and aspirations of her people." Alongside these modern aspirations, however, trailed the legacy of defeat and the grip of colonization. Both of these areas had significant implications for how the region was to be defined and the ways in which particular groups like ex-Confederates and planters conceptualized it and themselves.[12]

"One mechanism by which an ethnic or national group awakens to a consciousness of identity is the perception of a threat to the group by a force external to it." First confronting the threat of defeat and then the overlapping threat of regional dependence, planters and ex-Confederates had come to conceptualize the South in terms of these external forces. In response, the Lost Cause and the New South movements had emerged. Such social-cultural movements, which are directed at preserving and defending group, national, or regional identity, "typically engender articulate, vociferous and charismatic leaders capable of mobilizing masses of people to organized action." As both movements contained this type of leadership, they also drew upon literary and religious figures. Likewise, through their efforts, "economic and power interests of the dominant strata of the group could thus get camouflaged, submerged in, or blended with passions of identity of the group as a whole." That is, the leading forces behind such movements as the Lost Cause or New South could submerge their interests into the regional passions they were drawing on for their support. "In such contexts whatever

'facts' are known of the past are intermingled with myth and fantasy, and a new perception is created of a past that is glorious, pure and exclusive." In specific comparison to the Sinhalese and Tamil group movements in Sri Lanka, the Lost Cause and New South movements of the postwar South manipulated the past to create the perceptions they desired. All four groups aimed their blend of myth, fantasy, and history at restoring a version of the past in order to create "images of the past based on their respective contemporary predicaments."[13]

Beginning with "the ancient chronicle Mahavamsa," which "defines the world-historical role of Sri Lanka as the stronghold of Buddhism and Buddhist Civilization," a useful comparison can be drawn between Sri Lanka and the South, including the latter as a stronghold of Christianity. Traced back to the sixth century AD, the Mahavamsa was based in the "mythic and legendary." From the "Mahavamsa view," Sri Lanka and its people were "placed under divine protection" in order to be in charge of guarding and protecting Buddhism. This premise provided the basis for an ideology that recognized the "task of kingship" "as no more than the protection and support of Buddhism." Likewise, stalwart Lost Cause advocates had framed their views according to protecting a Christian region from Northern materialism.[14]

In regard to relations with India, the Mahavamsa outlines the history of Sri Lanka in a way that presents relations with North India as "good – such as the original settlers, Buddhism, and kingship coming from North India." On the other hand, it presents all relations with South India as "bad – for example South Indians were adventurers, plunderers, and usurpers." This kind of history is similar to Lost Cause perspectives on Yankee marauders and the clear-cut division of morality between the North and South.

In addition, whereas the expansion and contraction of "petty chiefdoms" would more accurately described Sri Lankan history, the Mahavamsa "speaks of political unification" when "in fact no such integrated political order existed." The creation of an integrated past was also integral to both Lost Cause and New South ideology, and this kind of myth-making was central to insulating both mentality and identity in both the South and Sri Lanka.[15]

Particularly in regard to the Tamil group in the late twentieth century, myth worked to revitalize ethnic identity through "an idealized past." For them, Sri Lanka became "painted, the essence of which was a purity and a beauty which remained in principle unextinguished despite the degrading Brahminic 'Aryan' invasions." Sinhalese Buddhists also looked to the past and the ways in which Sri Lanka had "evolved through centuries of political conflict with South India." Like the South with the North, both the ideological leaders of the Tamil and Sinhalese groups sought to preserve a mythical-historical-religious way of life. Lost Cause ideologists sought to preserve the plantation ideal, the cavalier South, and Southern Protestantism.[16]

During the nineteenth and twentieth century, a nationalist movement in Sri Lanka also employed myth to protect national identity. Like the planter and ex-Confederate class, "an economically successful elite" battled against materialism and a culture imported from British rule. They "invented a code of behavior described as traditional" and sought to reject a "colonial culture." Also, as in the South, literature supported this movement's efforts. Novels by Piyadasa Sirisena "presented as historical reality a glorious, pure and noble past," and plays by John de Silva dealt "primarily with the hero

kings of the past." These combined efforts solidified the movement and "reinforced the sentiments of ancient glory and nationalist exclusivity" while building cultural identity.[17]

What a comparison with Sri Lanka reveals then is that similar movements had occurred in the South. Seeking preservation of the past, or at least control over it, the South had also resisted "the process of absorption." Moreover, this comparison reveals the ways in which "cultural items are selected from the past, woven into the present in ways unknown in the past" to support a regional and/or national identity. It is how the past was reshaped by the present in Sri Lanka that reflects upon both the Lost Cause and the New South movements. In the South, these American movements were concerned with the fate of regional identity in connection with the overall nation.[18]

Historically the South has been viewed from both a "one culture" and "two culture" perspective, where it has been recognized as being basically similar or dissimilar to the "national character" of America. Since the 1960s, especially through the work of Eugene Genovese, the South was credited with an image that was divergent from the American norm. Rooted in antebellum plantation society, which had "generated a distinctively conservative social order pervaded by patriarchal social relations," the South was not apart of the American national character composed of capitalist and liberal principles. Likewise, the South's inability to bridge this societal and ideological gap after the Civil War confirmed that the region was essentially un-American. By the 1970s and 1980s, the non-American South became an analytical tool "for understanding not only the antebellum South but also the postemancipation South and even the contemporary South." From this perspective, the slave society values had continuing onward, carrying "fundamentally conservative, patriarchal, and antimodern views into the postbellum

years" and beyond. In particular, Barrington Moore's work confirmed this type of analysis and testified that traditional elites had only "modernized" themselves in order to maintain social and political control. In combination with members of the middle class, the South had become a repressive region that perpetuated "poverty, deprivation, and powerlessness upon the bulk of its inhabitants."[19]

While debt peonage, employer paternalism, and political conservatism have not been solely unique to the South, these ideas have become imbedded in the characterization of the region during the post-Reconstruction era. At the same, the opposition of the South to America has been constructed with the assumption of a stable "classically liberal" America. The nation could probably be better understood as "an unstable compound of liberal and conservative, individualistic and communal, optimistic and pessimistic" characteristics and ideologies. Yet, in terms of a unique psychological regional history, the South holds a singular position. Likewise, the North would have its own peculiar story to relay. It is the composite total that formulates the American narrative.[20]

In regard to the economic and social forces that shaped the postbellum South, however, what makes the South's story unique is the way in which it "became simultaneously integrated into the new [national] culture and in important respects isolated from it." Through an analysis of the colonial relationship that developed with Northern business and industry, it becomes apparent that this process has left as much of a defining mark upon the South as Civil War defeat. As the "latecomer to modern economic development," the region "found itself now not only poor but incorporated into an economy that, like the railroads, was arranged along a northeast-northwest axis."

Hence, even as the South moved towards industry and became in some respects metropolitan, "the southern urban middle class remained provincial, comfortable in its prejudices, resentful of outside domination." Even for the new middle class then in many ways the region's identity was still defined by terms like "backwater" and "folkish."[21]

The focus upon and the decline in agricultural production primarily contributed to the continuation of this backwoods image. With sharecropping, the work effort of both black and white tenant farmers declined, which was accompanied by a diminution in the demand for cotton. As sharecropping provided "few incentives to work hard" since the return was marginal at best for increased labor, sharecroppers had even less incentive to invest in land or technology since they were not owners. Compounding these difficulties (and some would argue that these causes took precedence) was the lack of capital in the South and the vast unskilled labor market that stultified economic growth. The region struggled with these difficulties during and after Reconstruction. In comparative terms, the South did not benefit from a Marshall Plan like West Germany after World War II. Reconstruction efforts certainly helped with matters like education and the enfranchisement of blacks, but the economic focus of the plan did not succeed in establishing a profitable, or even subsistence-level, free-market economy. The South succumbed to a compromise between independent farming and gang labor systems. It also primarily received aid only in the form of colonial investment. Thus, what made the postbellum South fundamentally unique were the economic circumstances it had to endure.[22]

While an inordinate psychological shock had registered with defeat, the economic repercussions from it extended into and past the Reconstruction era. Moreover, if

"Reconstruction and carpetbagging were traumas from the point of view of many persons in the South," the role of trauma in the South has also had a lasting impact on its identity. In the late nineteenth-century, the South operated as the "counterpart" to the North and was still the anti-modern region even while it slowly accepted some of the tenets of capitalism. If the "New South was the path of cultural assimilation," this path had not been taken, and both Northerners and Southerners recognized the region as being socially and culturally distinct. In turn, this distinctness can be traced back to the trauma of the war and its continuation during Reconstruction since it was the social, economic, and psychological effects of defeat and dependency that most formidably hindered the South. Likewise, while this enduring legacy of trauma can be recognized in the behavior of ex-Confederates and planters, their collective response to it has also left an imprint on Southern regional identity.[23]

In particular, the cultural heritage of conservatism that the Lost Cause promoted has substantially influenced the region. It has been argued that conservatism has provided "the fundamental values of southern culture." Within the Lost Cause and outside of it, regional conservatism grounded in religion had "established the South as the legitimate heir of Europe's Christian civilization." Since the antebellum period, white Southerners had recognized Christianity as "the moral foundation of their social system" and the "idea of southern society as a Christian community" continued, even after periods of seeming abandonment, into the postwar period. While "interdenominational cooperation" served to link the South together, Lost Cause advocacy of conservative ideology provided regional direction. For a region battling with despondency and

trauma, the conservative message of the Lost Cause was considerably appealing because it offered stabilization by way of traditions rooted in the past.[24]

Likewise, the ideal of the Southern plantation gentlemen that accompanied this ideology and value system would offer a comforting image and continue to be influence into the region's identity. As the planter sociologist Daniel R. Hundley had written in 1860, the planter class lived "a plain, unostentatious mode of life," and the Southern gentleman could be described as "less an idler and dreamer than he was in the old days." In effect, Hundley asserted that the romanticized planter of old who had descended from "English Cavaliers" was also morally grounded and governed by a consistent lifestyle. John William De Forest, a Northerner traveling in South Carolina soon after the Civil War, attested to this type of Southern gentlemen by writing that they were "more provincial, more antique, more picturesque; they have fewer of the virtues of modern society, and more of the primitive, the natural virtues." As the postwar gentleman still cared "more for individual character and reputation of honor," aristocratic images blended with descriptions of a more practical, working gentleman. It was under these premises that the myth of the Southern gentleman would survive and continue to influence the South.[25]

At the same time, for many, the New South movement with its social reordering and its "spirit of enterprise" conflicted with Old South ideals and its code of chivalry and honor. The emphasis placed on making money (however necessary) revolving around industry, crashed up against the myth of the Southern gentleman. Accordingly, many within the region clung to the mirage of the Lost Cause and the Old South even while it seemed to drift "down among the dead men," while the New South sat "in the seat of the

dethroned king." Retention of the Old South myth provided support against uncertainty and instability. The sudden changes of Reconstruction left many grasping for a mythic past founded upon a "beneficent plantation tradition." The notions of a society governed by the "very gallant and generous, regulating themselves by 'codes of honor'" struggled with messages of a new economic and social order. As the grim push toward industry extended a relegated and controlled lifestyle, the romanticized ideas about plantation life offered an attractive and wistful alternative. Placed in a dilemma about how to deal with the past and the present, most Southerners "could not bear either to abandon the patterns of the Old South or to forego the material gains of modern America." Accordingly, the region became concerned with resolving this tension between an allegiance to the past and the necessities of the present/future. It was this discordance that produced "the disjointed mind of the South: its inability to involve the spent dreams of the past with the pale realities of the present." And, it has been this underlying conflict between past and present that has placed the region in between impoverishment and prosperity, trauma and stabilization, continuity and change.[26]

In *The Mind of the South*, W.J. Cash stresses the continuity of the Southern culture and claims that the regional mind of the South "is continuous with the past." "So far from being modernized," he claimed about the region in 1941, "it has actually always marched away, as to this day it continues to do, from the present toward the past." According to Cash, the South had marched to the beat of the past and was bound to it and not the modern world. On the other hand, scholars like Paul M. Gaston have cautioned that the "Old South-New South dichotomy which he [Cash] minimizes is in fact a crucial one." From this perspective, change more than continuity has characterized the South

after the Civil War. Yet, what might substantially describe the South and its identity in the postwar era is not continuity or divergence, but the conflict between them and the past and present, which has resulted in a disjointed mentality within the region.[27]

Modern Southern writers, in particular William Faulkner, have examined this struggle between past and present, stability and change, the inescapability of the past, and the dislocation of the present. It is the "consciousness of the past in the present" or the "theme of 'historical consciousness'" that concerns writers like Faulkner and Allen Tate. As Faulkner stated in interviews and in ***Intruder in the Dust***, "The past is never dead, it's not even past." To him the past was not only living in the present, but in the minds of many white Southerners past, present, and future operated simultaneously. Asked to explain his conception of time, Faulkner replied, "There is only the present moment, in which I include both the past and the future, and that is eternity." It is this conflated conception of time that contributes to understanding key aspects of the psychology and identity of the region.[28]

Conceptualized in this way, time is a distinctive mental experience that attributes to the uniqueness of the region. In studying the collective historical experience of planters and ex-Confederates, trauma, anxiety, and memory appear to have concurrently infiltrated the past, climbed into the present, and poured out into the future. Whereas the enduring "memory of defeat – the essence of the Lost Cause – remains central to the white southern mind," for white Southerners like ex-Confederates and planters, war, defeat, and colonization pressed upon their minds, and in turn, they imprinted the region with a unique time-driven and disjointed mentality. Like the "scarcity and want" that have marked the South with "enduring cultural distinctiveness," the conflicted

psychology of planters, ex-Confederates, and the Lost Cause movement have substantially influenced the regional identity of the South. Attempting to confront the un-American experience of defeat and colonization, many from this class reached for and tried to provide a means of avoidance, salvation, correction, and hope.[29]

NOTES: SECTION ONE

1. Edward C. Anderson Journal, June 18, 1871, E.C. Anderson Papers, Manuscripts Department, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

2. E.B. Long with Barbara Long, *The Civil War, Day By Day, An Almanac 1861-1865*, (New York: Da Capo Press, 1971), 711; James L. Roark, *Masters Without Slaves, Southern Planters in the Civil War and Reconstruction*, (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1977), 77, decline in wealth excludes the value of slaves; Thomas L. Connelly, *The Marble Man, Robert E. Lee and His Image in American Society* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1977), 91, slave property statistic and quote. Bertram Wyatt-Brown in *The Shaping of Southern Culture; Honor, Grace, and War, 1760s-1880s* states that the value of lost slave property was three billion dollars, p. 179.

3. Roark, 182.

4. Ibid., ix, viii.

5. Ibid., viii, x.

6. Ibid., 3, 15.

7. Ibid., 21, 22, 31-32.

8. Eric Foner, *Reconstruction, America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1988), 199, 209, 372, 376. While Foner also explains that 95% of the forfeited acreage "eventually found its way back to the owner," forfeited land can still be regarded as a major cause of anxiety and class disruption.

9. William C. Harris, *The Day of the Carpetbagger* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979), 373; William Faulkner, *Light in August*, (1932; reprint, New York: Vintage International, 1990), 425; Faulkner, *Absalom, Absalom!* (1936; reprint, New York: Vintage International, 1990), 146.

10. Roark, 45, 50.

11. Ibid., 53; Foner 294.

12. Ibid., 55, 58, 61, 62.

13. Ibid., 64, 65.

14. Ibid., 84.

15. David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion, The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press, 2001), 40, from *Brokenburn: The Journal of Kate Stone, 1861-1868.*

16. Roark, 54, 53.

17. Thomas L. Connelly and Barbara L. Bellows, *God and General Longstreet, The Lost Cause and the Southern Mind* (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1982), 15, 14, 16.

18. Connelly and Bellows, 15, 16.

19. Ibid., 17-18; Drew Gilpin Faust, *The Creation of Confederate Nationalism, Ideology and Identity in the Civil War South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988), 29. The three main regional churches by the 1850s were Baptist, Methodist and Presbyterian.

20. Connelly and Bellows, 20, 21; Roark 90; Faust 76-77.

21. Charles Reagan Wilson, *Baptized in Blood, The Religion of the Lost Cause, 1865-1920* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1980), 13, 36.

22. Connelly and Bellows, 19, 21, 22.

23. Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *The Shaping of Southern Culture; Honor, Grace, and War, 1760s-1880s* (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001), xi, xiv-xv; Faulkner, *Absalom, Absalom!*, 283.

24. Roark, 86, last quote from Henry Graves to cousin, Oct. 10, 1864.

25. Ibid., 87, from journal dated June 28, 1864 and March 29, 1865.

26. Cathy Caruth, *Unclaimed Experience, Trauma, Narrative, and History* (Baltiimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 117, 11, 130. Bertram Wyatt-Brown indicates that wartime and postwar trauma received a significant amount of scientific attention especially after World War II, p. 203.

27. Donald E. Kalsched, *The Inner World of Trauma, Archetypal Defenses of the Personal Spirit* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), 1; Caruth, 3, 4. The Greek word *trauma*, or "wound," originally referred to "an injury inflicted on the body."

28. Donald J. Levis, "Decoding Traumatic Memory: Implosive Theory of Psychopathology," in *Theories of Behavior Therapy, Exploring Behavior Change*, eds. William O' Donohue & Leonard Krasner (Washington: American

Psychological Association, 1995), 170-192, 174-175. Stampfl formulated many of his conclusions based upon the work of A.H. Maslow and B. Mittleman.

29. Levis, 177.

30. Ibid.

31. Ibid., 177, 183; Caruth, 59.

32. Ibid., 184.

33. Roark, 120, 121. Bertram Wyatt-Brown states that Edmund Ruffin, who was "among the very first to advocate secession," also "put his mark on the ending of the conflict when he killed himself." He left a note that attested to his "unmitigated hatred to...the malignant and vile Yankee race," p. 188.

34. Kalsched, 12; Wilson, 63; Douglas T. Kenrick, Steven L. Neuberg and Robert B. Cialdini, *Social Psychology, Unraveling the Mystery* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 2002), 172; Roark, 121, in regard to the number of Southerners migrating from the region, he states, "thousands, perhaps as many as ten thousand, quite literally turned their backs on the catastrophe and left the South"; Wyatt-Brown, 243.

35. Connelly, *The Marble Man*, 92; Roark, 125, 122; Andrew F. Rolle, *The Lost Cause: The Confederate Exodus to Mexico* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965), 8.

36. Rolle, 9, 3, 11, 49, last quote from Terrell's own publication entitled *From Texas to Mexico and the Court of Maximilian in 1865.*

37. Cyrus B. Dawsey and James M. Dawsey, "Leaving, The Context of the Southern Emigration to Brazil," in *The Confederados, Old South Immigrants in Brazil*, eds. Dawsey and Dawsey (Tuscaloosa and London: The University of Alabama Press, 1995), 11-23, 17-19; Rollin G. Osterweis, *The Myth of the Lost Cause, 1865-1900* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1973), 120.

38. Elliott and Gonzales Family Papers, Manuscripts Department, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Southern Historical Collection, Inventory; Christopher Schmidt-Nowara, *Empire and Antislavery, Spain, Cuba, and Puerto Rico, 1833-1874* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1999), 1-4. Since 1820 Cuba had imported 260,000 slaves, 28.

39. Elliott and Gonzales Family Papers, Inventory, 4. The Gonzales brothers appear to have started *The State* in order to "lead the opposition to Benjamin R. Tillman after Tillman was elected governor in 1890." Tillman had attacked the South Carolinian aristocracy with partial Farmer's Alliance politics. As he

provoked class conflict, the Gonzales attempted to meet his charge. The paper "took outspoken positions against lynching, for child-labor laws, for better education, and for other social and political reforms, but the anti-Tillman campaign overshadowed all other issues."

40. Letter from Narcisso Gener Gonzales to Ambrosio Jose Gonzales, Jr. in Adams Run, South Carolina, Aug. 26, 1870; Ambrosio to Grandmother, March 9, 1873, Elliott and Gonzales Family Papers, Southern Historical Collection. According to Schmidt-Nowara in *Empire and Antislavery*, "By 1878, Cuba had lived through ten years of war and slave emancipation in the eastern provinces, and eight years of gradual slave emancipation throughout the island," 26.

41. Letter from Ambrosio, Mar. 9, 1873, Family Papers, SHC; C. Vann Woodward, *The Origins of the New South, 1877-1913* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951, 1971, 1999), 29.

42. Ambrosio to Aunt and Narciso, March 2, 1873.

43. Blight, 38.

44. Ambrosio to Aunt, March 22, 1873; Roark, 150-151; Foner, 400, last quote from John W. Kirk Family Papers, June 28, 1868.

45. Ambrosio to Narciso, February 1, 1873; Foner, 399.

46. Narciso to Ambrosio at school, Feb. 4, 1873; Faulkner, *Absalom, Absalom!*, 149.

47. Ibid.

48. Foner, 399, 400; Harris, 573, from the Jackson *Weekly Clarion*, Jan. 11, 1872; Robert Somers, *The Southern States Since the War, 1870-1*, (London and New York: Macmillon and Co., 1871), 142-143.

49. Narcisso to Grandmother, Oct. 22, 1870; Edward C. Anderson Journal, June 18, 1871; Foster, 71-72, quote from A. Dudley Mann.

50. Narciso to Ambrosio, Oct. 29, 1870.

51. Richard C. Moreland, *Faulkner and Modernism, Rereading and Rewriting* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1990), 87; Faulkner, *Absalom, Absalom!*, 147.

52. Letter from Narciso, Oct. 31, 1870.

53. Osterweis establishes the death of Lee as a key turning point for the Lost Cause and other scholars tend to agree; Connelly, 16, 25.

54. Roark, 123, 124, 131.

55. Don H. Doyle, "Slavery, Secession, and Reconstruction as American Problems," in *The South as an American Problem*, eds. Larry J. Griffin and Don H. Doyle (Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press, 1995), 102-125, 114, 115, 117.

56. Ibid., 118-119, 121.

57. Wilson, 63.

58. Gary W. Gallagher, "Jubal A. Early, the Lost Cause, and Civil War History; A Persistent Legacy," in *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History*, eds. Gary W. Gallagher and Alan T. Nolan (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2000), 35-59, 37. The first two quotes are from a letter to John Goode, June 8, 1866.

59. Gaines M. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy, Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 16, 17.

60. Ibid., 17, 18, 71, 72.

61. Ibid., 20; Lloyd A. Hunter, "The Immortal Confederacy, Another Look at Lost Cause Religion," in *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History*, 185-218, 187.

62. Blight 435-436, 190, Richard Slotkin, *The Fatal Environment: The Myth of the Frontier in the Age of Industrialization, 1800-1890* (1985), Roland Barthes, *Mythologies* (1957); Leo Marx, *The Machine in the Garden, Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), 4. Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary (1999) defines myth as "a usu. traditional story of ostensibly historical events that serves to unfold part of the world view of a people or explain a practice, belief, or natural phenomenon."

63. Hunter, 189.

64. Wilson, 38; Kalsched, 6.

65. Roark, 100, 95; Osterweis, ix.

66. Osterweis, x, 5, 7, last quote from Ernst Cassirer on "one of the most essential elements of Myth."

67. Ibid., 19, 10.

68. Ibid., 11, 12.

69. Wilson, 59.

70. Foster, 45, 56, from social theorist Peter Marris and anthropologist Anthony F.C. Wallace.

71. Hunter, 189; Wilson, 36.

72. Kalsched 28, first quote Jung's words, 1955; Moreland, 28, 29; Faulkner, *Absalom, Absalom!*, 75.

73. Ibid., 35.

74. Osterweis, 24, 29.

75. Ibid., 46, 53; Blight, 227.

76. Ibid., 50; Blight, 222, 223.

77. Ibid., 40, 45.

78. Foster, 69, information and quote from the *Century*; Osterweis, 79, 83.

79. *The Century War Book, The Famous History of the Civil War by the People Who Actually Fought It* (1894; reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1978), 23, 31, 154.

80. Paul M. Gaston, *The New South Creed, A Study in Southern Mythmaking* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1970), 8, 9; Wilson 38. Gaston also distinguishes between creed and myth, "the former is a conscious statement concerned primarily with how things out to be, while the latter is more a generalized, unconsciously held belief in how things actually are or were."

81. Mark E. Neely, Jr., Harold Holzer, and Gabor S. Boritt, *The Confederate Image, Prints of the Lost Cause* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1987), 99, 102, 55; Connelly, 4-5. While tracing his roots back to the ties with William the Conqueror, Lee's father Henry "Light-Horse Harry" Lee had been a Revolutionary War hero.

82. Wilson, 104, 106; Grace Elizabeth Hale, *Making Whiteness, The Culture of Segregation in the South, 1890-1940* (New York: Vintage Books, 1999), 54, 73.

83. Ibid., 40, 57.

84. Blight, 78, 261; Foster, 57.

85. Connelly, 51, 56; Gallagher, 39, 40.

86. Blight, 79.

87. Based on events that occurred in Holly Springs, Mississippi on Dec. 20, 1862. U.S. Civil War Center, Louisiana State University, www.cwc.lsu.edu; Faulkner, *Light in August*, 62, 63.

88. Foster, 58.

89. Foster, 60; Moreland, 28, 30; John T. Irwin, ***Doubling and Incest/Repetition and Revenge, A Speculative Reading of Faulkner*** (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975), 3.

90. Irwin, 59.

91. Kalsched, 6, 16, 25.

92. Blight, 38; Caruth, 58, 7, 59, 60.

93. Caruth, 62-63.

94. Wyatt-Brown, 230; Foster, 33.

95. Ibid., 233, 208.

96. Ibid., xv, 236.

97. Blight 80, 81.

98. Wyatt-Brown, xvi, 236.

99. Roark, 95, 226, Anthony Wallace, *Culture and Personality*.

100. Wyatt-Brown, 252, 257.

101. Ibid., 256, 257.

102. Blight 42, from Charles C. Jones letter to Eva Jones, January 2, 1882.

NOTES: SECTION TWO

1. James L. Roark, *Masters Without Slaves*, 30.

2. Ibid., 175-176, from a series of exchanges between James Gregorie and Charles Rose.

3. Ibid., 242.

4. Ibid., 176, 177, from a Georgia planter in 1867 and the journal of Ella Gertrude Thomas.

5. Ibid., 180-181, 188.

6. Ibid., 181, 189-190.

7. Gaines M. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy*, 79.

8. Roger L. Ransom and Richard Sutch, *One Kind of Freedom, The Economic Consequences of Emancipation* (1977; reprint, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 94, 101-102, 103; C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913*, 178,180.

9. Woodward, 311, 50; Joel Williamson, *William Faulkner and Southern History* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 13.

10. Edward L. Ayers, *The Promise of the New South, Life After Reconstruction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 63; Woodward 291, 292, 294, 304. "Territorial monopoly" is from Roger L. Ransom and Richard Sutch, *One Kind of Freedom, The Economic Consequences of Emancipation.*

11. Somers, *Southern States Since the War, 1870-1*, 45; Harold D. Woodman, *King Cotton and His Retainers: Financing and Marketing the Cotton Crop of the South, 1800-1925* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1990), 275, 281, 288, 313.

12. Woodward, 114.

13. Ransom and Sutch, 116; Foster, 80.

14. Ibid., 110, 111.

15. Ibid., 114, 115.

16. Ibid., 125, 157; Woodman, 313.

17. William Faulkner, *The Hamlet* (1940; reprint, New York: Vintage International, 1991), 6.

18. Woodman, 296, 305, 312; Jonathan M. Wiener, *Social Origins of the New South, Alabama, 1860-1885* (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1978), 77, 80.

19. Moreland, *Faulkner and Modernism*, 132; Williamson, 313.

20. Barrington Moore, Jr., *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy, Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1966), 19, 344, 147.

21. Weiner, 77, 84, 80.

22. Moreland, 137; Weiner, 86, from the Mobile *Daily Register*, Feb. 26, 1871, 88.

23. Ransom and Sutch, 122, 130, 146.

24. Moreland, 145.

25. Ibid., 145, 147.

26. Paul M. Gaston, *The New South Creed*, 46, 47.

27. Ransom and Sutch, 12, 9, 88, 162, 191.

28. Ibid., 41, 42.

29. Gaston, 32, 33-34.

30. Ibid., 48, 252-253.

31. Ibid., 48, 49.

32. Ibid., 54, 55, 57, 60, from Tompkins' *Fourth of July Address at Gastonia, N.C.*, 1902, *Manufactures*, 1900 and "Southern Prosperity" in *Manufacturers' Record*, June 4, 1887.

33. Ibid., 55, 56, 74.

34. William Darrah Kelley, *The Old South and the New, A Series of Letters by the Honorable William D. Kelly* (New York, London: G.P. Putnam's Sons, The Knickerbocker Press, 1888), Letter I, "The South in 1867 – Nashville, Cowan, South Pittsburg, Chattanooga, Birmingham, Anniston, and Atlanta in 1887," 1, 4.

35. Kelley, Letter I, 3.

36. Ibid., 4, 5.

37. Ibid., 7, 11, 13, 14.

38. Kelley, Letter IV, "South Pittsburg – The Entrepot for the Sequachee and Tributary Valleys," 80; Letter V, "The Mineral Resources of the South – The Relation of Her Iron Industry to that of the Country at Large," 92.

39. Letter V, 106.

40. Letter VI, "Cotton-Growing and Agriculture Contrasted," 115, 121, 122, all quotes after "fatally vicious..." are from L.Q.C. Lamar, Secretary of the Interior, restated by Kelley from the *Hartford Times* .

41. Ibid., 122, 123, L.Q.C. Lamar.

42. Ibid., 124.

43. Gaston, 65, 66.

44. Ibid., 67; Roark, 180.

45. Ibid., 71, 73; Foster, 80.

46. Daniel A. Tompkins Papers, Manuscripts Department, Library of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Southern Historical Collection, Inventory.

47. Gaston, 49, 50.

48. Letter from E.R. Mims to Tompkins, October 14, 1870, from "Ridgewood," S.C., Daniel A. Tompkins Papers, SHC.

49. Mims to Tompkins, Oct. 31, 1870.

50. Mims to Tompkins, May 8, 1871.

51. E. Keese to Tompkins, Nov. 10, 1873.

52. Wilson, *Baptized in Blood*, 84; Roark, 155.

53. Gaston 31, last quote Hill's, from "Industrial Combinations," *The Land We Love*, May 1868.

54. Ibid., 155, 156, 157, 268.

55. Ibid., 157, 158.

56. Wilson, 79, 81, 82.

57. Ibid., 81, 83, 84, 85.

58. Ibid., 84-85, 86; Gaston, 157.

59. David H. Overy, "When the Wicked Beareth Rule: A Southern Critique of Industrial America," *Journal of Presbyterian History*, Vol. 48, No. 2 (Lancaster and Philadelphia: Presbyterian Historical Society, Summer 1970), 130-142, 130, 132, 133.

60. Overy, 133, 134.

61. Ibid., 136-137, Dabney's words, 140.

62. Ibid., 140.

63. Vieda Skultans, "A Historical Disorder: Neurasthenia and the Testimony of Lives in Latvia," in *Colonialism and Psychiatry*, eds. Dinesh Bhugra and Roland Littlewood (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 244-264, 247-248; Overy, 140, 142.

64. Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 263.

65. Wilson, 123, 125, 127, 136, 132. Jones served almost nineteen years as chaplain-general for the United Confederate Veterans.

66. Blight, 42.

67. Wilson, 86.

68. Foster, 84, 85; Wilson, 91.

69. Michele M. Carter and David H. Barlow, "Learned Alarms: The Origins of Panic," in *Theories of Behavior Therapy*, 218, from D.H. Barlow (1991).

70. Foster, 85.

71. Gaston, 6, 7.

72. Ibid., 19.

73. Max M. Stern, *Repetition and Trauma, Toward a Teleonomic Theory of Psychoanalysis* (Hillsdale, NJ: The Analytic Press, 1988), 98, 100, 101. Based upon Freud's distinctions between "anxiety" and "fright."

74. Levis, 190, 195.

75. Osterweis, 130; Blight, 266.

76. Wilson, 159; Gaston, 186, 7, 17.

77. Gaston, 7, 92.

78. Ibid., 160, 162.

79. Ibid., 84, 86, 91, 173, 174, 100, 107, 114.

80. Ibid., 114, 115, 153.

81. Ibid., 34, 91, last quote from Charles Dudley Warner in *Harper's*, March 1887.

82. Ibid., 25, from "Manufactures, the South's True Remedy," Feb. 1867.

83. Ibid., 38, 39-40.

84. Ibid., 93, 98, Grady quote from the Atlanta *Constitution*, June 19, 1887.

85. Ibid., 153, 155, 167.

NOTES: SECTION THREE

1. Foner, 354, 355; James Wilford Garner, *Reconstruction in Mississippi* (1901; reprint, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1968), 246.

2. Charleston *News and Courier*, "South Carolina in 1884: A View of Industrial Life of the State: A Brilliant Showing, 1880-84," Michigan State University Library; Blight, 102.

3. Albert D. Kirwan, *Revolt of the Rednecks* (1951; reprint, Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1965), 3; Harris, *The Day of the Carpetbagger*, 255.

4. Roark, 164, 174; Gaston 189, 190, 192, 195, 197.

5. Woodward 111, 318; Gaston 202, 203, 204.

6. Foster, 72, Payne to M.J. Wright, August 27, 1886.

7. Roark, 174; Foster, 86-87.

8. Foster, 113-114.

9. Ibid., 119.

10. Connelly and Bellows, 137.

11. Roark, 132, from the Diary of Octavia Otey, Dec. 25, 1865.

12. Ibid., 158; Wilson, 85; Kelley, Letter I, 14.

13. H.L. Seneviratne, "Identity and the Conflation of Past and Present," in *Identity, Consciousness and the Past, Forging of Caste and Community in India and Sri Lanka*, ed. H.L Seneviratne (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1997), 3-22, 5.

14. Seneviratne, 6, 7, 10, 8, 9.

15. Ibid., 11, 10.

16. Ibid., 14, 15

17. Ibid., 12, 13.

18. Ibid., 17, 19.

19. David L. Carlton, "How American Is the American South?" in *The South as an American Problem*, eds. Larry J. Griffin and Don H. Doyle (Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press, 1995), 33-56, 35, 34, 37, 36, 38, 39, 40.

20. Carlton, 43.

21. Ibid., 46, 48, 49, 50.

22. Robert A. Margo, "The South as an Economic Problem: Fact or Fiction?" in *The South as an American Problem*, 164-180, 168, 169, 171.

23. Immanuel Wallerstein, "What Can One Mean by Southern Culture?" in *The Evolution of Southern Culture*, ed. Numan V. Bartley (Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press, 1988), 1-13, 11, 6-7.

24. Eugene D. Genovese and Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, "The Religious Ideals of Southern Slave Society," in *The Evolution of Southern Culture*, 14-27, 14, 15, 16, 19, 22, 23.

25. Clement Eaton, *The Waning of the Old South Civilization* (Athens: University of Georgia, 1968), 27, 30.

26. Gaston, 15, words of Edwin DeLeon, 6, 8, from David M. Potter, "On Understanding the South: A Review Article," *Journal of Southern History*, XXX (November 1964); Eaton, 46; Eric J. Sundquist, *Faulkner, The House Divided* (Baltimore and London: John Hopkins Press, 1983), 7.

27. W.J. Cash, *The Mind of the South* (1941; reprint, New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1965), x, x-xi; Gaston, 12. Woodward's *Origins of the New South* also stresses conflict and change over continuity.

28. Woodward, "The Historical Dimension," in *The Burden of Southern History* (1960, reprint, Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1993), 27-39, 35, first quote derived from Allen Tate; James B. Meriwether and Michael Millgate, eds., *Lion in the Garden: Interviews with William Faulkner, 1926-1962* (New York: Random House, 1968), 70.

29. Connelly and Bellows, 119; Woodward, "The Search for Southern Identity," in *The Burden of Southern History*, 2-25, 17, 18.

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