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The Ideology of White Southern Daughterhood, 1865–1920

by

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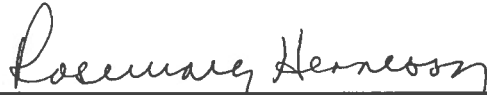
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ABSTRACT

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This dissertation examines the ideology of daughterhood and how it affected white women in the post–Civil War South. It begins with the ideology of daughterhood, which is a set of cultural expectations about a woman’s position in the family hierarchy and what that position does or should entail for her identity, behavior, and role in society. In the post–Reconstruction era, former Confederates used the ideology of daughterhood to commemorate the Lost Cause. White southerners used the daughters of Confederate veterans in memorial events as a bridge between generations, as well as a way for the public to connect to their deceased heroes. Confederate daughters performed these roles better than Confederate sons because of the gendered expectations of men and women. The construction of manhood in the late nineteenth century, which emphasized economic success and physical demonstrations of manliness caused many white southern men not to celebrate the Lost Cause. Moreover, southern parents expected their sons to become independent while simultaneously insisting that their daughters remain dependent on their families even after marriage. As the generation of Confederate daughters became more involved in Confederate memorialization, they began to use daughterhood to assert their place on the public stage. White southern women were instrumental in the organization of three of the most popular patriotic-hereditary societies of the late nineteenth century: the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Daughters of the Republic of Texas, and the

United Daughters of the Confederacy. All three associations placed significant emphasis on their members being proven descendants of soldiers or statesmen of their historical event. The hereditary connection gave these groups the legitimacy that they needed to perform memorial work in public without fear of being criticized for behaving in an unwomanly manner. These three women's clubs performed a range of commemorative activities, including traditional memorial work, historical education for children, and expressly political engagements. Initially used as a means of compelling Confederate daughters into memorialization, by the end of the nineteenth century the ideology of daughterhood provided white southern women with a socially acceptable way to publicly participate in political discourse.

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The common trope about writing a dissertation is that it's a very lonely experience because one spends so much time by themselves either at their computer or at a microfilm machine, or halfway across the country in some dusty old archive. I never truly understood that notion until I moved away from Houston. The graduate student community that we cultivated on the fifth floor of Fondren made the long days and even longer nights fly by with relative ease. More often than

not, there was someone upstairs to bounce ideas off of, to eat lunch with, or to talk about the minutiae of daily life with. I want to thank Sam Abramson, Lauren Brand, John Garrison Marks, Thomas Blake Earle, Suraya Khan, Rachael Pasierowska, David Ponton III, and Ben Wright for their friendship and their collegiality. Andrew Baker and Andrew F. Lang offered to read chapters for me when they saw how desperately I needed feedback, and their suggestions made this project so much better. Maria R. Montalvo was the only person likely to be on the fifth floor before me on any given day, and our early morning conversations were always immensely productive. Whitney Stewart quickly became one of my dearest friends, indulging with me in good wine and great intellectual conversation in ways that I often did not know I needed. A particularly special thanks goes to my officemate D. Andrew Johnson and his wife Tara for opening their home to me in the summer of 2015. Their generosity made it possible for me to gain incredible experience working at the Nau Civil War Collection and not go broke in the process. For that, I am eternally grateful (and so is my husband).

Cliché though it may be, the older I get and the deeper I delved into daughterhood, the more I appreciated family both as a concept and as a mainstay in my own life. When you marry a partner, you marry their family as well. I could not have asked for a better family to marry into than the one headed by Joe and Susie Stefonowich. From the moment that I meant them, Joe and Susie accepted me into their lives with open arms, and have treated me more like one of their own children than as an in-law.

My own parents are the reason why I pursued this degree in the first place. Billy and Judy Weber provided me with a childhood full of love and confidence that allowed me to chase every one of my dreams without fear (or even thought) of stigma. They shuttled me back and forth from ballfield to ballfield, and they set the vast majority of their weekends aside so that I could

compete at the highest levels of fastpitch softball. They also encouraged my academic inclination, and made sure that I followed the path that interested me most, even if it was not the path that made the most sense. Never for one moment did I doubt their confidence in me, or their love for me. Growing up in that environment allowed me to become a strong, confident woman, and I genuinely believe that I am capable of anything I put my mind to because of their love. Watching my mother care for her ailing parents over the past five years brought the ideology of daughterhood to my family's doorstep, and helped me realize that although my project is historically specific, daughterhood remains a potent concept in our so-called enlightened society. One of the unexpected benefits of moving to Texas and working on this project was that I was able to foster a better friendship with my sister, Lindsay. Despite our differences, growing up did not mean that we grew further apart but rather that I developed a new respect for her perspective, which I am very thankful for.

Last, but certainly not least, I must thank my husband for his steadfast support of me and of this dissertation. From the first time that I yelled at him in my sleep for not appreciating Linda K. Kerber's *Women of the Republic* to reading every word of this dissertation, Tim has put up with more of the frustration, the excitement, and every emotion in between from me than any other person over the past six years. He moved to Texas for me, he listens to my countless rants about gender equality, and he gave me the greatest gift I have yet to receive: our dog Frankie. He is one of the kindest individuals that I have ever met, and he makes me a better person every day. I love you, Timothy, and I thank you for everything that you do for me.

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INTRODUCTION

On April 30, 1886, former Confederate general and soon-to-be governor of Georgia John B. Gordon introduced Varina Anne “Winnie” Davis to a crowd of adoring white southerners by calling her “the Daughter of the Confederacy.” This occurred at a train stop on a speaking tour that Winnie’s father, former Confederate president Jefferson Davis, made that spring. The nickname stuck, and for the rest of her short life the public referred to Winnie as the Daughter of the Confederacy. On the surface, the moniker appears to make sense. After all, Winnie was born in 1864 in the Confederate White House, making her the literal progeny of the war. However her birth near the end of the Civil War meant that she never consciously experienced the Confederacy or knew what it stood for, nor had she grown up living in the chaotic Reconstruction-era South. Many of Winnie’s formative years were spent living in Canada and Germany. Nevertheless, Winnie embraced her role as the Daughter of the Confederacy, regularly attending Confederate memorial events and the annual meetings of the major Confederate memorial societies until her sudden death in 1898.¹

As an adult Winnie preferred the Northeast to the Deep South, and in the decade following her father’s death, she and her mother Varina Howell Davis lived and worked in New York City. In light of her preferences, it seems odd that a woman who had tenuous connections to the Confederate cause would accept and seemingly relish such a title as the Daughter of the Confederacy. Winnie’s remaining personal writings do not explicitly comment on how she felt about the title, but there is an explanation that helps scholars understand her choice: she was

¹ Mary B. Poppenheim, et al., *The History of the United Daughters of the Confederacy* Volume 1 1894–1929 (Reprint; Kila, MT: Kissinger Publishing, 2012), 2; “Varina Anne Davis,” Papers of Jefferson Davis, Accessed May 11, 2016, <https://jeffersondavis.rice.edu/VarinaAnneDavis.aspx>.

performing her role as dictated by the ideology of daughterhood. Daughterhood is an understudied but important social and historical construction. The ideology of daughterhood is a set of cultural expectations about a woman's position in the family hierarchy and what that position does or should entail for her identity, behavior, and role in society. In order to fulfill the idea of a good daughter, parents expected to act in accordance with the ideals of her family and the public. Viewing Winnie Davis's embrace of the title Daughter of the Confederacy and her participation in the Lost Cause through the ideology of daughterhood goes a long way towards explaining why she became the symbol of a cause she had little experience with.

Most academic studies of women's lives focus on womanhood and motherhood as the most important identities that women embody. However, there is a great deal of expectation and responsibility foisted upon women as daughters that should be studied in order to better understand the full extent of women's lives. As such, this project asserts that there was an ideology of daughterhood that governed women's behavior from childhood through adulthood. It is important to scrutinize daughterhood as a separate identity worthy of inquiry because women's social roles are intimately connected to the family, but thus far only motherhood has received scholarly attention. While they may or may not become mothers, women are daughters for their entire lives. Since ideologies are systems of ideas, in order to understand how an ideology impacts individuals and groups it must be examined in a specific historical context. The post-Civil War South is an ideal period to analyze the ideology of daughterhood because of the real and perceived social changes that took place from 1860 through the beginning of the twentieth century. I argue that the perceived crisis of gender created by the Civil War led white southerners to reify traditional gender roles for young white women. Southerners then used the ideology of daughterhood to reinforce those gender tropes. One of the ways that they did this was by

elevating the status of daughters during Confederate memorialization events. Eventually the ideology of daughterhood became so normalized as a political tool that women used it to legitimize their political endeavors. The use of daughterhood in this manner lasted into the early twentieth century when patriotism and greater access to the political process altered women's relationship to politics once again.

This introduction is divided into two parts. The first provides a historiographic review of daughterhood. Nineteenth-century contemporaries and scholars alike understood and discussed daughters as the beneficiaries of a political or philosophical ideal or as a synonym for adolescence. Scholars also use the term daughter in this way, especially the use of daughter as a synonym for a woman's unmarried years. Academic research on daughters often focuses on the relationship that a daughter has with her mother or her father. The idea of the good daughter was prevalent in nineteenth century didactic literature, which is the closest that Victorian-era Americans came to explicitly discussing the ideology of daughterhood. The second part of the introduction examines how the ideology of daughterhood operated in the mid-nineteenth century South. Daughters held a special place in the patriarchal family, and as the Civil War challenged ideas of elite women's roles, the notion of the good daughter became even more entrenched in southern society. The ideology of daughterhood aligned with the other ideologies that governed women's lives in the South. When men and women began commemorating the Confederacy after the Civil War, daughterhood helped men to rebuild their lost manhood and allowed women to engage in public activities in new and socially acceptable ways. By the early twentieth century, daughterhood had gone from an implicit means of controlling a woman's behavior to a tool that women used to participate in explicitly political activities.

The ideology of daughterhood is similar to the ideologies of womanhood and motherhood in that daughter as an identity has biological roots and it also has social and cultural implications beyond biology. Although many of the expectations that fell on daughters have been characterized simply as women's responsibilities, viewing them through the lens of daughterhood takes into account the pressure exerted on women by the patriarchal family structure. In many cases, the ideology of daughterhood helps to explain the motivations of women, particularly young women, when they participated in activities that they otherwise may not have chosen—or refrained from activities they otherwise may have joined. Examining daughterhood as an identity that women embodied in addition to the other identities that frequently characterize women will allow scholars to understand a well-rounded picture of women's lives.

Thanks to the work of feminist scholars over the last forty years, identity politics has become an important area of investigation in the study of women and gender. Work on identity politics, particularly the concept of intersectionality, has given scholars a better understanding of how the multiple identities that women personify can be both complementary and contradicting in the struggle for social power.² Special attention has been paid to two identities, woman and mother, as the most important identities that women inhabit. These two categories have been so

² For Kimberlé Crenshaw's original article on intersectionality, see "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex," *University of Chicago Legal Forum* 140 (1989): 139–167. Since Crenshaw introduced the term intersectionality, scholars have used and critiqued it as a theoretical construct, especially when addressing African American feminist issues. Among other studies, see Jennifer C. Nash, "re-thinking intersectionality," *Feminist Review* 89 (2008): 1–15; Leslie McCall, "The Complexity of Intersectionality," *Signs* 30 (Spring 2005): 1771–1800; and Patricia Hill Collins and Sirma Bilge, *Intersectionality* (Cambridge, UK and Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2016).

integral to the study of women's lives that scholars have crafted ideologies of womanhood and motherhood to explain the social implications of each.³ In recent years, scholars of women and gender have begun to consider age as a category of analysis, and they have been examining girlhood as a separate stage of life with its own set of social expectations.⁴ Daughterhood remains the one major identity that scholars have not investigated as worthy of scholarship on its

³ Study of the ideologies of womanhood and motherhood increased significantly in the mid- to late-twentieth century due to the feminist movement and the acceptance of gender as a category of historical analysis. The historiography of womanhood in United States history begins with Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820–1860," *American Quarterly* 18 (Summer 1966): 151–74; Nancy F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780–1835*. 2nd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997); and Anne Firor Scott, *The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics, 1830–1930*. 25th Anniversary Ed. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1995). For studies of womanhood that focus on the nineteenth century South, see Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, *Within the Plantation Household: Black and White Women of the Old South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988); Catherine Clinton, *The Plantation Mistress: Woman's World in the Old South* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982); Drew Gilpin Faust, *Mothers of Invention: Women of the Slaveholding South in the American Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996); and Jane Turner Censer, *The Reconstruction of White Southern Womanhood, 1865–1900* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 2003). On motherhood, some of the first and most poignant studies of motherhood came directly out of the feminist movement of the 1970s, including Adrienne Rich, *Of Woman Born: Motherhood as an Experience and Institution* (New York: Norton, 1976). Historical examinations of motherhood in the South include Sally G. McMillen, *Motherhood in the Old South: Pregnancy, Childbirth, and Infant Rearing* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1990) and Katy Simpson Smith, *We Have Raised You All: Motherhood in the South, 1750–1835* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2013).

⁴ Age as a category of historical analysis has increased in popularity over the past two decades. Two such studies that informed this project are Jane Hunter, *How Young Women Became Ladies: The Victorian Origins of American Girlhood* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002) and Anya Jabour, *Scarlett's Sisters: Young Women in the Old South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007).

own. The failure to do so has left an importance piece of our understanding of women's history and the history of family unexamined.

Daughterhood ideologies are best understood within a specific historical context because the criteria for being a good daughter changed over time. My dissertation examines how the ideology of daughterhood influenced the lives of elite white southern women from the Civil War era through the early twentieth century. This group stands out because as their world changed around them, white southerners used the ideology of daughterhood to reinforce traditional gender norms and tried to stabilize their society and their elite, white status by keeping daughters attached to their families. Much of this was due to the perceived crisis of gender after the Civil War, which led white southerners to reify traditional gender roles for men and women. Even more interesting, however, is the way that women co-opted the role of the good daughter to pursue their own political goals.

Neither nineteenth-century contemporaries nor modern-day scholars have written much about the ideology of daughterhood. However, both use the term daughter in two distinct ways. First, daughter is used as a synonym for adolescence. It especially describes the period in a young woman's life between childhood and marriage, which for the majority of women was the marker of adulthood. In the South in particular, there was very little space for independent women. Rather, women went from their father's house to their husband's, and thus there was no space for an identity between daughter and wife. Designations such as schoolgirls or young ladies existed for what is now known as adolescence, but neither of these connoted any independence. In fact, both of these identities were viewed as training for womanhood, which was understood to be synonymous with adulthood. The use of daughter as a synonym for adolescence began to change in the late-nineteenth-century North due to changing educational

and economic opportunities available to women in their late teens and early twenties. The increased opportunities for women in higher education meant that many northern young women's experiences began to diverge from their mother's experiences, creating both generational tension and, increasingly, a new stage of life. Yet as historian Jane Hunter argues, the emphasis on continued education for adolescent females came to be seen as prolonging girlhood. Because daughter was a constant identity and designations of age changed over time, identities like girlhood and womanhood receive greater attention.⁵

The second way that contemporaries and scholars use the term daughter is to describe an intellectual or political inheritance. Women who supported an idea or a cause were commonly referred to as daughters, such as the Daughters of Liberty before the American Revolution. The generation of women whose fathers participated in a major political event, such as the Civil War, was also referred to as daughters of that event. This was a generational designation used described both men and women, with sex-specific terms for sons and daughters. Ostensibly, this is the rhetorical tradition from which patriotic-hereditary societies named their associations, although the United Daughters of the Confederacy claimed that they chose their name as homage to Winnie Davis's nickname, the Daughter of the Confederacy, described at the beginning of the introduction. Although this use of daughter was effective in terms of describing an intellectual inheritance and placing young women generationally, it does not accurately describe what it meant to be a daughter in nineteenth-century America. Studies of girls and adolescents tend to view every activity, from chores to education to etiquette, as designed to prepare girls and young women for their responsibilities as adults, wives, and mothers, but the ideology of daughterhood

⁵ Hunter, *How Young Ladies Became Girls*, 5–6; Also see Joseph F. Kett, *Rites of Passage: Adolescence in America, 1790 to the Present* (New York: Basic Books, 1977).

allows scholars to examine the social obligations that daughters had to their families that were different than the obligations prescribed by womanhood.⁶

Since the rise of second-wave feminism in the United States, daughters have received some scholarly attention, albeit mostly in one of two forms. Scholars either study the multifaceted nature of mother-daughter relationships, or they study daughters in the context of father-daughter rape and incest. Scholarship on mother-daughter relationships flourished in the 1960s and 1970s when feminist scholars published their research on women's lives. Although these studies examine the relationship between mothers and daughters, they tend to focus more on motherhood than on daughterhood. A common theme in much of this literature was the disappointment and anger that many second-wave feminists felt towards their mothers. Feminists often believed that the choices that their mothers' made regarding careers and relationships with men damaged the mother-daughter dynamic and hampered the woman's rights movement. These studies relied upon anecdotal evidence to untangle tensions between mothers and daughters and often made broad generalizations about the nature of mother-daughter relationships rather than analyze how these relationships changed throughout history. While these works highlighted the difficulties of the mother-daughter relationship, they explained more about a woman's identity as a mother than her identity as a daughter.⁷

⁶ Poppenheim, *The History of the United Daughters of the Confederacy*, 2.

⁷ It is important to recognize the motivations of feminists when they embarked on these mother-daughter studies, and to read the work with those biases in mind. See Arcana, *Our Mother's Daughters*, (Berkeley: Shameless Hussy Press, 1979), xiv, 3; Maureen Freely, *What About Us? An Open Letter to the Mothers that Feminism Forgot* (London: Bloomsbury Press, 1995); and Nancy Friday, *My Mother/My Self: The Daughter's Search for Identity* (New York: Delacorte Press, 1977).

One of the few historical examinations of the mother-daughter relationship is Linda W. Rosenzweig's *Anchor of My Life: Middle-Class American Mothers and Daughters, 1880-1920*. Rather than the feminist narrative of tension and discontent, Rosenzweig argues that mothers and daughters bonded over domestic feminism and often shared close-knit relationships. This was especially true when women expected marriage and motherhood to be a major part of their lives. Rosenzweig argues that the nature of the mother-daughter relationship began to change around the turn of the twentieth century because of cultural changes that expanded opportunities for self-sufficiency for daughters. Such independence had been unfathomable for the mothers' generation, and the divergence in life experiences strained some mother-daughter relationships. While some mothers resented these changes, many more found new options for higher education and employment exciting for their daughters. *Anchor of My Life* focuses on middle-class women of the Northeast and Midwest, where industrialization and urbanization played an important role in the increasing opportunities for young women. The same changes are applicable to white southern mother-daughter relationships on a smaller scale, as industrialization and urbanization occurred in the South at a much slower rate.⁸

Scholarship on fathers and daughters tends to focus on rape, incest, and other psychological factors. Psychologists primarily do this work, and the majority of these studies focus on father-daughter abuse. In instances of mother-son incest there is often an underlying mental health issue or disability that scholars blame for the abuse. With father-daughter incest, however, scholars tend to agree that issues of power undergird the abuse. Work on father-daughter incest focuses on its causes, its effects, and the legal and psychological remedies

⁸ Linda W. Rosenzweig, *The Anchor of My Life: Middle-Class American Mothers and Daughters, 1880-1920* (New York: New York University Press, 1993), 6-10.

available to victims. Most of the research on father-daughter incest has little bearing on this project. However, a feminist examination of the causes of incest does inform how the ideology of daughterhood manifested in father-daughter relationships. Judith Lewis Herman argues that incest is the result of the uneven power dynamics of patriarchal family. The southern family was highly patriarchal, and the submissive role that daughters played in the family explained why the ideology of daughterhood was so effective in influencing a daughter's behavior. Moreover, the use of daughters in special positions of power and the emphasis on virginal appearance discussed in Chapter Two hints at the incestuous overtones of Confederate memorialization.⁹

Scholars also study the father-daughter relationship as it appears in literature. Scholarship often targets the work of William Shakespeare, citing *The Merchant of Venice*, *King Lear*, and *Othello* as examples of important literary father-daughter relationships. In terms of nineteenth-century American literature, literary scholar Allison Giffen examines Lydia Sigourney's critiques of the sexual representations of the father-daughter relationships in didactic temperance literature. Giffen argues that Sigourney's critiques have been overlooked because scholars did not understand the "underlying power arrangements within the patriarchal family." According to Giffen, post-Revolutionary America witnessed an emphasis on egalitarianism and independence. This contributed to an increased emphasis on educating all children to be rational citizens of the

⁹ Judith Lewis Herman, *Father-daughter Incest*, New Afterword, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), 7–8, 27; For more on father-daughter relationships, see Lynda Marie Zwinger, *Daughters, Fathers, and the Novel: The Sentimental Romance of Heterosexuality* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), Bonnie Stepenoff, *Their Fathers' Daughters: Silk Mill Workers in Northeastern Pennsylvania, 1880–1960* (Selinsgrove, PA: Susquehanna University Press, 1999), Rachel Devlin, *Relative Intimacy: Fathers, Adolescent Daughters, and Postwar American Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), and Lynn Sacco, *Unspeakable: Father–Daughter Incest in American History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009).

Republic. Only boys could grow up to become citizens, though, and the quality education that girls received concerned some citizens. Rather than extending citizenship to women, men and women recast academic training for girls as necessary for them when they eventually became mothers in order to raise responsible citizens. Linda Kerber coined the term “republican motherhood” to describe this phenomenon. As Giffen points out, educating girls in order to prepare them for motherhood reinforced a daughter’s submissive position in the patriarchal family. Nineteenth-century writers built on the submissive position of daughters by prominently featuring the good daughter in popular didactic literature. The good daughter was the literary manifestation of the ideology of daughterhood, and didactic literature reinforced the ideology of daughterhood for readers by providing examples of the good daughter in popular magazines.”¹⁰

The good daughter was a frequent character in the poems, stories, and advice columns in *Godey’s Lady Book*, the most popular magazine in antebellum America. She appeared in stories about mothers and daughters, fathers and daughters, and even stories about orphans. When the protagonist is an orphan, authors take pains to establish that despite her lack of parentage, she still fulfills the good daughter ideal. In “The Wife and Sister,” author Mary H. Parsons spends the first full paragraph explaining how the sisters at heart of the story continued to adhere to the ideology of daughterhood despite the death of their father. The good daughter trope was so prevalent in the nineteenth century that she even appeared in short stories that were not

¹⁰ Allison Giffen, “Dutiful Daughters and Needy Fathers: Lydia Sigourney and Nineteenth Century Popular Literature,” *Women’s Studies* 32 (2003): 256; Linda K. Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America* (Chapel Hill: The Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture by the University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 11.

specifically focused on that character. Regardless of whether the fiction focused on the good daughter or whether she was a supporting character, her actions followed a well-worn script.¹¹

Characterized by her loving service, the good daughter places her life on hold to care for her father and family in the absence of her mother. This often involved daughters making a choice between romantic love and filial duty. The good daughter appeared not only in explicitly didactic literature but in other forms of popular fiction as well. In Julia Scott's "The Exile's Daughter," Toinette chooses not to marry her suitor in order to live with and care for the father she has not seen in many years. When her father dies, Toinette goes to her suitor only to find that he too is on his deathbed and she missed her chance at romantic love. Another theme in short stories targeted to women was the idea that daughters should act as substitute mothers to younger children. This was not only applicable to daughters whose mothers were ill or deceased, but also to daughters working as teachers. Sigourney published a story devoted entirely to this idea called "The Eldest Daughter." She praises eldest daughters for their maternal instincts in the home and in the classroom and tells the story of Ulrica, the daughter of a Norwegian missionary. Ulrica acted as the family's matriarch after her mother passed away, and she did not pursue a life of her own until after her father passed away. An article simply titled "A Good Daughter" distilled the characteristics of the archetype: she has a pleasant demeanor, she performs "numberless acts of kindness," and "she is strangely blind to her own happiness."¹²

¹¹ Anne C. Rose, *Voices of the Marketplace: American Thought and Culture, 1830–1860* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2004), 75; Mary H. Parsons, "The Wife and Sister," *Godey's Lady Book* (January 1840) accessed via <http://www.accessible.com>.

¹² Julia Scott, "The Exile's Daughter," *Godey's Lady Book* (September 1885) accessed via <http://www.accessible.com>; Lydia Sigourney, "The Eldest Daughter," *Godey's Lady Book* (April 1840) accessed via

A common thread throughout these stories is that the good daughter becomes a surrogate wife to her father and a surrogate mother to her siblings. This implicitly sexualizes the father-daughter relationship. Despite Sigourney's use of the good daughter trope in "The Eldest Daughter," Giffen argues that her short stories "The Good Daughter" and "The Father" critique the sexualized relationship between fathers and daughters. In "The Father," the good daughter becomes ill while caring for her alcoholic father. She neglects her own health in order to help her father achieve sobriety. When she passes away, the distraught father must be restrained from defiling his daughter's grave. Giffen contends that Sigourney wrote the potential desecration of the daughter's grave scene to show that the good daughter trope led to an incestuous father-daughter relationship.¹³

When presented in idealized situations such as didactic literature, the ideology of daughterhood does in fact lead to a sexualized representation of the father-daughter relationship. The submissive place of the daughter in the family makes her susceptible to her father's desires. In nineteenth-century didactic literature, when the father needs the daughter to fulfill the role of wife and mother, she does go willingly. In the world of Civil War memory, when veterans needed a selfless figure to symbolize the purity of the Confederate cause, daughters fulfilled that role. After the Civil War, supporting Confederate memory became one of the actions necessary for young women to fulfill the ideal of the good daughter. Veterans styled the role of the daughter in such a way that her appearance mattered as much as her presence at events. Like the good daughter of nineteenth-century literature, the good daughter of Confederate memory created a sexualized relationship between father and daughter. In order to understand how this

<http://www.accessible.com>; Sigourney, "A Good Daughter," *Godey's Lady Book* (April 1857) accessed via <http://www.accessible.com>.

¹³ Giffen, "Dutiful Daughters and Needy Fathers," 268.

developed, it is important to examine how the ideology of daughterhood affected women in the mid-nineteenth-century South.

There is an Old English proverb that applies to the ideology of daughterhood: “Your son is your son until he finds a wife, but your daughter is your daughter for the rest of her life.” This proverb, which traces back to at least 1678, has remained relevant for centuries because it describes two truths about the way that Western society views sons and daughters. First, the proverb shows that as an identity, son was expendable for men in ways that daughter was not expendable for women. Second, the adage highlights the life of dependence that women were expected to lead. Feminist scholar Judith Arcana restated this proverb in her 1979 study *Our Mothers Daughters*, saying that all women are born as daughters, raised as daughters (whether they were raised by their biological parent[s] or by other members of society), and retain their daughterhood for the rest of their lives.¹⁴

For mid- to late-nineteenth-century white southern daughters, this Old English proverb was a painfully true statement. “Your daughter is your daughter for the rest of her life,” describes the life of dependency that the patriarchal family structure dictated for women.¹⁵ Daughters were born and raised to be dependents in their father’s household before they married and then became dependents in their husbands’ households. Despite the subordinate position, parents instilled the importance of family honor in their daughters. The most important way in which a daughter could uphold her family’s honor was to remain chaste and marry well. This was just as

¹⁴ John Ray, *A Collection of English Proverbs: Digested in to a Convenient Method for the speedy finding any one upon occasion, with Short Annotations. Whereunto are added Local Proverbs with their Explications, Old Proverbial Rhythmes, Less known or, Exotick Proverbial Sentences, and Scottish Proverbs*. 2nd ed. (Cambridge: John Hayes, 1678), 63; Arcana, *Our Mother’s Daughters*, 4.

¹⁵ Ray, *A Collection of English Proverbs*, 63.

much about the young woman as it was about her family; an advantageous marriage represented security for the future of a woman's family, while an unfavorable match could spoil the family's security, social as well as financial. Beyond sexual chastity and marrying well, daughters cultivated honor in the form of stoic confidence so that they could endure the difficulties of life as a mother and wife. This kind of upbringing reinforced the notion that women always held a submissive, subordinate role in the patriarchal family structure. A daughter's actions reflected not upon herself but upon her family.¹⁶

The focus on behaving in a manner that reflected honorably upon a woman's family extended beyond the physical household. Some daughters had the chance to attend elite boarding schools, which historian Anya Jabour argues contributed to a streak of independence that caused adolescent white southern women to become dissatisfied with the traditional path of marriage and motherhood.¹⁷ However, southern schoolgirls' education occurred at the pleasure of their families, who more than likely wanted their daughters to marry and marry well. Even in an aspect of life where young women were given some measures of independence, such as education, parental influence loomed large. Letters from parents to their daughters away at school show that mothers and fathers frequently reminded their daughters of the importance of a good education to a young woman's social position as well as to the rest of her family. Parents wrote letters to their daughters away at boarding school to instruct them on what subjects to take and how to behave. Advice was often given with the good of the family, not necessarily the young woman, in mind. In a letter to his daughter Saida, South Carolinian Edgeworth Bird

¹⁶ Scott, *The Southern Lady*, 24; Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South*, 25th Anniversary ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 233, 235–36.

¹⁷ Anya Jabour, *Scarlett's Sisters: Young Women in the Old South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 1–17.

instructed her to “study your lessons well that you may never fret Mama, who makes so many sacrifices for you both.” Similarly, Saida’s mother Sallie wrote to her daughter that Saida could ease her mother’s perpetual worrying by “a ready cheerful obedience, and an earnest desire to do your duty.” While the Bird’s interest was in their daughter’s academic success, as parents they could not let their daughter forget that her first responsibility was to her family. Even with an education, daughters were expected to return to their family’s home and remain there until they married, at which point they entered the household of their husband and began another mode of dependency.¹⁸

Placing such an emphasis on daughters ensuring that they behaved honorably in order to protect their family’s honor required a reciprocity of sorts. In exchange for dependence and deference, parents were often intimately involved in their children’s lives and created bonds that further joined daughters to their families. Fathers in particular doted on their daughters, serving as both protectors of their daughters’ honor and the reason why their daughters needed to remain honorable. This mutual dependence made the ideology of daughterhood a concept that not only guided the behavior of young women but could be used by parents to influence their daughters. Mothers and fathers were not above using the ideology of daughterhood as a tool to make their daughters behave in the manner they saw fit. Although this often came under the guise of advice, parents routinely reminded their daughters of their duty to uphold both personal and family honor. During the Civil War, Confederate brigadier-general Raleigh E. Colston wrote to his daughter Louise, whom he lovingly referred to as Lou, to advise her on how to behave around young men her age. He instructed her that she must be honest and “cultivate a gentle

¹⁸ John B. Rozier, ed., *The Granite Farm Letters: The Civil War correspondence of Edgeworth and Sallie Bird*. Foreword by Theodore Rosengarten. (Athens, Ga.: The University of Georgia Press, 1988), 15, 50.

disposition,” and that above all else, she needed to maintain her modesty. “No one has a right even to touch your hand and the more reserved you are, the higher you will be appreciated,” Raleigh wrote. He told Lou that he would not demand that she marry the man of his choosing but gave her strict guidelines on how she should go about selecting a husband. This kind of advice was not uncommon, and it was all pointed towards the preservation of family honor.¹⁹

The expectations of a woman’s daughterhood did not abruptly end when she married. Voluminous correspondence between married daughters and her parents, particularly her mother, demonstrated that post-marriage connections to a daughter’s family remained deep. Such relationships often took the form of caring for her family, especially her parents, in the event of misfortune, illness, or simply old age. Parents sought economically advantageous marriages for their daughters not simply because they wished their daughters to lead comfortable lives; they pursued such matches in the hopes that prosperity would continue throughout the marriage and that their daughters would be able to care for them when time necessitated it.

Not all daughters married, though. As is evident in the period’s literature and the work on singleness, there was an expectation that one of the family’s daughter’s would remain single in order to stay at home and care for the family if her mother fell ill or passed away. The notion that it was the daughter’s role to care for elderly or infirm parents grew out of women’s roles as nurturers as well as their filial obligation. Although this aspect of daughterhood transcended regional identification, it was certainly a factor in the continued importance of marriage and reproduction in the nineteenth century South. The ideology of daughterhood, with its highly gendered take on family honor and the social control of young women, remained a factor

¹⁹ Raleigh E. Colston to Louise Colston, February 1, 1864. Raleigh E. Colton Papers, 02574:2, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

throughout the nineteenth-century South, but the Civil War changed the way that it was publicly displayed.²⁰

Daughters had been raised with such importance placed on family honor and reverence for their fathers that it stuck with them even after they left home. For many daughters, this included following their parents' political ideals even if they themselves had opposing beliefs. Even during extenuating circumstances, such as the Civil War, when daughters and their parents chose different sides of the conflict, daughters displayed deference to their family's wishes. Eliza Frances Andrews fervently supported the Confederacy when the war broke out in 1861 while her father remained an ardent Unionist. Despite her allegiances, Andrews remained devoted to her father. She reluctantly obeyed his rules prohibiting outwardly celebrating the Confederacy and badmouthing the Union in his home. Instead she reserved her vitriol for her diary, where she wrote about her deep mortification over her father's Unionism and recorded the retorts she wished to express but knew she was not allowed to when she and her father discussed the war.²¹

Shortly after the end of the war, Andrews wrote that her father's Unionism had become even more difficult to stomach since the Federals had been victorious. Yet when a female acquaintance asked Andrews about her father's Unionism at a social engagement, Andrews "flew up" at the woman. She defended her father by stating that he had sent more sons to the Confederate army than most men had, and that he had committed to the Union from the

²⁰ Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor*, 242–43; Arcana, *Our Mothers' Daughters*, 125. On singleness in the antebellum South, see Christine Jacobson Carter, *Southern Single Blessedness: Unmarried Women in the Urban South, 1800–1865* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006).

²¹ Eliza Frances Andrews, *The Wartime Journal of a Georgia Girl, 1864–1868*, ed. by Spencer Bidwell King, Jr. (Macon, GA: Ardivan Press, 1960), 206, 219.

beginning, rather than switching loyalties at the end of the conflict for political favor. Despite her own feelings about her father's political beliefs, Andrews publicly defended him because that was her role as a good daughter. "Father's politics distress me a great deal," she wrote, "but nobody shall say a word against him where I am."²²

In the mid- to late-nineteenth century, the ideology of daughterhood became particularly acute for young women. Historians have long debated whether the Civil War was a watershed moment for women. Anne Firor Scott argued that the war was a turning point for women because it opened up so many possibilities for white women's participation in the public realm, and more recently, Stephanie McCurry has argued that the war fundamentally changed the way that white women interacted with the government. Other scholars have been less convinced that the war changed much at all for elite white women. Drew Gilpin Faust argues that elite women consciously chose to continue traditional gender roles after the war in order to boost the spirits of downtrodden ex-Confederate men, while LeeAnn Whites argues that these women chose to reify the status quo in order to protect of their privileged way of life. George Rable suggests that these women never wavered from their support of conservative roles for white women because they recognized how much these ideals benefitted them in their society.²³

²² Ibid., 257.

²³ Scott, *The Southern Lady*, 98–101, 106–07; Stephanie McCurry, *Confederate Reckoning: Power and Politics in the Civil War South* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010), 159–160, 179; Drew Gilpin Faust, *Mothers of Invention: White Women of the Slaveholding South During the Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 248–254; LeeAnn Whites, *The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender: Augusta, Georgia, 1860–1890* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995), 14; George C. Rable, *Civil Wars: Women and the Crisis of Southern Nationalism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 2–3.

For many young daughters, the war was certainly a major landmark and often life-altering experience. Rather than prompting any changes in the ideology of daughterhood, the Civil War frequently reinforced traditional behaviors. For instance, scholars have discussed how the war temporarily altered courtship and marriage patterns in the urban South. The influx of thousands of Confederate soldiers into cities like Richmond, Virginia, caused young couples to disregard respectable dating rituals and marry quickly in youthful lust, fearful that they may never have the chance to marry after the war. This phenomenon may have taken place in the few and far between urban centers of the Confederacy, but for the majority of white southerners, it simply was not the case. Take for example the attitude towards courtship taken by Sarah Morgan, a relatively well known Civil War diarist. Sarah was nineteen years old at the beginning of the conflict, and she spent much of the war around Union and Confederate soldiers stationed in and around her hometown, Baton Rouge, Louisiana. She frequently wrote of her sister Miriam's flirtations with the young men who visited their house but when Miriam accused Sarah of flirting with Colonel John Halsey, Sarah wrote in her diary that it was "malicious slander." It seems certain that whether she intended to or not, she had formed a special relationship with Halsey, as the next week Sarah wrote about sending her mother a letter to ask for her opinion on Sarah's regular correspondence with the Confederate colonel.²⁴

Sarah sought her mother's permission to exchange letters with someone that she herself did not consider to be a suitor. This demonstrates the level of deference that daughters continued to display to their parents even during the extenuating circumstances of the war. Some white

²⁴ For more on the marriage rush in Richmond, see E. Susan Barber, "'The White Wing of Eros': Courtship and Marriage in Confederate Richmond," in *Southern Families at War: Loyalty and Conflict in the Civil War South*, ed. by Catherine Clinton (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 119-132; Sarah Morgan, *Sarah Morgan: The Civil War Diary of a Southern Woman*, ed. by Charles East (New York: Touchstone Publishing Co., 1992), 444.

southern daughters, like Pauline DeCaradeuc Heyward and Lucy Breckinridge, entered into impulsive romantic relationships but they often ended the liaison before marrying against their parents' objections. Both Hayward and Breckinridge gave their parents' disapproval as the reason that they ended the relationship. It is fair to argue that while daughters reveled in the attention that was paid to them by the soldiers that they came in contact with, propriety and the fear of disgracing the family largely prohibited gross deviations from traditional patterns of courtship and marriage. Marriage was not the only area in which Confederate daughters continued to adhere to the precepts of daughterhood: in both their patriotic exhalations and the labor that they undertook, it is evident that despite the changes taking place in their worlds, daughters continued to abide by the social structure created for them by the ideology of daughterhood.²⁵

For white southern women, the ideology of daughterhood was inextricably linked to the ideology of womanhood and to family honor. Womanhood, broadly defined, refers to the "disposition, character, or qualities traditionally attributed to women." However, it is a constructed ideal that is historically specific. In the nineteenth-century United States, the cult of true womanhood reigned supreme. In her landmark essay, Barbara Welter examines the cult of true womanhood, which included four principal virtues: piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity. These ideals of womanhood greatly influenced the behavior of women and were instrumental in teaching young girls how to become culturally constructed women. The cult of true womanhood was a powerful means of structuring women's behavior, as a woman's ability

²⁵ Pauline DeCaradeuc Heyward, *A Confederate Lady Comes of Age: The Journal of Pauline DeCaradeuc Hayward*, ed. by Mary D. Robertson (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1992), 34; Lucy Breckinridge, *Lucy Breckinridge of Grove Hill: The Journal of a Virginia Girl, 1862-1864*, ed. by Mary D. Robertson (Kent, OH: Kent State University, 1979), 33-34.

to live up to the traits of idealized womanhood were not only scrutinized by herself but her family and community as well. “Without [the virtues of womanhood]...all was ashes,” Welter argues, “With them she was promised happiness and power.” In the South, the cult of true womanhood was reinforced by the ideal of the southern lady. The lady was also culturally constructed, and according to Anne Firor Scott, was an ideal that all wealthy white southern women strove for and almost none ever believed that they truly achieved. To be a lady, a woman had to be married and wealthy enough to be free from the demands of physical labor. In other words, only a woman of the slaveholding elite could fill this position. The high standard set for women made daughterhood an equally lofty ideal to live up to.²⁶

Southern honor was an equally demanding behavioral tool in the mid-nineteenth century South. Similar elements of social control through community mindfulness exist in the concept of southern honor as were prominent in womanhood. Bertram Wyatt-Brown famously argued that honor was the cornerstone of southern culture in *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South*. Wyatt-Brown defines honor as a “cluster of ethical rules...by which judgments of behavior are ratified by community consensus.”²⁷ For Wyatt-Brown, southern honor was synonymous with family honor, and parents raised their children with an emphasis on the acknowledgement of and deference to family honor. Although Wyatt-Brown focuses specifically on how honor affected the behavior of white southern men in *Southern Honor*, he

²⁶ *Oxford English Dictionary*, 3rd ed., s. v. “womanhood”; Barbara Welter, “The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820–1860,” *American Quarterly* vol. 18 no. 2 (Summer 1966), 152; Anne Firor Scott, *The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics, 1830-1930*. 25th Anniversary Ed. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1995), 14–17.

²⁷ Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South*, 25th anniversary ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), xxxiv.

does acknowledge that honor “could be as powerful a force in girls as in boys.”²⁸ The characteristics of honor that men and women were supposed to embody and exhibit were different, but they were taught with equal importance. In fact, southern honor governed white women’s lives as much as it dictated the behavior of white men.

Just as there was an ideology of daughterhood that governs the behavior of women, an ideology of sonhood existed that influenced the actions of men. While fleshing out a complete ideology of sonhood is beyond the parameters of this project, the expectations placed on sons and how they differed from the expectations placed on daughters in the post–Civil War South is relevant and important to understanding just how much daughterhood affected white southern women. Predictably, there were significant differences in how parents, other family members, and society in general expected sons and daughters to behave. These differences are apparent in highly gendered ways, and the ideology of sonhood is equally as influenced by ideas of manhood and honor as womanhood and honor guided daughterhood. Parents inculcated honorable behavior in their sons and daughters at very young ages. Sons were encouraged to be impulsive, prideful, and sociable, qualities that were focused on individual honor because men were individuals before they were representatives of their families.²⁹

Parents instilled family honor in sons because a young man needed to defend his family’s honor. There was also an element of needing to perpetuate family honor, but this came much later for men when they navigated southern social circles as adults. As the previously quoted old English proverb “Your son is your son until he finds a wife, but your daughter is your daughter for the rest of her life” demonstrates, sons were temporary members of their parents’ households.

²⁸ Ibid., 233.

²⁹ Ibid., 154.

White southern society expected sons to grow up and fulfill the ideal of manhood by striking out on their own. Wyatt-Brown argues that this illustrates one of the most difficult problems faced by white southern families: determining when a father should ease or relinquish his paternal power over his son so that the son could learn how to become an autonomous man himself. This was achieved when a son physically left his parents' household, and marriage was an especially good way to guarantee that a son was allowed to become his own man. When a man married, he perpetuated the family hierarchy by becoming the head of his own household and, if all went according to plan, also became the head of his own branch of the family tree. While sons were expected to graduate from their parents' households and become independent men, daughters were expected to marry but never to relinquish their dependence on family.³⁰

Daughters occupied a liminal family space—they served as a bridge between generations. As young women, daughters were expected to appreciate and honor their parent's generation by embodying their family's history and values. Once they married, daughters were expected to literally reproduce this respect for family tradition in the next generation. This position was unique to daughters; although sons certainly received an education in family respect and honor, they were also expected to leave their father's household and become their own men. This meant that sons did not have the responsibility to reproduce family knowledge in the same way that daughters did. Men and women used this knowledge to their benefit at different times in the post-Civil War South to achieve their goals of Confederate and American memorialization. This

³⁰ Ray, *A Collection of English Proverbs*, 63.

expressly politicized the ideology of daughterhood, and it provided women with a legitimate entree into turn-of-the-century American politics.³¹

The end of the Civil War reinvigorated the importance of the family as an organizing unit of social power in the postbellum South. As Laura Edwards argues in *Gendered Strife and Confusion: The Political Culture of Reconstruction*, after the war southerners, black and white, returned to the family to consolidate political power. White southerners used marriage to establish economic privilege and define gender roles in the wake of the war's potential of obscuring them, particularly in terms of reiterating women's gender roles. Daughterhood during Reconstruction looked much like it had during the antebellum period and during the Civil War, but it was infused with memories of the war. Central to the influence of the war on daughterhood was how individual families were affected by the loss of land, life, and often economic status. As families sought to retain their social status and rebuild lost wealth, one of the first and most effective ways that they found to do so was by enforcing traditional gender roles. This naturally

³¹ Wyatt-Brown refers to the decision of a son to move out of his father's house and assert himself as a man as a defining moment in the life of all young white southern men during the antebellum South. After the Civil War, ideas about manhood and manliness changed such that men proved manliness through physical acts, and could not look to the military actions of his father's generation to define himself as a man. Thus, while the Sons of the American Revolution (SAR) and the Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV) were both founded around the same time as the UDC, the DAR, and the DRT, their organizations did not cultivate the membership or social prominence as the women's associations because of the gendered connotations underlying their work. Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor*, 166. For more on constructions of manliness in the late nineteenth century, see Michael S. Kimmel, *Manhood in America: A Cultural History*, 3rd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012). For the difference in influence between the UDC and the SCV, see Gaines M. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865-1913* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987): 7.

affected daughters, as those who lived through the war actively participated in this project and perpetuated it in their own daughters. □³²

Although the ideology of daughterhood did not change significantly, with such a momentous event as the Civil War, the way that it impacted the lives of women was different. Necessity often dictated that women of the former slaveholding class engage in labor that they had never needed to before. In keeping with southern ideals of honor and respectability, however, the opportunities for paid labor available to women were limited. Teaching became the best and most popular option for women, especially young, single daughters. Even as women entered the southern workforce in larger numbers than before, marriage and motherhood remained the expected path for the majority of elite daughters. Despite fears that the war had wiped out a generation of suitable husbands, historians now know that marriage rates dipped slightly in the immediate aftermath of the war, but by 1880 they were back to near antebellum levels. This was due in part to young women marrying men outside of their traditional field of suitors—including men who were younger, older, of a lower economic class, or even from a different albeit white ethnic group. Marriage was such a vital element of a woman's life that rather than go unmarried, women opted to alter their definition of a suitable husband. The hierarchy of the family remained the most powerful mode of organizing women's lives throughout Reconstruction, and the confluence of traditional roles with new opportunities during this period set daughters up to redefine what they could do with their lives.³³

³² Laura F. Edwards, *Gendered Strife and Confusion: The Political Culture of Reconstruction* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 6–8, 16–23.

³³ Jane Turner Censer, *The Reconstruction of White Southern Womanhood* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2003), 6–8; Scott, *The Southern Lady*, 110–18; J. David Hacker, *Libra Hilde*, and James Holland

This redefinition began with Lost Cause memorialization celebrations. During Reconstruction, daughters witnessed their female family members participating in the Ladies Memorial Associations and the Decoration Day celebrations. When Confederate veterans took over memorialization efforts and founded the Lost Cause movement in the late 1870s and 1880s, they frequently asked girls and young women to do them the honor of participating in Lost Cause ceremonies and parades. The role of these daughters in memorial events was largely aesthetic and honorary: they were almost always single, attractive young women who were asked to wear white dresses and in some instances were given titles of honor such as “sponsor” and “maid of honor” and their photos were printed in newspapers and organizational materials. Veterans asked Confederate daughters to perform these roles rather than Confederate mothers for specific reasons, not the least of which was that daughterhood possessed an inherently backward looking quality. Daughters represented a bridge between the past and the present, with the potential to vindicate the failures of the past. Rather than looking backward, mothers spent their time looking forward at their children’s futures.³⁴

Daughters were used more often in Confederate memorialization than their brothers for two reasons. First, the image of girls and young women wearing white dresses in support of the Confederate veterans symbolized not only the purity of the women but the righteousness of the Lost Cause, for such pure and virtuous young women could not support an unworthy cause. Second, and most importantly, ex-Confederates hoped to instill the Lost Cause ideology and the

Jones, “The Effect of the Civil War on Southern Marriage Patterns,” *Journal of Southern History* 70 (February 2010), 41-2.

³⁴ For more on the Ladies Memorial Associations, see Caroline E. Janney, *Burying the Dead but Not the Past: Ladies’ Memorial Associations and the Lost Cause* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008); Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy*, 136.

romanticized view of the antebellum South in young girls with the hope that the girls would grow into adults who would then perpetuate such a moonlight-and-magnolia view of the Old South in generations to come. Veterans did this by treating the girls and young women in the ceremonies as if they were antebellum southern ladies and placing them on proverbial pedestals. These acts of honoring young women for their beauty and their faith in the Lost Cause made many southern daughters feel as though they had a personal stake in Confederate memory whether they were old enough to remember the war or not. The desire of the veterans to get young women to support the Lost Cause played on the ideologies of daughterhood and motherhood that expected women to replicate their family's values and beliefs in the literal fruits of their reproductive labor. It was in these early, veteran-driven Confederate memorialization celebrations that daughterhood began to take on a more public portrayal. It did not take long before the daughters themselves began to use this for their political favor.³⁵

Women's forays into public activities during Reconstruction through education and teaching were enhanced by the rise of the women's club movement. The club movement did not take off until well after the Reconstruction in the South, with early Confederate memorial groups and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union among the most popular early clubs. What became the preeminent associations in the South, though, were patriotic-hereditary clubs including the United Daughters of the Confederacy, the Daughters of the American Revolution, and the Daughters of the Republic of Texas—hereafter referred to as the UDC, the DAR, and the DRT. These organizations championed the past with an ever-present eye on the future,

³⁵ Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy*, 136, 171–73.

promoting very specific narratives of American history for not only educational purposes but political ones too.³⁶

While inhabiting the good daughter role was potentially burdensome to some women, other women used it to their benefit. The members of patriotic-hereditary societies used daughterhood to claim a special ability to memorialize historical events: as women, it was deemed to be part of their sentimental nature to remember and honor the past; as daughters, it was their responsibility to literally and figuratively reproduce their knowledge of the past on to the next generation. With the influence of the woman's club movement and the blessing from Confederate veterans, women formed patriotic-hereditary societies with the specific purpose of exercising what they felt was their daughterly duty. The hereditary element of the UDC, the DAR, and the DRT, makes the use of daughter fairly logical—all three groups required that members prove their lineage in order to be admitted, with at least the DAR experiencing an organizational schism early on over the definition of who qualified as a descendant. The use of daughter as an identity for patriotic-hereditary associations made political sense, too, given the legacy of Confederate memorialization and the reification of gender roles. Patriotic-hereditary societies were politically conservative organizations, and paradoxically, they garnered their political potency by emphasizing that their goals of commemorating and preserving the past were apolitical. This was achieved by casting their efforts in the language of women's duty, and more specifically, as a daughter's duty. Women were not meant to participate in politics, so any

³⁶ For the white women's club movement in the South, see Elizabeth Hayes Turner, *Women, Culture, and Community: Religion and Reform in Galveston, 1880–1920* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); Megan Seaholm, *Earnest Women: The White Woman's Club Movement in Progressive Era Texas, 1880–1920*, Ph. D. dissertation, Rice University, 1988; Joan Marie Johnson, *Southern Ladies, New Women: Race, Region, and Clubwomen in South Carolina, 1890–1930* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004).

cause that they hoped to champion was approached under the guise of women's moral responsibility. In terms of patriotic memorial work, who was better suited to carry it out than the daughters who had a vested interest in the narrative that glorified their families?

Associations that promoted their work in this manner garnered more support from their communities than groups with overtly political positions, such as suffrage clubs. Patriotic-hereditary societies were not apolitical; at the very least, they presented a partisan narrative of the historical period they commemorated, and at most they lobbied for legislation that affected public school curriculum and created holidays that honored their favorite historical figures. Evidence of just how much members of patriotic-hereditary societies understood the political implications of their work is found in how they used the term "daughter" to describe a woman's relationship to her patriotic ancestor regardless of her actual hereditary relationship to said relative. This use of daughter shows how much importance was placed on hereditary bonds and how easily these could be called upon to achieve the clubwomen's specific goals. This was a way that women could exercise political opinions in public while retaining their womanly respectability: by couching their activism in the very deferential language of daughterhood, elite women subverted traditional ideas about women's roles in public by invoking the most traditional of all female identities, daughter.

This project examines how men and women used daughterhood in the post-Civil War South as a gendered means of social control and as a way for women to engage in political culture. Although it was not the only vehicle by which daughterhood gained importance in the final third of the nineteenth century, Confederate memory and patriotism were extremely important to the popular use of daughterhood at this time. As such, this project focuses on how men and women used the combination of Confederate memory and patriotism and the ideology

of daughterhood to achieve their political goals. Chapter One examines the historical context for the culture of the post–Civil War South that allowed for daughterhood to rise to prominence. It was in the perceived crisis of masculinity that occurs during Reconstruction that the seeds of reifying gender roles in order to stabilize society were sown.

The second and third chapters focus on the rise of veteran-led Confederate memorialization in the 1880s. Chapter Two describes the ways in which veterans used young women to authenticate their public celebrations, while Chapter Three discusses why sons were not used to legitimize Confederate memory in the same way that daughters were. The choice of daughters over sons rested on the changing ideas of manhood and manliness in post–Civil War America that prevented white southern sons from solidifying their own manliness while celebrating the manliness of their fathers. No such stigma existed for white southern daughters. In fact, the ideology of daughterhood held that daughters should take a greater interest in their family’s history because they were expected to reproduce knowledge of the family for the next generation.

Chapters Four and Five examine how women themselves used the ideology of daughterhood to engage in politics in a manner that was deemed acceptable by the rest of their society. By claiming that their daughterhood not only gave them access to authentic patriotism but also made them the best conduits to perpetuate patriotic memory, women used the ideology of daughterhood to enter into the public in ways that they had not done since the Civil War. The fourth chapter discusses the rise of women’s patriotic organizing at the end of the 1880s and into the 1890s, when patriotic-hereditary associations became the most popular branch of the woman’s club movement in the South. The three most important patriotic-hereditary organizations for white southern women were the United Daughters of the Confederacy, the

Daughters of the American Revolution, and the Daughters of the Republic of Texas. Each of these groups painstakingly crafted their society in order to simultaneously commemorate their patriotic cause and to elevate the status of women in the political sphere. Chapter Five outlines the kind of work that women's patriotic-hereditary societies pursued and how the degrees to which that work were effective because of the ideology of daughterhood. The final chapter examines the factors that contributed to the waning political importance of the ideology of daughterhood and the patriotic-hereditary societies that used daughterhood to accomplish their public projects.

A couple of notes on terminology and on what is and is not included in this project. First, this project primarily examines how the ideology of daughterhood affected elite white southern women and men. However, in order to streamline the language and avoid the repetition of unnecessary adjectives, I omitted the qualifiers "elite white southern." If and when it is necessary to include such language, it will appear sporadically throughout the project. This dissertation only examines how the ideology of daughterhood affected white southerners. I believe that there is an ideology of daughterhood that is applicable to black southerners women that is historically specific to the experiences of African Americans in the wake of slavery, emancipation, and Jim Crow segregation, but attempting to flesh out how daughterhood impacted the lives of both white and black men and women in this project would have been an injustice to one demographic or the other. I chose to focus on white southerners because of the prominence of the patriotic-hereditary societies that identified as daughters and how it was different than the way that white southern women had previously identified in public. Like the qualifiers white and southern, I have chosen to omit elite from the descriptors used for the women at hand.

Second, a note on the identification of historical actors. Scholars traditionally identify individuals first by using their full names, and subsequently by the person's last name. A recurring question in the field of women's history is how to identify women in relation to their male family members. Often scholars will refer to a man by his last name and to women by their first names. This has the effect of making the female actors appear less important or secondary to the narrative because they do not receive the same method of identification as the men. In order to avoid this problem in a project about women as daughters, I chose to use first names to identify both men and women when discussing families. Similarly, when multiple same-sex members of the same family appear, all will be identified by their first names to reduce confusion. In all other instances, men and women will be identified in the conventional manner of using his or her last name.

Third, I use the term patriotic-hereditary society to describe any organization that formed for the purpose of honoring a particular era or event in history and required proof of ancestral connection to said era or event. Patriotic-hereditary societies gained tremendous popularity in the last quarter of the nineteenth century through a combination of nativism and the propensity of Progressive-era men and women to organize groups for a wide range of causes. The DAR, the DRT, and the UDC are central to my dissertation because these groups used daughterhood to identify their hereditary connection to the era or event that they sought to commemorate, and because they were formed in the South or, as in the case of the DAR, with southerners playing an important role in the founding of the society. There were other patriotic-hereditary societies that used daughterhood to establish their relationship to their chosen era or event, such as the Daughters of California Pioneers and the United States Daughters of 1812. However, none of these other groups that identified as daughters originated in the South, nor did they count a

significant number of white southern women as members. The only other patriotic-hereditary that did not identify with daughterhood but gained widespread popularity in the South was the Colonial Dames. In Chapter Four, I briefly examine why the Dames did not fit with the other societies in this study.³⁷

The ideology of daughterhood established guidelines for how women are expected to behave based on their parentage and family, taking what is assumed to be a biological identity and infusing it with cultural expectations. Like other ideologies, it is historically specific, and in many cases, daughterhood weighs more heavily on the unmarried, although it remained a factor for all women regardless of marital status. The ideology of daughterhood creates responsibilities for daughters to uphold their family's honor in ways that are not expected of sons. Examining the ideology of daughterhood illustrates the role of the family in the socialization of young women and how family honor influenced the behavior of young women in addition to the overwhelming pressure that women felt from the ideology of womanhood. Daughterhood demonstrates an additional aspect of women lives and helps explain elements of women's lived experiences that womanhood alone does not.

As their society experienced war and upheaval, Confederate daughters remained true to the good daughter ideal. This demonstrates how deeply entrenched the ideology of daughterhood was in the lives of women. Part of the reason that southerners put so much emphasis on the ideology of daughterhood was the biological role of daughters. Daughters would eventually marry and reproduce, making them a literal bridge between generations. Daughters remained connected to their families even after they left their parents' household because of their children,

³⁷ The Daughters of California Pioneers, founded in 1900, disbanded in 2006. "History of the Society," Society of California Pioneers, accessed June 2, 2016, <http://www.californiapioneers.org/home/history/>; "History," United States Daughters of 1812, accessed June 2, 2016, <http://www.usdaughters1812.org/about/history.html>.

but also because the ideology of daughterhood did not expire when a woman married. The importance of daughterhood to white southerners continued after the Civil War; daughterhood became a political tool of Confederate memorialization. But in order to understand how daughters became major public actors, one must first come to terms with the social and political atmosphere that led to the Lost Cause.

CHAPTER ONE

The intersection of the Civil War and gender has provided scholars with ample material for historical investigation, but perhaps no other historian has described the Civil War era better than LeeAnn Whites when she titled her book *The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender*. The loss of the Civil War and the conflict's aftermath severely damaged manhood to the point that many Confederate veterans wondered whether they could even claim their manhood anymore. With many of their antebellum outlets for masculine expression closed off in the immediate aftermath of the war, including politics and the military, men turned to the household and the family to consolidate gendered power. Women played an equally important part in men's efforts to rehabilitate manhood: many women chose to perpetuate traditional gender roles because they realized it was beneficial to both men and women. The consequences of this crisis in gender were far-reaching, affecting elite white southerners' construction of gender roles, politics, and race relations into the late nineteenth century. The crisis of white manhood also greatly impacted the ways in which men and women memorialized the Confederacy. The emasculation of Confederate men and the ensuing crisis of manhood allowed women to begin the Lost Cause movement, and it forced men to participate in calculated ways that bolstered their manhood.

This chapter examines how the emasculation of Confederate men during and after the Civil War impacted the construction of Confederate memory in the postbellum period. The crisis of manhood is part of a larger historiographic debate on the extent to which changes in the turn-of-the-century American society impacted gender roles. I argue that the crisis of manhood was real for southerners, and it directly influenced how memorial efforts developed in the 1860s and 1870s. Women initiated Confederate memorialization efforts because mourning culture was

gendered female and because men did not want to risk further political emasculation. The effects of emasculation remained important when men began leading their own memorial efforts. The interactions between Confederate lieutenant general Jubal A. Early's memorial organization and Ladies Memorial Associations in the shared quest to build a statue dedicated to General Robert E. Lee demonstrates that men's anxiety over their manhood was an underlying aspect of their commemorative efforts. As a result of the crisis of manhood, Confederate memory developed in a highly gendered manner. Eventually, this brought newfound emphasis to the role of daughters, making the daughter the symbol of the southern past, present, and future.

The emasculation of Confederate men during and after the Civil War falls into a greater historiographic discussion of changing gender roles in the United States at the turn of the twentieth century. Scholars demonstrate that men and women across the United States believed that gender roles were changing for several reasons, including the increased support for economic changes and woman suffrage wrought by industrialization. Some Americans believed that the developments taking place in the last twenty years of the nineteenth century and the first twenty years of the twentieth century were so dramatic that it constituted a crisis of gender. Of particular interest to the notion that changes in gendered behaviors reached a critical point was the construction of white manhood, which some believed was under attack. Scholars agree that manhood was a topic of great interest and debate among white Americans at the turn of the twentieth century, but there is some historiographic disagreement as to whether or not the threats to manhood constituted a crisis of white manhood. Generally speaking, scholars fall in one of three camps: those who do not believe that what occurred at the turn of the century can be described as a crisis, those who describe significant changes in gender relations but do not label it a crisis, and those who do describe it as a crisis. Although scholars apply the crisis of gender

theory to American manhood writ large, it pertains to gender relations in the South in ways that were specifically informed by post–Civil War circumstances.

In general, the period in which scholars question the existence of a crisis of white manhood in the United States more or less paralleled the Progressive Era. As Craig Thompson Friend points out, scholars studying white manhood in this period generally focus on the Northeast and Midwest, where urbanization and industrialization made men the most anxious about their status. The scholars who argue against using the term crisis of manhood generally take issue with the phrase and its implications, not with the notion that men and women’s gender roles were in flux. For instance, Gail Bederman argues that ideologies adapt to the structural circumstances around them. By virtue of being an ideological construct, gender cannot be in crisis. Clyde Griffen also quibbles with the use of crisis because he does not believe that situation fit the definition of a crisis. Griffen argues that a crisis is typically a turning point in a series of events, and that the outcome of a crisis leads to a resolution. In terms of white American manhood, Griffen does not find a beginning or a solution to men’s anxieties, citing men’s continued malaise in the 1950s. Beyond problems with the terminology, scholars also take issue with the characterization of the extent to which white men’s role in society transformed at this time. Although they take issue with the use of the term crisis of manhood, these scholars acknowledge that major shifts in social, economic, and political culture caused men to be concerned about the stability of their roles. Despite these changes, however, Bederman argues that white men never lost confidence in their access to and ability to wield power in public. Part of this came from white men’s ability to redefine the power structure to keep themselves at the top of the social hierarchy.¹

¹ Craig Thompson Friend, “From Southern Manhood to Southern Masculinities: An Introduction,” *Southern Masculinity: Perspectives on Manhood in the South Since Reconstruction*, Ed. by Craig Thompson Friend (Athens:

Many of the scholars examining the intersection of gender and the post–Civil War South do not explicitly use the term “crisis of manhood” even though they describe men’s deep fears over what effects the New South would have on their manhood. The consequences of defeat weighed heavily on Confederate soldiers who believed that by losing the war, they had failed to live up to their own code of honor. Drew Gilpin Faust shows that men and women both felt the pressure of men’s inability to perform their manly commitments to protect and provide for women on the home front. Gaines M. Foster details the deleterious affects that defeat had on Confederate soldiers, many of whom were “demoralized and disoriented” because they felt that they had failed as men. Although Faust and Foster do not explicitly say it, their studies show that the war resulted in a crisis of manhood for Confederate soldiers. Moreover, scholars demonstrate how concerns about their unstable manhood affected political culture during Reconstruction and Redemption. Studies Like Laura F. Edwards’s *Gendered Strife and Confusion: The Political Culture of Reconstruction* show how anxieties about manhood impacted the postbellum South. Edwards describes how the destruction of the southern household, which acted as the site of antebellum legal and social power, put men’s position as heads of household at risk. To reestablish the head of household as a position of authority and power for white men, southerners emphasized the importance of family and the household to reify gender roles along traditional lines. Although these studies do not use the phrase crisis of manhood, they implicate significant

University of Georgia Press, 2009), viii; Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880–1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 7, 11; Clyde Griffen, “Reconstructing Masculinity from the Evangelical Revival to the Waning of Progressivism: A Speculative Synthesis,” in *Meanings for Manhood: Constructions of Masculinity in Victorian America*, Ed. by Mark C. Carnes and Clyde Griffen (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 184.

insecurities in manhood as a direct result of the Civil War and show how southerners tried to cope with what they perceived as a loss of manhood.²

Many historians intimate that a crisis of white manhood existed in the Progressive Era but some actually label it as such. Peter G. Filene acknowledges as much when he describes the effect of industrialization and urbanization on turn-of-the-century white northern manhood. Historian LeeAnn Whites makes the most forceful argument that there was a crisis of white manhood in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century South in her monograph *The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender: Augusta, Georgia, 1860–1890*. Whites argues that it was a crisis of both manhood and womanhood because the war impacted both men and women's lives in irreversible ways. The combination of military defeat, the loss of enslaved laborers as property, and the overall economic destruction of the war struck at the material underpinnings of white southern manhood. Whites maintains that when Confederate soldiers lost the war, they also lost the ability to “construct their sense of manhood exactly as they pleased,” and southern men were forced to conform to northern constructs of free manhood. The belief that white manhood was unstable and needed to be reconstructed influenced both men and women's political and social actions during and after Reconstruction. Friend summed up the situation best when he wrote, “Southern ‘crises of masculinity’ have occurred when society could not locate a hegemonic masculinity among the challenges raised by femininity, race, class, and sexuality.” The scholars who use the term crisis of manhood often accept the fact that their subjects believed that the

² Drew Gilpin Faust, *Mothers of Invention: Women of the Slaveholding South in the American Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 242; Gaines M. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 13; Laura F. Edwards, *Gendered Strife and Confusion: The Political Culture of Reconstruction* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 8.

Civil War had irreversibly transformed the gender formulations in ways that threatened white livelihoods and needed to be rectified.³

Unlike the crisis of manhood in the urban Northeast at the turn of the century, the crisis of manhood in the post–Civil War South was a direct result of Confederate defeat and emancipation. The circumstances of the war and the Confederacy’s ultimate defeat challenged nearly every notion of antebellum manhood that men believed in. These threats to manhood were quite real to the men and women who experienced the upheaval of gender roles. Southern society adhered to rigid social hierarchies and the gender hierarchy, although least visible, was the foundation upon which all others emerged. The gendered consequences of Confederate defeat caused men to question their honor, the roles of women, and their ability to perform manhood in the future.

Men’s failure to uphold some of the most basic tenets of manhood during the war and the Confederacy’s demise caused returning Confederate soldiers to question their manhood. During the war, men literally and figuratively failed to protect and provide for women, one of the core responsibilities of manhood. After the war, defeat and the politics of Reconstruction caused men to be temporarily excluded from the positions of public and legal authority that they once held, which stunted their ability to publicly exercise their manhood. White southerners worried that the emancipation of enslaved African Americans and the abolition of slavery in the United States ended the legal basis upon which whites constructed hierarchies of manhood. No longer legally

³ Peter G. Filene, *Him/Her/Self: Gender Identities in Modern America* 3rd Ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 82; LeeAnn Whites, *The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender: Augusta, Georgia, 1860–1890* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995), 8; Nina Silber, *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865–1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 19–20; Friend, “From Southern Manhood to Southern Masculinities,” vii, xxiii.

bound to servitude, African Americans refused to remain in the white household and began households of their own. Demoralized by defeat and the radical changes in their social system, men sought to sure up their status by focusing on the most basic and most important unit of social organization—the family—to reassert their manhood. During Reconstruction, men and women negotiated the use of gender in public in an attempt to preserve what manhood Confederate veterans retained. This included women pursuing Confederate memorialization when men could not, and men emphasizing their role as head of household to consolidate both private and public power. As Reconstruction drew to a close and men began to regain positions of power, they continued to use the household to further emphasize their manhood.⁴

The perception that wartime behaviors and defeat caused men to lose their manhood was intimately linked to antebellum concepts of manhood, especially honor. Men fought for the Confederacy for many different reasons, but one of the popular justifications used by Confederate men was the notion that by fighting, they were chivalrously protecting their households. Chivalry was an important element of a man's honor, which Bertram Wyatt-Brown

⁴ The historiography of Reconstruction and the post-Civil War South contains rich and diverse scholarship that examines the period through many analytical lenses, the most prominent of which often examine the political, economic, racial, and gender tensions of the period. Chief among these are histories that provide readers with a broad overview of the era that focuses on a combination of analytical frameworks, including Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: 1863-1877: America's Unfinished Revolution* (New York: Harper and Row, 1988), Steven Hahn, *The Roots of Southern Populism: Yeoman Farmers and the Transformation of the Georgia Upcountry, 1850-1900* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995). Gender as an analytical framework for the Reconstruction era blossomed in the mid-1990s, and some of the works that heavily inform this study include Peter W. Bardaglio, *Reconstructing the Household: Families, Sex, and the Law in the Nineteenth Century South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), Edwards, *Gendered Strife and Confusion*, and Whites, *The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender*.

has famously argued was among the most important elements of antebellum white southern manhood. Wyatt-Brown defined honor as a cluster of ethical rules found in small communities “by which judgments of behavior are ratified by community consensus.” A man’s honor was the basis of his public reputation, and southern honor was directly and indelibly tied to the family: the status of a gentleman was heritable, and men, acting as representatives of their families, were expected to live up to the reputation of their family.⁵

The code of chivalry that honorable men lived by dictated that men protected and provided for their families, with a special emphasis on protecting and providing for women. The protection that these men were expected to furnish for women included defending them against physical, social, and sexual threats to a woman’s well being. When Confederate soldiers left their homes to fight, they did so under the impression that taking up arms against the United States protected the women that they loved. Part of this protection included preserving the institution of slavery, an integral aspect of the southern way of life and a prerequisite for ladyhood, the identity that all middle- and upper-class women aspired to attain.⁶

Yet when men rode off to join the army, they left their female family members at home unprotected. The men who remained behind were often old, infirm, or of a lower socioeconomic

⁵ Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South*, 25th Anniversary edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), xxxiv.

⁶ The southern lady was an identity reserved for the most elite women of the slaveholding South. At her core, the lady was a white, married woman who was educated to the extent that she would be a pleasant companion to her husband, and who did not participate in strenuous daily labor because her husband owned enslaved African Americans who did that work for her. Anne Firor Scott, *The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics, 1830-1930*, 25th Anniversary Edition, (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1995), 16; Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, *Within the Plantation Household: Black and White Women of the Old South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 43-45.

class that made their ability to protect a lady questionable at best. Despite the fact that the protection of women was central to manhood, neither men nor women were especially concerned with the lack of protectors on the Confederate home front at the beginning of the war. Peter S. Carmichael argues that when the young Virginians in his study justified leaving their families alone on the home front, they turned to religion. Soldiers entrusted God to protect their families while also protecting them on the battlefield. When her brother and uncle left home to join the Confederate army in May 1861, diarist Kate Stone wrote about feeling sorry for the soldiers, not the women that the soldiers left behind. “They go to bear all hardships, to brave all dangers, and to face death in every form, while we whom they go to protect are lapped in safe luxurious ease,” she wrote. Stone’s characterization of the Confederate home front is indicative of how many women felt in the early years of the conflict. This faith in evangelical Christianity helped men and women not to fear for the safety of the women on the home front, but there was another reason that Confederates did not express more concern about women’s safety. They believed that they had built southern society in such way as to inherently protect women. Southerners hoped that the enslavement of African Americans muted potential threats posed by blacks. At the beginning of the war there patriotic exaltations seemingly overshadowed public concern that the absence of white men would lead to an insurrection. They also believed that the elevated status of the southern lady would protect her from any affronts to her honor. Believing that radical changes in the southern lifestyle would be more harmful to the well-being of elite white southern women than remaining at home to guard them, Confederate men and women championed the departure of their soldiers for battle.⁷

⁷ Peter S. Carmichael, *The Last Generation: Young Virginians in Peace, War, and Reunion* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 171; Kate Stone, *Brokenburn: The Journal of Kate Stone, 1861-1868*,

As the war went from the anticipated quick skirmish to a multi-year conflict, however, circumstances on the home front changed. Women began to complain that men were not fulfilling the manly promises that they had made as they marched off to war. As the fighting continued and physically, emotionally, and economically affected the majority of Confederate families, women increasingly wrote about Confederate men's inability to protect and to provide for them as promised by the dictates of manhood. Historian Thavolia Glymph argues that plantation mistresses already had significant experience with mastery over their slaves by the Civil War, but many women expressed fears that they were vulnerable to wartime challenges to their well-being, and criticized the rapid changes taking place in the Confederacy.⁸

Over the course of the war, women wrote about the negligence and even the flight of enslaved African Americans from their households. Some even mentioned violence perpetrated by enslaved men and women, and although these instances were relatively few, some women grew anxious and even concerned about their safety. Kate Stone more than once in her diary characterized her household as helpless without any white men on the plantation. Mary Chesnut famously wrote about her cousin's murder at the hands of enslaved laborers, commenting that Chesnut herself had "never thought of being afraid of negroes" before the incident. "But why should they treat me any better than they have done Cousin Betsey Witherspoon?" Chesnut asked. More than just the possibility of violence committed by enslaved African Americans, however, the war brought many women into close proximity with the Union and Confederate

edited by John Q. Anderson (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1972), 17.

⁸ Thavolia Glymph, *Out of the House of Bondage: The Transformation of the Plantation Household* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 5; Faust, "Sick and Tired of this Horrid War: Patriotism, Sacrifice, and Self-Interest," *Mothers of Invention*, 234–247.

armies. The presence of either army, whether it was simply passing through or occupying a place for a prolonged period, put tremendous strain on the white southern household.⁹

There were relatively few reported instances of physical or sexual abuse perpetrated against white women by soldiers, but women frequently felt that the treatment they received from Union soldiers in particular did not match their status as ladies. The most infamous instance of this was Union General Benjamin F. Butler's General Order 28. The order made it an arrestable offense for women to "insult or show contempt" for Union soldiers in New Orleans, Louisiana. General Order 28 elicited an immediate reaction from Confederate women across the South. Sarah Wadley wrote in her diary that the order made her blood boil, and Sarah Morgan noted that her brothers, who were fighting in Confederate army in Virginia, would be furious that they were not at home in Louisiana to defend their sisters. And although Morgan disagreed with the New Orleanian women whose behavior prompted the "Woman Order," she defiantly wrote that she would continue to express her opinions in her diary where her views would "trouble no one." While some women thought that they deserved greater protection against such indignities, as the war drudged on many more women needed men to provide them with material necessities.¹⁰

In addition to protecting women, one of the basic tenets of manhood held that men provided for the well-being of women in exchange for women's submission to male authority and their

⁹ Stone, *Brokenburn*, 175; Mary Boykin Chesnut, *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, edited by C. Vann Woodward, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), 198-99.

¹⁰ General Orders, No. 28," *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series I:LIII Reports, Correspondence, Etc (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1898), 527; Sarah Lois Wadley diary, Sunday, June 1, 1862 (vol. 2, June 1861 to April 1863), Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina; Sarah Morgan, *Sarah Morgan: The Civil War Diary of a Southern Woman*, ed. by Charles East (New York: Touchstone Publishing Co., 1992), 85, 121.

gendered work in the household. Because society put all of the financial responsibility squarely on the shoulders of men, there were few respectable opportunities for women to earn a living. When the war began and men left their homes, they entrusted their farms, plantations, and other businesses to a combination of overseers, male family members, and their wives. This was not necessarily a radically different management system for all white southerners, but the length of the war, the Confederacy's near constant need for more manpower, and the foraging of both armies caused crops, foodstuffs, and capital to become scarce in certain areas of the Confederacy. Poverty and hunger quickly became problems for Confederate women as the war progressed and they could neither keep enslaved laborers from seeking their freedom nor keep soldiers from impressing their foodstuffs, crops, and livestock. Refugee Cornelia Peake McDonald's struggle to feed her children resulted in the mother of eight skipping meals in order to have enough food for them. Stone's family's flight from their eastern Louisiana plantation to East Texas resulted in the family sleeping outdoors because they were refused lodging by people who could not afford to take them in. When women discussed the lack of protection, food, and capital in their writings, they implicitly indicted men's failure to fulfill their manly promises.¹¹

Confederate women explicitly condemned men for this shortcoming when they wrote letters asking their husbands and sons to return home and take care of their obligations. Women reported bitter hardships and requested that their male family members leave the army and come home to help with dire situations. This affected the morale of Confederate soldiers who felt the complaints at the core of their white manhood. Confederate brigadier general Raleigh E. Colston wrote to his daughter Louise on multiple occasions to discuss how the war was affecting her life,

¹¹ Cornelia Peake McDonald, *A Woman's Civil War: A Diary, with Reminiscences of the War, from March 1862*, edited by Minrose C. Gwin (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992), 3, 222; Stone, *Brokenburn*, 221.

and he admitted that the war prevented him from providing for his family in the way that he was supposed to. “If I had the means nothing would give me greater pleasure than to gratify all your wishes and you must see that I deny myself everything I can for you, so you must try all you to be satisfied and bear patiently the evils of this time,” he wrote in October 1863. The failure to provide for the welfare of their families, combined with the failure to protect women from the physical and emotional tolls of war caused many men to feel that they had not fulfilled the responsibilities of manhood. Leaning heavily on the language of chivalry and honor, men went to war believing that it was necessary to literally and figuratively protect and provide for women. This desire was as much about actually protecting and providing for women as it was about men fulfilling their gendered responsibilities as men and as heads of households.¹²

Men relied on honor to bolster their manhood, but it was not the only factor in the construction of antebellum manhood. Manhood was a delicate status predicated on hierarchies of race and gender. Men drew their antebellum sense of manhood from the fact that they were white and thus not enslaved. Free manhood, therefore, meant that men enjoyed political rights that neither African Americans nor women had access to. One such right was that of head of household. The head of household was a legal status available only to adult white men who owned property. These men had political power in their own right, but implicit in the head of household status was the power of public representation for their dependents, which included women, children, and enslaved African Americans. Heads of household “assumed economic, legal, and moral responsibility” for their dependents, which elevated this otherwise familial role into a very public persona. Men drew so much of their political power from this position that

¹² Whites, *The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender*, 105; Drew Gilpin Faust, *Mothers of Invention*, 238-44; Raleigh E. Colston to Lou Colston, 1863.10.26; Raleigh Edward Colston papers; 02574:2, Southern Historical Collection at the University of North Carolina Chapel Hill.

Laura F. Edwards argues that men “claimed power on their ability to fulfill the duties of household head, not on the ascriptive basis of their race and sex alone.”¹³ Investing such power in the head of household politicized familial roles and helped create a separation of spheres of influence along gender lines. Men held tremendous public power in exchange for the responsibility for providing for and protecting their wives and children, and women ceded their claims to public authority and ensconced themselves firmly into a domestic sphere because they benefitted from this racial and gender hierarchy. The power that men held as heads of household combined the political and the domestic during the antebellum period in such a way that empowered the family as the most important organizing unit in the South.¹⁴

During the war Confederate men continued to act as heads of household, albeit from a distance. Yet the power that men derived from the status waned as the war increasingly placed stress on the home front. Economic circumstances forced women to take positions and enter into activities that had previously been reserved for men. This included taking on increased

¹³ For the ways that white men constructed their own political power in opposition to white women and African Americans throughout southern history, see Kathleen Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1996) and Stephanie McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds: Yeoman Households, Gender Relations, and the Political Culture of the Antebellum South Carolina Low Country* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995). Edwards, *Gendered Strife and Confusion*, 6, 7.

¹⁴ The household is a particularly important concept for southern historians because it encompasses more than *family* or *home*, concepts that are related to the household but not synonymous to it. As Elizabeth Fox-Genovese defines it, the household is “a basic social unit in which people, whether voluntarily or under compulsion, pool their income and resources.” Fox-Genovese, *Within the Plantation Household*, 31-32. For more on how white southern men understood the head of household role as elevating the political status of all white men, see McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds*, and Edwards, *Gendered Strife and Confusion*.

responsibility managing the household. In the absence of able-bodied men at home, women kept farms, businesses, and families running. While these responsibilities might not have been tremendously different from their antebellum duties, the expansion of women's work during the war concerned many southerners. Women engaged in public activities during the war more so than ever before, which was outside of the bounds of traditional roles for women. Southerners feared that this masculinized women.¹⁵

The centrality of manhood to the political power of men was tested by the Civil War, to say the least. The harsh realities of war and the political turmoil that the Confederate States of America experienced ran afoul of the expectations with which southerners had entered the conflict. Many men went to war believing that the preservation of slavery was vital not only to their economic livelihoods but to their free white manhood as well. White southerners invested significant capital in the bodies of enslaved African Americans, and emancipation would prevent them from leaving a sizeable portion of their estates to their white dependents. Yeoman farmers and poor white men may not have had the social and economic status of the elite, but slavery ensured that they were not the last rung on the social ladder. Preserving slavery was not simply about the southern economy or even the social hierarchy that set all white men above all black men, but it was also about the legal status of the head of household. Household dependents included both white family members and enslaved African Americans; and the more dependents that a man had, the more power he wielded as a household head. Men were concerned about what the removal of African Americans as household dependents would do to their position as head of household. Combined with the paternalistic view of slavery that elite whites held, many

¹⁵ Faust, "We Must Go To Work, Too," *Mothers of Invention*, 80–113; Whites, *The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender*, 86–7.

men joined the Confederate military because they wanted to preserve their household dependents—black and white—as much as they wanted to protect their position as heads of household.¹⁶

Unfortunately for Confederate men, the Civil War did not reinforce their manhood so much as undermine it. Although veterans would eventually celebrate their military service as the crowning manly achievement of their lives, in the years immediately following the cease-fire, men believed that defeat had eviscerated their manhood. And when manhood was so intimately tied to man's role as the head of household and protector of his dependents, this belief makes sense. The Emancipation Proclamation, followed by the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments, freed enslaved African Americans and granted them citizenship, removing blacks from the legal specter of dependency in the white household. The abolition of slavery ended the household relationship between black and white southerners and in the eyes of many men, it also threatened their free manhood. Without black men formally subjugated through enslavement, men could no longer be assured that their manhood was intact simply because they were free.

The removal of African Americans as legal dependents of white male heads of household was equally as damaging to conceptions of manhood as the effect that the war had on white womanhood. Most women had vigorously supported the Confederate war effort from the beginning of the conflict, and they too believed that the war was as much about protecting their way of life as anything else. Yet men's chivalric wartime promises did not always come to fruition after they left their families at home to fight in the Confederate military. As the conflict wore on for four long years, many Confederate women's commitment waned under the seemingly endless loss and suffering. Some even went so far as to lose faith in the Confederate

¹⁶ See McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds*; Edwards, *Gendered Strife and Confusion*.

cause and demand that their husbands, sons, and other relatives return home to alleviate some of the burden placed upon them.¹⁷

The difficulties that Confederate women experienced during the war forced them to expand the notion of proper white southern womanhood beyond the traditional boundaries of the woman's sphere. Due both to women's own enthusiasm and the needs of the Confederate war effort, women cheerfully made clothing, bandages, and other items for the boys in grey, and they raised money through bazaars and tableaux to be given to the cause. These ventures into more public roles were acceptable because they remained firmly within the realm of women's work, the work was for the good of the war effort, and the temporary nature of war itself also helped white southerners feel more comfortable with these nontraditional roles. As the war continued, Confederate women became even more involved in public activities. Some wives sought out wage labor or took in boarders in order to supplement the meager salary of Confederate soldiers. What was initially viewed as women fulfilling their natural duties of mothering and nurturing through their participation in aid societies and nursing became highly politicized as women began demanding rights from the Confederate government based on their service and their husbands' service.¹⁸

¹⁷ For more on the experience of Confederate women during the Civil War, see Scott, *The Southern Lady*; George C. Rable, *Civil Wars: Women and the Crisis of Southern Nationalism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), Faust, "Alters of Sacrifice: Confederate Women and the Narratives of War," *Journal of American History* 76 (Mar. 1990): 1200-1228; Faust, *Mothers of Invention*; Whites, *The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender*; and Stephanie McCurry, *Confederate Reckoning: Power and Politics in the Civil War South* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010).

¹⁸ McCurry, *Confederate Reckoning*, 179, 207, 215.

Beyond expressly political engagement, women's increased participation in civil society threatened to alter the symbiotic relationship between men and women's roles in southern society. Fears that white manhood was threatened by women's greater role in public and men's inability to live up to their manly responsibilities were compounded by northern newspapers in the months after the end of the war that regaled their readers with the story of Confederate president Jefferson Davis being captured by Union soldiers wearing his wife's clothing. This overt feminization made men even more insecure about the status of their manhood. The uncertain position of men as heads of household in the wake of Reconstruction and emancipation, and the broader roles played by women in civil society caused ex-Confederates to believe that the war and defeat emasculated them. This caused men to look for ways to reconstruct their manhood.¹⁹

Men needed to find a way to repair their mangled manhood after the Civil War to stave off the fear that they would fall below women, or worse—newly freed African Americans—on the social hierarchy. Many ex-Confederates, either formally prevented from reclaiming their previous political power by Federal authorities or refusing to participate in the government on principle, initially shied away from pursuing the kind of public power that they held before the war as heads of household. Cut off from politics and no longer legally superior to African Americans, men turned to their role as heads of household to exercise dominance over the only groups they could: women and children. Southerners accomplished this through a two-fold effort. The first part of this effort was largely dependent upon women. After ex-Confederate soldiers returned home from the war, women recognized the emasculating toll that four years of

¹⁹ Whites, *The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender*, 135. Also see Nina Silber, "Intemperate Men, Spiteful Women, and Jefferson Davis," in *Divided Houses: Gender and the Civil War*, edited by Catherine Clinton and Nina Silber (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 283-305.

fighting and defeat took on their male relatives as well as the threat to their own status by the changes in the southern social structure. In order to boost the confidence of their men, many women agreed to conform to traditional gender roles rather than continue pursuing the expanded public roles that they held during the war. The second way that men sought to repair the manhood was by emphasizing the family as the basic and most important organizing unit of society. This reaffirmed man-as-husband as head of household, and women and children as dependents, therefore elevating men back to their place atop the social hierarchy. Southerners combined these two factors, both of which reinforced traditional gender roles for men and women, in order to organize southern society to resemble the gendered power relations that they believed had been altered by the experience of war and defeat.²⁰

Women's adherence to traditional gender roles helped men place newfound emphasis on the family as society's most important organizing unit, thereby validating their manhood even further. Antebellum men had derived their political and social capital from their status as heads of household, and postbellum men naturally sought to find their power in that role again. Their legitimate fears that the changes to the household structure had also affected their ability to hold the position caused men to reflect and try to rebuild. What made a man a head of household was not simply his gender, age, and property ownership; the position necessitated having dependents that he was responsible for and could represent in public. Without enslaved African Americans

²⁰ Peter S. Carmichael argues that the generation of young Virginians in his study reentered politics almost immediately after the end of the war because they had advocated progressive change before the war and saw the postbellum period as an opportunity to make the economic changes that they had advocated before the war. Carmichael, *The Last Generation*, 221–23. For the immediate governance of the postbellum South, see Gregory P. Downs, “The Challenge of Civil Government,” *After Appomattox: Military Occupation and the Ends of War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015), 61–88.

to claim as dependents, Confederate veterans shifted their focus to the women and children who did continue in that role. This included defining and enforcing the boundaries between public and private for members of the family. Redefining the notion of a symbolic relationship between the head of household and his dependents, men focused their energy on providing for their families in order to create a very specific kind of domestic ideal. This tied manhood to economic prosperity in ways that could be difficult to maintain during the uncertain financial period that followed the war in the South. Emphasizing a particular kind of domesticity that Laura F. Edwards argues combined “liberal ideology and northern consumer culture,” men promoted industriousness and economic success that would enable elite white women to focus on their family and the interior make-up of the domestic sphere. This was an elite ideal, created by those on top to set themselves apart from poor whites and African Americans.²¹

Yet since emancipation and the Fourteenth Amendment gave African American men access to the same head-of-household status as white men, the latter sought to regulate the position. White men did this by placing significant social and legal emphasis on the institution of marriage. Marriage, they reasoned, was one of the foundational elements of the head-of-household status since it gave a man his first dependent in his wife and the potential for more dependents. The importance of marriage to nineteenth-century Americans was not new; it was crucial for creating legal relationships between individuals and it was the cornerstone for many laws regarding property transfer, inheritance, parental authority, and the care of dependents. Postbellum white southerners wanted to preserve the sanctity of marriage to ensure that the rules that governed their relationships and their legal rights remained intact. It was also used to establish the boundaries of what was socially acceptable as a household, and what was not.

²¹ Edwards, *Gendered Strife and Confusion*, 125, 20.

Despite apprehensions regarding the freedom of African Americans, most southerners accepted the abolition of slavery and moved on to finding ways of subjugating the freed people. In her study of Reconstruction-era North Carolina, Edwards cites Governor William W. Holden's 1865 recommendation that freed people needed "marriage, hard work, and education" to achieve "prosperity and happiness" as evidence that white southerners emphasized the importance of marriage for African Americans because they believed it would maintain order in their society. White desire for blacks to marry had nothing to do with black manhood but rather with controlling the terms of social organizing. As long as African Americans (and poor whites, for that matter) operated within the social system that they created, white men felt that blacks posed less of a threat to white manhood. When men regained political power after Reconstruction, their need to diffuse the threat that black men posed to white manhood led directly to racial violence and Jim Crow laws.²²

The uncertainty of the political and economic climate of the postwar South and men's attempts to reify their manhood reflected broadly on activities outside of the household, especially the first attempts at commemorating the Confederacy. Memorialization efforts began shortly after the end of the war when women became concerned with the proper burial of the Confederate dead. During the war, women had dedicated themselves to the Confederacy as much as men had. Not only did they support the political cause, but Confederate women dealt with wartime hardships that differed from but were just as important as those of Confederate soldiers. Historian Stephanie McCurry argues that the Civil War definitively changed the relationship that women had with government—instead of using traditional methods of women's redress, which included petitioning legislatures and influencing their male relatives to vote a particular way,

²² Ibid., 32.

women made demands of the Confederate government that were based on the services that they provided and sacrifices that they made to the war effort. The aid that women provided for Confederate soldiers and their communities served as a full-fledged entrance into politics, as the Confederate government did not have the means to provide the food, clothing, and medical care that white southern women supplied. Aid work gave many women a purpose during the war, and when the hostilities ended in April 1865, not all Confederate women were content to abandon their public roles. In fact, Caroline E. Janney reasons that without arms to put down, white southern women found the postwar transition particularly difficult. Just because the war was over did not mean that all of the avenues for women's work had dried up. Immediately following the war's end, white southern women began efforts to memorialize the slain southern soldiers, and they did so by forming organizations known as Ladies Memorial Associations (LMA).²³

The women who formed and joined the LMAs had participated in relief and aid work during the Civil War and wanted to continue contributing to their communities once the fighting stopped. As Janney makes clear, women pursued Confederate memorialization in the immediate postwar period in part because of the gendered nature of politics—despite their blatantly political efforts during the war, society still considered women to be apolitical and their efforts were viewed through the lens of sentimentality and not politics. These stereotypes about gender and politics were crucial because had men attempted to memorialize the Confederacy in the summer of 1865, the federal government would have viewed their efforts as treasonous. Instead, the

²³ McCurry, *Confederate Reckoning*, 207-215; Caroline E. Janney, *Burying the Dead but not the Past: Ladies Memorial Associations and the Lost Cause* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 42.

efforts of the LMAs permitted former Confederates to begin commemorating the Lost Cause within months of Lee's surrender.²⁴

The importance of naming and self-identification in the immediate postwar period cannot be overlooked. Both the use of "ladies" and the use of "memorial" in the names of these societies were choices made by women so that they could pursue the kind of work on behalf of the Confederate cause that they wanted to. First, "lady" was not merely a synonym for "woman" but rather the pinnacle of female respectability for antebellum women. It was an identity defined by race, class, and gender: a lady was a white woman of the most privileged, aristocratic class who had enslaved African Americans to work for her so that she did not have to engage in manual labor. More than simply being a member of the female sex, the lady embodied all of the ideals of womanhood: she was a submissive wife whose inherent piety, modesty, and charm, combined with her need for intellectual guidance, made her the perfect companion for the white southern planter. Anne Firor Scott recognized that the southern lady was a myth that had never reflected the reality of white women's lives, but it was nevertheless the ideal for which they strove. Though the trials and tribulations of the Civil War did much to erode the allure of the myth, in the postwar period the lady remained a powerful image of white southern womanhood. After emancipation, however, the emphasis on race and class became even more pronounced. This was especially true for the elite women that Faust argues made a silent bargain to support a very patriarchal postwar society because they hoped to retain their privileged status. Rather than simple shorthand for the group, public reference to "the Ladies" reinforced both the elite status

²⁴ It is worth noting that Caroline E. Janney's monograph is the only history of Confederate memory dedicated to the Ladies Memorial Associations. Her research focuses on five Virginia cities (Fredericksburg, Lynchburg, Petersburg, Richmond, and Winchester), but many of her observations are broadly applicable to the LMAs throughout the South. Janney, *Burying the Dead but not the Past*, 9.

of the members as well as their perceived apolitical nature. By identifying themselves as ladies, the LMAs intentionally projected the concept that they retained the utmost respectability in the face of defeat and therefore they were in the best position to continue pursuing work on behalf of the Confederacy.²⁵

Like “lady,” “memorial” was an identifying term that the LMAs used for a specific reason. It described not only the kind of work that the women wanted to pursue, but it also struck the right political tone in the recently defeated South. When they began in the mid-1860s, the LMAs pursued burial projects and the occasional statue in a cemetery. Their goal was to honor the memory of Confederate soldiers who had perished in the war, not to explicitly celebrate the Confederacy or to fight the war anew. The political restrictions placed upon men during Reconstruction prevented them from leading the lingering vestiges of Confederate support if they wanted to retain a viable livelihood—it would be costly, in other words, for men to celebrate their previous activity. Women’s apolitical nature and their interest in the proper burial for the Confederate dead were viewed by men as extensions of women’s nurturing nature. Under this guise of apolitical interest, however, women initiated the Confederate Lost Cause. Once the LMAs established their “memorial” activities, they then turned to more commemorative ventures that included Decoration Days and fundraising to build larger monuments to help honor the dead. This subversive tactic on the part of the LMAs worked to convince northerners that the LMAs were not participating in treasonous activities, and to convince white southern men that their interests were firmly rooted in traditional women’s interests.

To achieve the interment, and often the disinterment and reinternment, of the Confederate dead, white southern women raised funds for land, materials, and labor, and made sure that the

²⁵ Scott, *The Southern Lady*, 5, 23, 41, 90-97.

dead from both their immediate communities and the dead from the far reaches of the South were buried in a manner befitting their heroic status. Larger LMAs, especially from Richmond, Virginia, and other sites of deadly battles, wrote letters to newspaper editors from Charleston, South Carolina, to Galveston, Texas, and everywhere in between, soliciting financial assistance for their burial efforts. They also popularized the celebration of Memorial Days and Decoration Days among white southerners across the South. Over time, some LMAs raised enough money to build monuments in cemeteries and towns. Janney shows that the work accomplished by the LMAs from 1865 to the early 1890s was incredibly similar to that which the better known women's Confederate memorial group, the United Daughters of the Confederacy, pursued in the waning years of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century. The differences in the two organizations came in membership structure, goals, and tone.²⁶

The organizational structure of the LMAs was indicative of the relative infancy of women's organizing in the South. The societies may have partnered with veteran's groups or other benevolent associations, but what makes the LMAs stand out in this period of white women's organizing in the South is that they retained their individual autonomy. They focused their energies on their own communities, due as much to their experience as their specific goals. The LMAs chose to identify their groups with either the name of the town where the members resided, such as the Petersburg Memorial Association, or with the cemetery that their work benefited, such as the Hollywood Memorial Association, which primarily pursued projects related to cemetery of the same name in Richmond, Virginia. According to Janney, the women who joined the LMAs in the 1860s and 1870s were overwhelmingly women born between 1830 and 1850 who had participated in wartime aid work. This means that the members of the LMAS

²⁶ Janney, *Burying the Dead But Not the Past*, 168–71.

knew the full scale of what the war wrought on their families. Moreover, it also meant that members brought a full range of women's identities to the LMAs—they were wives, mothers, sisters, and even daughters of the men who fought for the Confederacy. The LMAs required their members to pay dues to the society, but they did not have any other membership requirements. This policy allowed any woman to join who was invested in the memory of the Confederacy and could pay the dues, although in reality the women who joined tended to be of middle to elite economic status. This inclusive membership structure allowed the LMAs to focus their efforts on their projects and retain an apolitical appearance.²⁷

The work performed by the LMAs emphasized traditional roles for women, thereby supporting traditional manhood for men. Although both men and women mourned, mourning had long been considered a feminine practice due to the high degree of sentimentality involved. This intensified during the war as women grieved for their loved ones in largely female spaces. Women's interest in the proper burial of deceased soldiers was seen as an extension of feminine nurturing. The LMAs's work implicitly contained political tones that were beyond the scope of traditional antebellum women's gender roles, but like their wartime aid work, southerners largely viewed the LMAs's burial work as both necessary and temporary. Men accepted the thinly veiled political work of the LMAs in part because of the way that the ladies approached their activities. The LMAs were primarily women's organizations, but they included men in their activities when it was pertinent. For instance, women organized public events commemorating the Confederate dead, such as ceremonies and parades, but they almost always had a male figure on hand to lead

²⁷ In Janney's study of Virginia LMAs, she also notes that member's typically did not experience the death of an immediate male family member during the war. This leads Janney to contend that the LMAs were not only mourning the men that they buried, but the failed Confederate experience in general. Janney, *Burying the Dead but not the Past*, 56-57, 174.

the event. Despite the masculine face on these events, the LMAs made sure that their communities knew that the women sponsored the events. This claim of ownership over memorial events was a new aspect of women's organizing after the Civil War, but the inclusion of men as the public face of memorial ceremonies demonstrates a deference to manhood that is indicative of the broader trends in gender constructs in the postwar period.²⁸

The LMAs's organized and executed the first few years of Confederate memorial activities with encouragement from Confederate veterans. The Ladies included veterans in their ceremonies, and veterans appreciated the projects that the LMAs undertook. Many Confederate veterans experienced Reconstruction as a period of tremendous uncertainty and change. They were relieved that the Ladies were interested in burying the dead in an honorable fashion, and they appreciate the commemorative tone that increasingly took over the LMAs's work. The manner in which the LMAs pursued their memorial work helped to rehabilitate manhood because the Ladies remained at least publicly deferential to traditional gender roles. Given the LMAs's adherence to the greater gender politics of the postwar period, when the first wave of veteran-organized memorialization began in the 1870s, the movement's leaders expected the Ladies to defer to their authority. When the LMAs continued to pursue their own interests alongside groups such as the Southern Historical Society and the Association of the Army of Northern Virginia, men resisted it as an affront to their already fragile manhood.

²⁸ This deference is part of why Janney argues that the prominence of the LMAs in the years following the Civil War was a transitional period on women's journey toward the woman's club. Janney, *Burying the Dead but not the Past*, 80-81; Drew Gilpin Faust, *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2008), 148-153; David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 78.

Some prominent former Confederates including Jubal A. Early, Fitzhugh Lee, and Dabney H. Maury had a difficult time adjusting to the South's loss and felt that they needed to justify their participation in the war in order to recover their manhood. The first organization created for this purpose was the Southern Historical Society (SHS). Founded in New Orleans in 1869, the SHS published partisan histories of the Old South and the Civil War in their publication *The Southern Historical Society Papers (SHSP)*. The goal of the SHS was to tell the Confederate narrative of the Civil War, and the editors of the *SHSP* included the writings of several unreconstructed ex-Confederates in its pages. The men who joined the SHS were typically officers who had lost not only their way of life but also their social status after their defeat. The death of Robert E. Lee in October 1870 sparked greater interest in memorialization from a larger group of veteran, partially because of Lee's popularity among his soldiers, and partially because, as Gaines M. Foster noted, it gave those who wanted to defend the Confederacy a reason to dredge up old battles. The late Confederate commander had publicly discouraged the defense and rehashing of the war in favor of reconciliation even though evidence suggests that he was not pleased with how the reunified nation treated ex-Confederates. After Lee's passing, those who wanted to openly argue in favor of the Confederacy, including for the legality of secession and against the idea that the war was fought over slavery, began to do so publicly.²⁹

Seeking to recover their manhood by justifying the cause for which they fought, this group was a minority in the late 1860s and 1870s. Most Confederate veterans had little interest in reliving the war when they were still trying to solidify their social and economic status. After Lee's death, however, there was greater interest in commemoration from all veterans to

²⁹ Janney, "A Rather Hardheaded Set: Challenges for the Ladies' Memorial Associations, 1870–1883," *Burying the Dead But Not the Past*, 105–32; Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy*, 51.

commemorate the life of their leader. Lee was arguably the most important symbolic figure of the Confederacy, both for his wartime command of the Army of Northern Virginia and for his postwar example of reconciliation. Such a great man, many veterans reasoned, deserved to have a statue erected in his honor. By this time Early had returned from his self-imposed exile in Mexico to become the face of the Confederate Lost Cause. He was a founding member of the Association of the Army of Northern Virginia (AANVA) and the Lee Monument Association, a veteran's group dedicated to building a statue in Lee's honor in Richmond, Virginia, both formed shortly after Lee's death. In 1873 the SHS asked Early to become its president when the moribund organization decided to move from New Orleans, Louisiana, to Richmond, Virginia, in the hopes of generating more interest. Early remained thoroughly unreconstructed after the war, and his attitude towards the LMAs's attempt to build a Lee monument demonstrated how influential the crisis of manhood was on Confederate memory.³⁰

Despite any resentment that Early harbored towards Lee (the latter relived the former of command in 1864), he retained great respect and admiration for Lee after the war, and was set on erecting a statue of the late general. Early and the members of the Lee Monument Association began soliciting donations from across the South, around the same time that the women of the Hollywood Memorial Association also started their own campaign for a Lee statue. To accentuate its new mission, the Hollywood Memorial Association changed their name to the Ladies Lee Monument Committee (LLMC). After the Lee Monument Association experienced sluggish donations and the LLMC's collections reached thousands of dollars, Early reluctantly agreed to work together with the women to achieve their common goal. His hesitation in cooperating with the LLMC, which had a proven fundraising record, was due to his aversion to

³⁰ Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy*, 50-55, Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 78-79.

having women perform such an important memorial function. Janney argues that this did not stem from a hatred of women, as some scholars have posited, but rather a belief that Confederate veterans were the appropriate demographic to commemorate Lee because they had been on the battlefield with him and therefore knew him in a way that would be used to better honor Lee the military leader than Lee the southern icon. This was the first step in men taking pride in their military service, and they accurately recognized that their service to the Confederacy meant that they could memorialize the war differently than women had up to that point.³¹

Early's resistance to women's memorial work also underscores how fragile manhood remained after the Civil War. Early and men like him had a vested interest in memorial activities doing a particular kind of gendered work so that they could adequately use memorialization to rehabilitate their manhood. The veterans gave explicitly gendered reasons for why they believed that they rather than the Ladies should carry the torch of the Confederacy. Yet when the leaders of the LMAs did not submit to the desires of Early and the Lee Memorial Association, Early actively tried to sabotage their efforts. After the Lee Monument Association agreed to work with the LLMC, Early sent warnings to southern newspapers that impostures were traveling throughout the South claiming to work for the LLMC. He advised southerners not to give money to the impostures but to send donations directly to the Lee Memorial Association to Richmond. Furious, the ladies demanded he rescind his false statements and make it known that the two associations were working together to raise funds for a common goal. Instead, Early again publicly questioned the motives of agents soliciting money under the auspices of the LLMC, he referred to the LLMC by its previous name as a way of delegitimizing the women's efforts, and

³¹ Janney, *Burying the Dead but not the Past*, 111-16.

he denied connections between the groups, opting to state that he had no control over the ladies.³²

Although Early was but one man and his opposition to the LLMC was but one instance in which veterans and women clashed over Confederate memorialization, these tensions reflect the ongoing crisis of manhood taking place in the South. When men were unable to participate in memorial endeavors, they had no problem with women taking over instead. After all, the memorial work of the LMAs was gendered feminine, and veterans were trying to reassert their manhood. When veterans like Early decided to get involved with efforts to honor Lee and the Confederacy, they did so with the hope that it would help them salvage their manhood. This first attempt at veteran-led commemoration was carried out by a minority of men who sought redemption for the Confederacy through the avenues that were familiar to them, namely antebellum notions of honor. This is why veterans hinged their efforts in the 1870s on defending the Confederacy to remove the stigma of dishonor that defeat had brought down on white southern men. Moreover, many men desired nothing more than to reconcile with the North and focus on the postwar domestic manhood that would help them fill the void of what they lost on the battlefield. Widespread interest in commemorating the Confederacy did not develop until the 1880s when conditions changed enough that they felt comfortable with and proud of their past Confederate exploits. Part of that change had to do with eased political tensions between the North and the South, but much of this change had to do with a new conception of manhood: masculinity.³³

³² Ibid., 112–13.

³³ Foster, “Ghost Dance: The Failed Revitalization Movement of the Virginians,” *Ghosts of the Confederacy*, 47–62.

According to sociologist Michael S. Kimmel, antebellum manhood was something that men produced, and it represented their inherent character. Synonymous with adulthood, manhood was an achievement that marked the attainment of several social responsibilities in addition to physically maturing out of childhood. When American men could no longer produce their manhood through accomplishments on the farm or frontier in the late nineteenth century, Kimmel argues that they felt the need to prove their manhood through sports and fighting. These physically masculine qualities were emphasized to the point that a new term, masculinity, was developed to describe this new type of manhood that valued physicality and passionate displays of manliness over self-restraint. Masculinity became as influential to American men as manhood had been for the preceding centuries. The turn to masculinity and the physicality of gender included another change in the construction of gender identities: masculinity's foil was femininity. No longer did one's manliness connote adulthood but rather that one was not a woman. This distinction would have weighed heavily on the minds of Confederate veterans: defeat emasculated them, and they sought ways of proving that they were still men. Already inclined to martial interests, a holdover from the dominance of honor and chivalry in the antebellum period, Confederate veterans embraced masculinity. They used the emphasis on violence and masculine power to subjugate African Americans and to celebrate the biggest martial experience of their lives: fighting for the Confederacy in the Civil War.³⁴

³⁴ Scholars who work on this time period all have their own terms for this phenomenon; Michael S. Kimmel refers to it as manliness while E. Anthony Rotundo uses the term "primitive manhood." Craig Thompson Friend uses the term manhood for his antebellum study of the subject, and masculinity for the postbellum collection. I have chosen to follow Friend's example because the subtle distinction in language connotes the shift in gender expectations. It also makes sense historically, since the word "masculinity" did not experience popular usage until after the Civil War. Kimmel, *Manhood in America*, 9-10, 62-63, 88-89; E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood*:

Studies that directly address manhood in the late nineteenth century have recognized two dominant archetypes: the Christian gentleman and the martial masculine ideal. The Christian gentleman, of which Robert E. Lee was the prototype, exhibited self-control and piety in the face of defeat. During Reconstruction, the Christian gentleman preferred reconciliation with the North to prolonging hostile attitudes. The martial masculine ideal valued a heroic manhood that praised the Confederate veteran as a warrior and encouraged violence when necessary and, in many cases, justified violence that had been committed after the fact. Both Craig Thompson Friend and Joe Creech argue that the Christian gentleman and martial masculine ideals were connected in many ways because both contributed to man's roles as the head of household. "Nineteenth century southerners frequently emphasized the way true men were divinely appointed protectors of property, life, society, religion, morality, and perhaps most importantly, independence, and they emphasized as well that such a role often involved vigilance or even violence," Creech argues.³⁵

The widespread acceptance of martial activity encouraged white southern men to view their Confederate experience not as dishonorable but as an expression of their masculinity. This turned the Confederacy into something to be celebrated, as most veterans knew that their role in the Civil War was the martial pinnacle of their lives. Feeling both nostalgic for their martial past and wanting to prove to the next generation that they had at one time literally embodied the martial masculine ideal, Confederates veterans began celebrating the Lost Cause en masse. Changes in

Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era (New York: BasicBooks, 1993), 2-6; Friend, "From Southern Manhood to Southern Masculinities: An Introduction," in *Southern Masculinity*, viii-xviii.

³⁵ Friend, "From Southern Manhood to Southern Masculinities: An Introduction," in *Southern Masculinity*, x; Joe Creech, "The Price of Eternal Honor: Independent White Christian Manhood in the Late Nineteenth-Century South," in *Southern Masculinity*, 25.

social attitudes take time, however, and even if the shift from the characteristics of manhood to the characteristics of masculinity had sufficiently salvaged the masculinity in the war generation, it did not necessary convince the rest of southern society. Masculinity also influenced the lives of subsequent generations of southern men. Chapter Three examines the impact of masculinity on Confederate veterans' sons and their desire to participate in memorial celebrations. Veterans sought a public way to prove their reconstructed manhood to the rest of society. Realizing that time was of the essence, veterans wanted to show the next generation of men and women that the Civil War was a high point of masculine honor despite defeat, and that the Confederate narrative of war was worth sustaining. Seeking an ideal group of white southerners who would not question their wartime manhood and would perpetuate the Lost Cause for generations to come, Confederate veterans looked to their daughters.

The majority of Confederate veterans came to terms with the organizing power of the LMAs; and if they were interested in memorialization, they were willing to coexist with the women's associations throughout the 1870s and 1880s without incident. The construction of gender norms is inherently fluid, and new qualities are frequently added to older ideas when they appear to be beneficial to the hegemonic agenda. Scholars have described the evolution of American manhood as taking place in stages, and as having regional variations. The transition from manhood to masculinity—which scholars typically place in the last ten to fifteen years of the nineteenth century—coincided with the rise in veterans' desire to commemorate their Confederate military service. The transition from manhood to masculinity helped men put the war's emasculation behind them and remember the Confederacy fondly. But veterans wanted their friends and family to embrace their newfound interest in Confederate memorialization.

They achieved this both by the tone of their celebrations, but also by including southern daughters in highly visible positions of honor.³⁶

³⁶ Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*, Revised Edition (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 2; Michael S. Kimmel, *Manhood in America: A Cultural History*. 3rd edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 4; Friend, “From Southern Manhood to Southern Masculinities: An Introduction,” in *Southern Masculinity*, viii-ix. As noted in Chapter 3, Carole Emberton argues that the transition to the marital masculine ideal occurred much earlier. Emberton locates the change at the Civil War, whereas in the Northeast and Midwest such changes are thought to have developed much closer to the turn of the twentieth century. Emberton, *Beyond Redemption: Race, Violence, and the American South After the Civil War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 9.

CHAPTER Two

In 1875 Englishman A. J. B. Beresford-Hope donated a statue of Confederate General Thomas J. “Stonewall” Jackson to the Commonwealth of Virginia. The statue was one of the first monuments erected in memory of a Confederate soldier in Richmond, Virginia, and it was unveiled to much fanfare in Capitol Square on October 26, 1875. Present at the unveiling were dignitaries from the former Confederacy as well as contemporary politicians from Virginia and other southern states. Also in attendance were Stonewall’s widow, Mary Anna, and his twelve-year-old daughter, Julia. The unveiling ceremony’s speaking schedule included an introduction by Virginia Governor James L. Kemper and a dedication by Reverend Dr. Moses D. Hoge, both of whom used their orations to extoll the virtues of the late southern Confederacy, as well as the heroics of the late and beloved general. Neither man mentioned Julia in their speeches, but after the formal presentations were over, the governor brought Julia out to the front of the stage and introduced her to the crowd.¹

According to news accounts of the event, onlookers cheered at the sight of Stonewall’s only child as though they were cheering for the general himself. Julia’s moment in the spotlight was brief, and no one expected her to address the crowd. Her presentation to those gathered to celebrate her father appeared spontaneous, and it was done more for the benefit of Stonewall’s admirers than for his daughter. The event impacted young Julia, though. In 1910 Mary Anna published a biography of her daughter in which she wrote that being presented to the crowd was “such a shock to [Julia’s] sensitive, shrinking nature,” that Julia returned to her seat shaking and begged her mother to leave the ceremony immediately. Mary Anna wrote that as Julia grew up,

¹ Kate Mason Rowland, “English Friends of the Confederacy,” *Confederate Veteran* 25, (May 1917), 199.

she learned to become more comfortable with her father's admirers and the attention that they paid to her, but that the 1875 statue unveiling in Richmond was a very difficult event for the adolescent girl.²

The fanfare surrounding Julia Jackson's attendance at the unveiling of the Stonewall Jackson statue in Richmond, Virginia, was an early instance of veterans using young white southern women to elicit support for the Lost Cause. The inclusion of daughters in memorial events gained importance after large numbers of Confederate veterans began commemorating the Confederacy in the 1880s. Veterans tried to take over the work that the Ladies Memorial Associations (LMAs) had pursued since the end of the war, and they altered the tone of their memorial activities from the somberness with which the LMAs pursued burial work to a more celebratory one that focused on battlefield accomplishments. The focus on military exploits followed the new emphasis on masculinity instead of manhood defining the gender performance of men. It also allowed Confederate veterans to celebrate their past victories without necessarily having to acknowledge the final outcome of the Civil War. Veterans did not eradicate women from roles of importance in their public celebrations once they began to perform memorial work. Instead, the veteran-led Lost Cause movement employed the ideology of daughterhood to place young women, especially the daughters of prominent Confederate soldiers, in symbolic positions during ceremonies and parades.

This chapter examines why and how Confederate veterans used young women as daughters in memorial events. First, a perceived crisis of gender after the Civil War caused veterans to search out reassurances of their manhood from both internal and external factors. This caused

² "Stonewall Jackson Memorial: The British Bronze to the Virginia Hero," *New Orleans Times-Picayune*, October 27, 1875; "Stonewall Jackson's Daughter," *New Orleans Times-Picayune*, September 25, 1879; Mary Anna Jackson, *Julia Jackson Christian* (Charlotte, N. C.: Stone & Barringer Company, 1910), 21-22.

veterans to turn to young women, using the ideology of daughterhood to ensure that the next generation of young women supported the manliness of the veterans and Confederate memory. Third, veterans cultivated a special system of gender roles for the generation of Confederate daughters that went hand in hand with the celebration of the Lost Cause because veterans used them as mutually reinforcing concepts. Not just any daughter could serve as a symbol of commemoration. Daughters served as literal proof of veteran's virility so long as they were young, unmarried, clearly identified as white, and dependent on their fathers for their livelihoods. This excluded some daughters of very prominent Confederate veterans from Lost Cause veneration. Finally, the quintessential southern daughter, Varina Anne "Winnie" Davis, captured the hearts of southerners by accepting her role at memorial events as the hope and potential of the southern future. By employing the ideology of daughterhood, veterans effectively tied supporting Confederate memorialization to being a lady and a good daughter.

Daughters perfectly fit the gender and generational needs of Confederate veterans in the 1880s and 1890s. The popularization of the Lost Cause coincided with a transition in the construction of white manhood in the United States. Whereas for most of the nineteenth century manhood had been based on economic success, by the 1880s social and economic circumstances caused white native-born American men to increasingly define their worth in terms of masculinity, or a display of manliness through physical actions. The emphasis on physicality included many different activities but placed particular importance on fighting, both as sport and in a martial context. This construction of masculinity in the last quarter of the nineteenth century made sons weary of participating too heavily in Lost Cause ceremonies. Sons questioned what celebrating the defining masculine moment of their father's lives might do to the perception of their generation's manliness. As examined in Chapter 3, this concern deterred sons from

widespread involvement in Confederate memorialization. Since women did not share these gendered concerns, veterans sought the favor of their daughters to reinforce their masculinity.³

In addition to the transition from manhood to masculinity, men also tried to shore up their gender concerns by reifying traditional gender ideals for women. Part of the gender crisis that men experienced after the Civil War was that they felt that they had not lived up to the standard of antebellum manhood. Moreover, veterans' feared that Confederate women had not recovered the respect for their manhood that the women lost during and immediately after the war. Speculation mounted that women wanted to build upon the increased public responsibilities undertaken out of necessity during the war and thereby undo the gender dichotomy. To counter such concerns, men promoted traditional gender roles for women. If women's place remained in the home and not challenging men's authority in public, then the transition from manhood to masculinity could take place with less resistance. With the women of their own generation tainted by the experience of the war, the ideology of daughterhood allowed men, and veterans in particular, to emphasize traditional roles for women in their daughters.

The ideology of daughterhood dictated the acceptable behaviors and actions for a young woman as set by her family. When southern society moved to reifying traditional roles for women, daughters became the most successful site for it. Southern daughters grew up hearing stories that romanticized the antebellum South and they learned the Lost Cause narrative of the war. Although its practical viability diminished, the ideal of the southern lady remained a desirable status for women in the postwar South. Veterans tied ladyhood to the Lost Cause when

³ Michael S. Kimmel, *Manhood in America: A Cultural History*, Third Edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 62, 87–114; Caroline E. Janney, "A Fitting Work: The Origins of Virginia's Ladies' Memorial Associations, 1865–1866," *Burying the Dead but not the Past: Ladies Memorial Associations and the Lost Cause* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008) 69–104.

they elevated Confederate daughters to literal and proverbial pedestals. This essentially made traditional gender roles and Confederate memorialization symbiotic concepts.

Veterans created specific gendered criteria for the young women that they used to determine who would participate in their ceremonies and events. Confederate veterans recognized that the daughters of veterans carried considerable symbolic power. Daughters could be used to harken back to the Civil War and remind white southern men what they had fought for. Daughters could be used to remind white southerners of the importance of preserving Confederate memory and white supremacy for future generations. And finally, daughters could be used as conduits for the veneration of Confederate soldiers and politicians who were no longer the wartime versions of themselves. The use of daughters in Confederate memorialization added a sentimental dimension to the Lost Cause that helped increase its popularity across the South at the end of the nineteenth century.

Confederate daughters offered veterans the opportunity to recast vital aspects of the masculinity. Veterans looked to their children to prove that defeat had not left them impotent. Daughters in particular held a special place in verifying the veterans' manliness. Unlike sons, who expressed some qualms, daughters supported their fathers' manliness without question. Moreover, men knew that they could use their daughters in their quest to reinforce antebellum gender ideals such as chivalry and the role of women. Confederate women had already begun to return to prewar ideas of how they should behave when they chose to support the returning soldiers rather than continue to pursue radically different roles in public. However, given that some Confederate women had successfully expanded the repertoire of responsibilities during the war and that they had vivid memories of white southern men not living up to their obligation to protect and provide for their families, there was always a possibility that Confederate women

would not be able to live up to the status of the antebellum southern lady. Their daughters were another story.⁴

Womanhood underwent a reevaluation after the war, but it was not as drastic as men feared. Although women did not seek to radically alter their status after the war, some vestiges of women's public participation during the conflict carried over into the postbellum period. Many women became increasingly involved in the woman's club movement, a phenomenon in which women formed groups to discuss various social, cultural, and intellectual pursuits. The Ladies Memorial Associations (LMAs) that blossomed out of the desire to reinter and mourn the Confederate dead belonged to the club movement. The LMAs had large, regional appeal, but many other clubs were smaller, local groups concerned with literature, music, or history. Participation in the club movement gave white southern women the opportunity to continue the public services and leadership positions that they had begun during the war while remaining ensconced in the traditional woman's sphere. Although men appreciated much of the work being done by women, particularly in regard to Confederate memory, their concerns over the preservation of antebellum gender conventions caused veterans to incorporate young women into commemorative ceremonies in different ways than their mothers had participated.⁵

⁴ Faust, "Epilogue: We Shall Never...Be the Same," *Mothers of Invention*, 248–54.

⁵ Jane Cunningham Croly, *The History of the Woman's Club Movement in America* (New York, H. G. Allen and Company, 1898), vi; Janney, *Burying the Dead but not the Past*, 7. For how white southern womanhood fare in the aftermath of the Civil War, see Anne Firor Scott, *The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics, 1830-1930*, 25th Anniversary Edition, (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1995); Drew Gilpin Faust, *Mothers of Invention: Women of the Slaveholding South in the American Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996); and Jane Turner Censer, *The Reconstruction of White Southern Womanhood, 1865–1895* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2003).

Veterans included women who had been adults during the Civil War and their daughters in Lost Cause memorial ceremonies from the beginning of the movement, but they gave these two groups of women dramatically different roles. Former Confederate soldiers honored the women of the Confederate generation for their service to the Confederacy during the war. This ranged from rhetorically extolling the virtues of women's wartime efforts, to raising funds to erect statues that honored Confederate women's role in the war. Lost Cause publications like the *Confederate Veteran* frequently ran articles such as "Our Southern Women in War Times" and "A Monument to Southern Women," as well as profiles on women who made especially noteworthy contributions during the war. Men and women even published books dedicated to Confederate women's wartime experiences. Confederate women's postbellum work, specifically the creation and maintenance of cemeteries across the South, also received praise from Confederate veterans. Postwar speeches and newspapers discussed the wartime service of southern women as they described the service of Confederate soldiers: there was a tremendous amount of respect and admiration for Confederate women. In Lost Cause parades and other ceremonies, southerners showed deference to the women who had contributed so much to the war effort, but these women were not typically part of the actual events.⁶

⁶ Caroline E. Janney, *Remembering the Civil War: Reunion and the Limits of Reconciliation* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 236; "Dirt Digging Day. The Daughters of the Confederacy Picnic at City Park a Grand Success. Tributes to the Dead. General Cabell, Colonel W. L. Crawford and Judges Watts and Bowers the Orators." *Dallas Morning News*, May 24, 1896; Varina Howell Davis, "Our Southern Women in War Times: Vivid Reminiscences by Mrs. V. Jefferson Davis," *Confederate Veteran* 1 (May 1893), 147; "A Monument to Southern Women," *Confederate Veteran* 2 (October 1894), 312; Dr. Linus Pierpont Brockett and Mrs. Mary C. Vaughn, *Woman's Work in the Civil War: A Record of Heroism, Patriotism, and Patience* (Philadelphia: Zeigler, McCurdy & Co., 1867).

Given the difficulties that many women experienced during the war and the increased responsibilities placed on women while men were away fighting for the Confederacy, veterans associated Confederate women with their postwar crisis of gender. Despite all of the accolades and the respect for Confederate women that the veterans proclaimed to have, they did not want women of their generation to become symbols of veteran-led memorial activities. The next generation, the Confederate daughters, had the opposite effect on white manhood. Confederate veterans found that the imagery of young women helped them to bolster their manhood in ways that women of their own generation did not. This contrasted with their mother's generation, who had proved that when necessary, they were capable of taking care of themselves. Veterans, therefore, used young women of the next generation to reinforce traditional gender ideals for women in white southern society.⁷

Girls who were still young children during the war or who were born after it was over were not aware of the effect that the war had on women's traditional roles. Ostensibly, this next generation of women could be reared in the image of the southern lady and keep traditional gender ideals intact. Men and women believed that the war had irreversibly changed the fabric of their society, but they hoped to retain as many antebellum customs as possible. Reinforcing conventional gender norms for women helped men in their quest to save their manhood because it gave men an opposite image to work from. Scholars generally hold that the creation of gender norms is a homosocial activity—masculinity is primarily performed for the benefit of other men, not women. In the case of veterans who were trying to rebuild their own sense of manhood, defining what masculinity was by first establishing its opposite, femininity, was extremely

⁷ Gaines M. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South* (New York: Oxford University Press), 98.

beneficial. The closer that postwar gender ideals resembled antebellum ones, the safer that white southern men felt about their own manhood.⁸

As it had been before the war, part of a young lady's upbringing was a respect for and deference to her family. In the post-Civil War South, southerners infused this respect with Confederate memory. Ex-Confederates taught their children, male and female, the Lost Cause narrative of the war. The lesson was especially important for young daughters who learned that the war had been, in part, an effort to protect the ladyhood that they now aspired to. In return for displaying due respect to the Confederacy, veterans rewarded daughters with prominent roles in commemorative events. As the popularity of showcasing Confederate daughters at memorial events grew, being asked to participate became a great honor. By the late 1880s and the 1890s, Confederate daughters jumped at the opportunity to perform their duty to their families. Confederate veterans established fairly uniform criteria and roles for their daughters to play, all of which reinforced the ideal southern lady that they hoped to mold these young women into.⁹

The imagery created by the presence of Confederate daughters at memorial events implied that no matter how Confederate women felt about the veterans' manhood, the next generation of women had forgiven them and were supporting their new manifestations of masculinity. Ex-Confederate soldiers sought out the support of the next generation not only to bolster their masculinity but also to perpetuate the Lost Cause for generations to come. Part of the desire to

⁸ Ibid., 238–55; Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor: Ethics & Behavior in the Old South*, 25th Anniversary Edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 233; Censer, *The Reconstruction of White Southern Womanhood, 1865-1895*, 1-9; Michael S. Kimmel, "Masculinity as Homophobia: Fear, Shame, and Silence in the Construction of Gender Identity," in *Race, Class, and Gender in the United States: An Integrated Study* ed. by Paula S. Rothenberg, 6th ed., 81–93 (New York: Worth Publishers, 2004), 87.

⁹ Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy*, 174–79; Censer, *Reconstruction of White Southern Womanhood*, 11-50.

reify traditional gender roles for women was to capitalize on the stereotype that women were inherently interested in history and in teaching history to their children. The idea that white women would take their knowledge and enthusiastically impart it onto the next generation was both long-standing and not without merit. Similar convictions motivated the concept of Republican motherhood, an idea that emerged during the Early Republic and held that white women's best contribution to the new nation was raising responsible citizens and not by direct participation in the government. Even as white southern women redefined what was included within the boundaries of acceptable activities for women, some stereotypes persisted. Society still deemed women's role in raising and educating children an innate quality of womanhood. The role that daughters played as a generational bridge between the past and the present made the fairer sex useful to Confederate veterans.¹⁰

Increasingly aware of their own mortality at the end of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, part of the goal of Confederate veterans in memorializing the Lost Cause was informing future generations of southerners of their version of the war, not the one taught in northern-produced textbooks. White women, being "naturally inclined" to teaching children, were the perfect group to anoint as the torchbearers of memorialization. The daughters of Confederate veterans, more than white women who experienced the war as adults, were best suited for this role in the eyes of veterans because these daughters literally connected the generational bridge between the war generation and future generations who would only know the war from the stories they were told second-hand. Moreover, when the daughters of notable but

¹⁰ Linda K. Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America* (Chapel Hill: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture by the University of North Carolina Press, 1980), 11; Elizabeth Hayes Turner, *Women and Gender in the New South, 1865-1945* (Wheeling, Illinois: Harlan Davidson, Inc., 2009), 90.

deceased soldiers appeared at commemoration events, onlookers felt as though they were as close to the late hero as they could get. Veterans believed that as long as they could exert influence on the narrative told by women, leaving the Lost Cause in the hands of women would help preserve and promote their memory for generations to come. They embraced women as the torchbearers of the Lost Cause and transitioned from the inclusion of a few young women in their ceremonies to the acceptance of the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) as the mouthpiece of Confederate memory. And unlike white southern sons, who distanced themselves from Confederate memorialization in order to build their own masculinity, daughters were eager to be as involved with important cultural affairs as possible.

Confederate veterans needed their daughters to participate in memorial activities in order to help the veterans cultivate both their perception of their manhood and perpetuate the myths of the Lost Cause. To that end, they created specific roles and criteria for young women at their events. Both the roles and the criteria reinforced the goals of Confederate memorialization: to celebrate the Civil War as a manly military exercise in which the Confederacy was not defeated but overwhelmed, and to display the resilience of white southern society in the face of adversity. The roles created for Confederate daughters were fairly uniform: they attended ceremonies, parades, and reunions and stood in front of crowds of admirers to be seen and not heard. Their presence was aesthetic and symbolic—the image of the daughters was enough to convey support for the veterans and for the Lost Cause. Shortly after the organization of the United Confederate Veterans (UCV), veterans created official positions for daughters to be associated with individual camps, as well as large events such as annual reunions: sponsors and maids of honor. Veterans offered these roles to specific young women in advance of events, although sometimes sponsors got to select their own maids of honor.

Sponsors and maids of honor performed largely ceremonial duties at celebrations and served as the face of the camp for public purposes. For instance, in anticipation of reunions and other memorial events, camps would advertise their sponsors and maids of honor by placing the women's photos in local newspapers and even national Lost Cause publications. These honorary positions served a greater purpose than simple aesthetics: being associated with a UCV camp in such manner gave young women a personal stake in Confederate memory. This was an important piece of the Lost Cause puzzle for veterans who wanted to ensure that Confederate sympathy would survive beyond the generation of men who fought in the war. But in memorial activities, not all Confederate daughters were created equally. The criteria that veterans established for who they wanted to participate in public ceremonies indicated what veterans hoped to achieve through the use of daughters.¹¹

The daughters who received the most attention from Lost Cause followers were attractive, young, single daughters of prominent Confederate figures, many of whom had passed away before the popularity of the Lost Cause directed significant attention onto their daughters. Although the memorial work of the UCV broadened the focus of Confederate memory from celebrating men of power and prestige to the everyday soldier, the daughters of prominent Confederate generals and statesmen were most likely to draw attention during memorial events. Many of these daughters, including Julia Jackson Christian and Varina Anne "Winnie" Davis, were born during the war and therefore had not known the South before the Civil War. This was important as to why the daughters received the amount of attention that they did. Being born during or even shortly after the war meant that they had not endured the difficulties that

¹¹ The first mention of a sponsor in the *Confederate Veteran* occurred in November 1894. As the UCV developed and expanded, the sponsors and maids of honor became more prevalent, both at Lost Cause events and in Lost Cause media outlets. *Confederate Veteran* 2 (November 1894), 332.

Confederate women experienced during the war, but more importantly, it meant that they did not harbor the disappointment in white southern men's inability to live up to their manly promises during the war.

Three main criteria determined whether or not veterans' organizations made certain daughters visible symbols of the South at their ceremonies: age, marital status, and the prestige of the young woman's father. The daughters of everyday soldiers received acclaim in local memorial efforts, serving as sponsors and maids of honor for UCV camps as well as larger regional and national reunions. But the Lost Cause especially celebrated the daughters of heroes whose names were known across the South. Winnie Davis was known as the Daughter of the Confederacy and was the most prominent Confederate daughter of all until her sudden death. Yet a famous father such as president Jefferson Davis or General Robert E. Lee did not guarantee a young woman a place on the exalted pedestal of Confederate daughterhood. The requirements that veterans had for their sponsors and other daughters were necessary to the image that they sought to create, and it was not easy to overlook the specifications. Each contributed to the image being cultivated.

Age was first element of importance to the selection of Confederate daughters for Lost Cause memorialization. Just as veterans did not use white southern women who had been adults during the war because women's experiences did not line up with the gender construction that veterans wanted, they specifically targeted women who were still young children during the war or who were born during or after the war. This allowed veterans to reinforce the ideals of white southern ladyhood for their own means and not to conflict with other gender constructs. Women including Julia Jackson Christian and Winnie Davis fit these criteria and received acclaim as Confederate daughters despite having no memory of the Confederacy. The age of the daughters who were

invited to appear at events was so important that it excluded some otherwise prominent women from positions of honor.

Marital status was the second criteria for Lost Cause daughterhood. Veterans gravitated towards single women because single women remained under the purview of and were dependent on their fathers. If a woman was married, her allegiance was split between her husband and her father, but a single woman was devoted solely to her father. In this way, the use of single women in memorial celebrations began to resemble the incestuous father-daughter relationships found in the good daughter didactic literature of the nineteenth century. Moreover, a single woman connoted virginity, an important element of featuring daughters in commemorative events. The innocence associated with virginity helped veterans claim that young women supported southern manhood because there was nothing wrong with it. The emphasis on single, virginal women excluded mothers who already had children to teach about the Lost Cause, not just the potential for children in the future.

Related to the age and marital status requirements of Confederate daughters, veterans had aesthetic expectations too. They sought out attractive young women to participate in memorial events. Part of the desire for beautiful daughters rests in how veterans advertised their events, particularly in the 1890s and after the turn of the century. Ads notifying readers of upcoming memorial events typically included photos of the sponsors and/or maids of honor. In 1900 John H. Leathers wrote to Emma Wintersmith to ask her to serve as a sponsor for the Third Brigade of the Kentucky Division for the United Confederate Veterans reunion taking place in Louisville, Kentucky, later that year. John and Emma had not met, but John wrote that he was confident in his choice of Emma as a sponsor because he had recently seen a picture of her in a newspaper. “I am preparing to say you will do,” he wrote. In a later letter, John instructed Emma on how she

should dress for the reunion—a white dress with a red ribbon or sash, as these were “Confederate colors.” The attention that John and organizers like him paid to the appearance of the young women that they asked to participate in their events shows that one of the veteran’s primary concerns when it came to the incorporation of Confederate daughters into their events was aesthetic.¹²

General Robert E. Lee’s two surviving daughters, Mary and Mildred, fit the criteria for celebrated Confederate daughterhood in every way but one. Neither woman ever married, they came from the antebellum elite, and their father was arguably the single most celebrated figure in Confederate memory. Both women participated in Lost Cause events, but their presence elicited neither the same kinds of roles, nor the kinds of fanfare and admiration, that other Confederate daughters did. Age was the single most important contributing factor to such different treatment. Mary and Mildred were born in 1835 and 1846, respectively, and experienced the war firsthand. The sisters spent the majority of the Civil War in Virginia, moving around the commonwealth with their mother in search of a residence out of reach of the armies. Mildred also attended schools in both Virginia and North Carolina. The wartime experiences of Mary and Mildred meant that they understood the implications that the war held for postbellum manhood and womanhood. Both Lee daughters participated in memorial events in the 1870s and 1880s. Mildred took an extended trip to New Orleans, Louisiana, in the spring of 1877, in which she received considerable attention from Confederate veterans in that city. This was different from the accolades that Confederate daughters received later, though. Rather than fête her at large, public memorial events, Mildred received honors from veterans in small, private gatherings. For

¹² John H. Leathers to Emma Wintersmith, April 4, 1900 and April 14, 1900, Wintersmith Family papers, Scrapbook, Filson Historical Society, Louisville, Kentucky. Emphasis in original.

instance on May 14, 1877, veterans from the Washington Artillery unit arrived at the home where Mildred was staying to present her with a pyramid of flowers topped with gold badge inscribed “To the daughter of our old Commander, Miss Mildred Lee, New Orleans, May 14, 1877.” The language was the same as later mementos given to more celebrated Confederate daughters, but the presentation style changed enough that veterans were paying respect to Mildred though not using her as a symbol.¹³

Mildred appears to have attended more dinners and dances in the 1870s and 1880s than Mary did, although both women were present at the 1890 unveiling of the statue of their father in Richmond, Virginia. Mary traveled extensively during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, both in the United States and internationally. When she did contribute to Confederate memorial causes, Mary focused her attention on initiatives led by women. For instance, she was on the board of the Home for Needy Confederate Women and was at least nominally active in other benevolent organizations headed by women. In the holdings of her personal papers at the Virginia Historical Society, Mary had several programs from veterans’ reunions and other events, but many appear to have been sent to her rather than souvenirs that she accumulated from attending the actual events. Moreover, Mary and Mildred received mixed attention from the

¹³ Robert E. Lee and his wife Mary Anna Custis Lee had seven children and four daughters: George Washington Custis, Mary Custis, William Henry Fitzhugh, Anne Carter, Eleanor Agnes, Robert Jr., and Mildred Childe. Anne died in 1862 and Agnes, as she was known, in 1873, both of typhoid fever. Agnes participated in some memorialization before her death but because the use of Confederate daughters as symbols of the Lost Cause did not flourish until the 1880s, her experience is not considered here. “Anne Carter Lee,” National Park Service, accessed 7 November 2015, <http://www.nps.gov/arho/learn/historyculture/anne-lee.htm>; “Eleanor Agnes Lee, National Park service, accessed 7 November 2015, <http://www.nps.gov/arho/learn/historyculture/eleanor-lee.htm>; Mary P. Coulling, *The Lee Girls* (Winston-Salem: J. F. Blair, 1987), 18, 88, 91, 106, 110, 179; “Presentation to General Lee’s Daughter,” *Macon (GA) Weekly Telegraph*, May 29, 1877.

press. Instead of blanket praise, which some Confederate daughters received in newspapers, the Lee daughters were chided for being “large and masculine-looking women.” Perhaps most telling about the reception of Mary and Mildred by Confederate veterans during the popular Lost Cause era of the late 1880s and the 1890s was their lack of coverage in the official magazine of the UCV, the UDC, and the United Sons of Confederate Veterans, the *Confederate Veteran*. According to the index of the forty-volume series, which was published from 1893 until 1932, Mildred Lee was not mentioned in the magazine until her death in 1905, and there is not an entry in the index for Mary Lee. The daughters of Robert E. Lee participated in Confederate memorialization, but they were not celebrated as daughters of the Lost Cause because they were too old and not attractive enough to symbolize the veterans’ masculinity.¹⁴

The next criteria for Confederate daughters was a woman’s marital status—in order to be effective in Lost Cause memorial ceremonies, the young women had to be unmarried. Much like the age of these young women, marital status mattered because it affected the image that veterans wanted to project at their events. Confederate daughters’ presence at ceremonies and parades reinforced the pinnacle of womanhood. Whereas the antebellum southern lady required marriage to a gentleman to achieve the desired status, marriage detracted from both a young woman’s purity and threatened to obscure her focus from the memory of her father and the Confederacy.

¹⁴ Mary traveled to twenty-six different countries on at least four different continents between her father’s death in 1870 and World War I. Rather than short jaunts abroad, Mary’s trips were often extended stays of up to a year in one location. In the folder marked “Sons of Confederate Veterans” was a program from the group’s annual meeting with marked “Compliments of” on top, indicating that someone sent Mary the program. “Home for Needy Confederate Women Charter, By-laws, Rules and Regulations,” Mary Custis Lee papers, Mss1 L5144a: 48, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Virginia; Coulling, *The Lee Girls*, 187; “General Lee’s Daughters,” *The Knoxville (TN) Journal*, December 8, 1890.

The virginal status of Confederate daughters was extremely important—if young women were to stand in front of crowds dressed in white and use the purity of this image to convince onlookers that the veterans were well worth supporting, the daughter's purity could not be tarnished even within the confines of marriage.

Margaret “Maggie” Davis Hayes was an example of a Confederate daughter whose status as a married woman obscured her place in Lost Cause celebrations. The eldest daughter of Confederate President Jefferson Davis, Maggie grew up in the Confederate White House, and she was still a young girl when the war ended. Maggie married J. Addison Hayes in 1876 in Memphis, Tennessee, before Confederate memory entered its celebratory phase. The marriage produced the Confederate president's only grandchildren, but it also distanced Maggie from Confederate memorialization both literally and physically. In 1885, the Hayeses moved to Colorado Springs, Colorado, in search of a more suitable climate for Addison's health, physically removing Maggie from the epicenter of the Lost Cause. And despite reproducing the next generation of Confederate sympathizers, veterans considered Maggie disqualified from a prominent place at their memorial events because of her marriage and motherhood.¹⁵

This is not to say that Maggie was completely excluded from Confederate memorialization. Like Mary and Mildred Lee, Maggie participated in memorial events but she did not receive the same kind of jubilant greetings that her sister Winnie did. For instance in 1893, Maggie joined Winnie on the long railroad mourning tour that carried her father's body from its original internment in New Orleans, Louisiana, to its final resting place in Richmond, Virginia. In 1900 Maggie attended the UCV reunion in Louisville, Kentucky, with her mother, Varina Jefferson

¹⁵ “Margaret Howell Davis Hayes,” The Papers of Jefferson Davis, accessed 4 November 2015, <https://jeffersondavis.rice.edu/MargaretDavisHayes.aspx>.

Davis, and her daughter, Varina Howell Davis Hayes. In anticipation of the reunion, *The Lost Cause: A Confederate War Record*, a magazine published by the Albert Sidney Johnston chapter of the Kentucky Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, announced that Varina Howell Davis Hayes would serve as the Sponsor of the South for the reunion. Sponsor of the South was the highest honor that could be bestowed upon a young woman at a memorial event.

The article mentioned Maggie too—the author noted that her mother would accompany the Sponsor of the South. The following month’s issue of *The Lost Cause*, published after the reunion, noted Maggie as one of the “Distinguished Women” present in Louisville. Also noted on this list with Maggie were her mother, Virginia Clay-Clopton, and LaSalle Corbell Pickett, all of who were the wives of Confederate statesmen and veterans. Maggie was lumped in with women who were at least twelve years older than her rather than being included with other Confederate daughters. Unless veterans opposed her physical removal from the South, the only explanation for why Maggie was not treated as a Confederate daughter as her sister was because she had married and had started a family. Instead of honoring the actual daughter of Jefferson Davis with a position like Sponsor of the South, the veterans selected the president’s granddaughter because she fulfilled the image of a chaste young girl. This indicates that it was not necessarily the daughters that veterans were after, but young white women who could achieve the virginal image that they hoped to project.¹⁶

Along with specific age and marital status requirements, the young women that veterans asked to participate in memorial ceremonies had to be directly related to a Confederate veteran

¹⁶ “Jefferson Davis: Removal of His Remains to Richmond,” *Daily Inter Ocean* (Chicago, Illinois), May 20, 1893; “Sponsor of the South,” *The Lost Cause: A Confederate War Record*, 3 (May 1900), 178, Filson Historical Society, Louisville, Kentucky; “Distinguished Women” *The Lost Cause: A Confederate War Record* 3 (June 1900), 209, Filson Historical Society, Louisville, Kentucky.

or statesman. Of course, such women were not hard to find in the postwar South, but the requirement was necessary given the way that veterans intended to use these daughters. Periodically, veterans invited Confederate daughters to their ceremonies to act as stand-ins for their famous, deceased fathers. Veterans and other southerners treated daughters as bridges between their heroic fathers and their father's admirers at memorial events. This led to many young women participating in events that honored fathers who passed away when they were infants. Julia Jackson Christian was an example of this; Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson died when Julia was approximately five and a half months old. Yet as the 1875 ceremony in Richmond, Virginia, described at the beginning of this chapter showed, southerners only cared that the young woman presented on stage had their hero's blood coursing through her veins. This happened with other Confederate daughters as well. One of the Confederate daughters who experienced this first hand was of Annie Dowling.¹⁷

Annie Dowling was the only daughter of Richard W. "Dick" Dowling and Elizabeth Odum Dowling. Dick was an Irish immigrant who came to the United States in the mid-1840s and migrated to Houston, Texas, in 1855. He rose to fame as a Confederate lieutenant during the Civil War when he led his artillery unit, the Davis Guards, to an improbable victory over a much larger Union naval force at the battle of Sabine Pass on the border between Texas and Louisiana. The battle was the most important Confederate victory in Texas during the war, and the Confederate government commissioned medals of honor to commemorate the victory—the only such medals that the Confederacy ever issued. While the victory was important to the entire South, Dick's fame was particularly notable in the Lone Star state, where Texans celebrated him for saving them from the Union invasion. After the war, the Dowlings continued to reside in

¹⁷ Jackson, *Julia Jackson Christian*, 1, 8.

Houston where Dick opened a series of saloons, and Elizabeth gave birth to two children: a son, Felize Sabine, born in 1865, and a daughter, Annie, born in 1867. Within weeks of Annie's birth, the yellow fever epidemic that plagued Houston throughout the summer and fall of 1867 claimed Dick as one of its many victims.

An infant when her father died, Annie had no memories of him. That did not stop Houston's Confederate community from funding an elaborate medal to honor Annie for her father's accomplishments. Nor did it deter Confederate memorialists from including her in ceremonies that honored Dick. In fact, whether or not Annie knew her father did not matter to the admirers who were focused on commemorating the Lost Cause and their late hero. What mattered to Confederate veterans and Lost Cause supporters was that Annie could serve as a stand-in for her late father, thereby allowing them the opportunity to commemorate Dick Dowling without having to honor an empty vessel.¹⁸

On March 5, 1889, the Texas House of Representatives suspended its afternoon proceedings so that the legislators could attend a medal presentation in the capitol. Passed by a special resolution the previous week, the ceremony paid tribute to the late Dick Dowling by bestowing on his daughter a gold and diamond medal. As the guest of honor, twenty-one-year-old Annie Dowling was escorted to the ceremony by her stepfather and sat on the stage with the Speaker of the Texas House, her mother, and her stepfather, a member of her father's Confederate military unit, and former Texas Governor Francis R. Lubbock. The relatively short

¹⁸ I am grateful to Tim Collins, the Director the Centre for Landscape Studies at the National University of Ireland, Galway, for his assistance with the Dowling family genealogy. Tim Collins and Anne Caraway Ivins, *Dick Dowling: Galway's Hero of Confederate Texas* (County Clare: Old Forge Books, 2013); James R. Ward, "Dowling, Richard William," Handbook of Texas online, Texas State Historical Association, accessed 4 April 2012 <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fdo28>.

ceremony began with an introductory speech given by Judge William P. Hamblen, the state representative from Harris County. Hamblen spoke about the heroism displayed by Dick and his troops some twenty-six years prior at Sabine Pass, a battle in which Dick commanded fewer than fifty Confederate soldiers to victory over a much larger Union naval force. When he finished, Lubbock approached the podium on behalf of Annie to thank the legislature for their time and to thank the citizens of Houston for financing the medal. Lubbock also extolled the heroism and bravery exhibited by Dick and his men at Sabine Pass, and the ceremony ended as he escorted Annie off of the stage. The *Houston Daily Post* reported “The old Confederates in the audience broke out into another round of applause for the daughter of their old comrade which was kept up till she had left the hall.” In this Confederate memorial ceremony in the Texas state capitol, Annie received a medal engraved with the words “To the Daughter of our Hero” that honored the father who passed away when she was an infant.¹⁹

What makes this ceremony particularly indicative of the way that Confederate veterans used daughters was the way that Annie was so blatantly used as a vessel for the veneration of her father. The medal given to Annie was never meant for her; the “citizens of Houston” who provided the funds for the medal intended for the honor to be bestowed upon Dick Dowling himself. Annie was simply the next best alternative. As such, the rhetorical focus of the ceremony was firmly on Dick and not on Annie. It was Hamblen who made explicit the symbolic

¹⁹ For more on the battle of Sabine Pass, see Edward T. Cotham, *Sabine Pass: The Confederacy's Thermopylae* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004); “The Peerless Brave, An Exploit which the annals of Warfare Cannot Duplicate, The Chivalrous Chief of the Confederacy Tells How Dick Dowling and a Handful of Irishmen Defeated 10,000 Federalists at Sabine Pass,” *Houston Post*, March 6, 1889. Texas, *Journal of the House of Representatives being the Regular Session, Twenty-first Legislature, begun and Held at the City of Austin, January 8, 1889*. (Austin: Smith, Hucks & Jones, 1889), 553, 613-15.

nature of the medal ceremony when he said to Annie, “Whilst I place this symbol of our love for him within your keeping, he beckons you and us where diadems await the brave.” In this statement, Hamblen acknowledged not only that the medal was a symbol of the crowd’s adoration for her father, but also by using the phrase “your keeping” he intimated that the medal was not for Annie but for her to possess only until she could give it to Dick in the next life. Even more than what Lubbock and Hamblen had to say about Annie as a symbol was how she behaved at the event. Annie was escorted on and off of the stage and never once spoke to the audience. Lubbock accepted the medal on her behalf, and nowhere in his remarks did he convey her gratitude to her father’s admirers or any other message from her. Instead, he recounted Dick’s victory at Sabine Pass and said that Annie of all people understood the importance of her father’s achievement on the battlefield. Annie Dowling executed perfectly the role of a bridge between her deceased father and his legion of admirers.²⁰

Winnie Davis was the quintessential Confederate daughter. Born in 1864 in the Confederate White House, she was the perfect age to engage in the reification of gender roles that helped veterans feel good about their postwar masculinity. Despite a brief engagement to New York lawyer Alfred C. “Fred” Wilkinson, Winnie never married. After her death in 1898, one newspaper reported that even though no public reason was given for the end of Winnie’s engagement to Fred, “it is well known that it was for the purpose of maintaining her father’s name.” In the minds of zealous former Confederates, Winnie’s singleness allowed her to focus her devotions to the memory of her father and the Confederacy. And once Jefferson Davis regained his favorable standing with former Confederates, Winnie’s connection to a notable Confederate figure as the daughter of the only president of the Confederacy was practically

²⁰ Texas, *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 614.

unmatched. Confederate general-turned-politician John B. Gordon gave her the moniker “Daughter of the Confederacy” in 1886, and the title remained hers even after her death in 1898.²¹ A debate took place across the South as to whether the title should be passed to another Confederate daughter or not, and if so, which white southern woman should receive the honor. Candidates included Winnie’s sister Maggie; Lucy Lee Hill, the daughter of Lieutenant General A. P. Hill; and later a young Kentuckian named Laura Galt, who gained notoriety after she refused to sing “Marching Through Georgia” in school.

Ultimately the idea that the title “daughter of the Confederacy” could be given to a woman other than Winnie was rejected by some of the most prominent Lost Cause figureheads. John B. Gordon himself stated that the status was connected to Winnie’s birth in the Confederate White House as the daughter of the only president of the Confederacy. “To designate any one else as the ‘Daughter of the Confederacy’ would not only be inappropriate and meaningless,” Gordon reasoned, “but would deprive the title of all its value.” Although the *Confederate Veteran* announced their support for naming Maggie Davis Hayes as the new Daughter of the Confederacy and Hill essentially gave herself the title, several powerful UCV camps, including the Robert E. Lee Camp no. 1, located in Richmond, Virginia, and many prominent UDC chapters released statements declaring that no one else besides Winnie would be considered the Daughter of the Confederacy.²²

²¹ “Winnie Davis’ Suffering Over: Death Claims the Daughter of the Late President of the Southern Confederacy,” *San Francisco Call*, September 19, 1898.

²² “Varina Anne Davis,” The Papers of Jefferson Davis, accessed November 4, 2015, <http://jeffersondavis.rice.edu/VarinaAnneDavis.aspx>; “Winnie Davis Dead,” *Minneapolis Journal*, September 19, 1898; Carol Reardon, “William T. Sherman in Postwar Georgia’s Collective Memory, 1864-1914” in *Wars within a War: Controversy and Conflict over the American Civil War* ed. by Joan Waugh and Gary W. Gallagher (Chapel

Winnie's role in veteran-led Confederate memorialization followed the predictable script as befitted the prototypical Confederate daughter. She attended numerous official reunions, monument unveilings, and parades, and veterans used the fact that she would be in present at an event to increase attendance and to boost financial support. She also participated in events that were not explicitly connected to Confederate memory but were heavily supported by members of the Lost Cause community. For instance, in 1892 Winnie acted as the Queen of Comus during Mardi Gras in New Orleans, Louisiana, an honor bestowed onto her by the Confederate community of the city that financed the extensive regalia that Winnie wore as part of her costume. Throngs of admirers greeted Winnie at every memorial event she attended, and she elected to play the role of the southern lady that onlookers expected. What made Winnie such a popular and effective Confederate daughter, however, was not just that she fit the veteran's ideal but that she also played her role well. She epitomized the southern lady ideal, she was described as an attractive woman with fine features, and she politely participated in as many Lost Cause events as her schedule allowed. For example, Winnie was the focus of many events at the 1895 Confederate reunion in Houston, Texas. Her mother wrote to a family friend after the reunion and stated that Winnie spent so much time shaking the hands of every veteran that wanted to greet her that Winnie's hands were swollen and sore.²³

Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 239; "Miss Lucy Lee Hill. Now Called the Daughter of the Confederacy," *Birmingham (AL) Age Herald*, September 29, 1898; Karen L. Cox, *Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003), 118–19; "A Vigorous Protest Raised; Daughter of the Confederacy," *Charlotte (NC) Daily Observer*, October 1, 1898. "Daughter of the South," *Confederate Veteran* 6 (October 1898), 465.

²³ Catherine Clinton, "Debutante Rituals in Mardi Gras New Orleans," in *Manners and Southern History*, ed. by Ted Ownby (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2007), 81; "Winnie Davis Dead," *Baltimore Sun*, September

Winnie achieved nothing short of celebrity status as the Daughter of the Confederacy. However, her heart did not lie in the South. She spent many of her formative years outside of the United States, living in Canada as a young child and attending an all-girls boarding school in Karlsruhe, Germany, for five years. As an adult she preferred spending her time on the New England coast over living at her family's home on the Mississippi Gulf Coast, and after her father's death in 1889, Winnie and her mother moved to New York City. Because she never failed to perform her duty as the Daughter of the Confederacy and because she executed it so well, many southerners looked past the fact that Winnie had been engaged to the grandson of a northern abolitionist, wanted to retire to Bar Harbor, Maine, and made her own living by writing novels. Despite her desire to live, work, and socialize far outside of Confederate memory circles, Winnie continued to participate in Confederate celebrations until just before her untimely death at the end of the nineteenth century.²⁴

The reaction of white Americans to the death of the Daughter of the Confederacy provides a window into just how important Winnie had become as a symbol of the Lost Cause. Thirty-three year old Winnie died on September 18, 1898, in Narragansett, Rhode Island, of malarial gastritis. News of her death spread quickly across the country, and condolences poured in to both Lost Cause publications and mainstream newspapers alike. The descriptions of Winnie

19, 1898; Cita Cook, "Women's Role in the Transformation of Winnie Davis into the Daughter of the Confederacy," in *Searching for Their Places: Women in the South Across Four Centuries*, ed. by Thomas H. Appleton and Angela Boswell (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 2003), 144-47.

²⁴ "Varina Anne Davis (1864–1898)," The Papers of Jefferson Davis, accessed December 3, 2015, <https://jeffersondavis.rice.edu/VarinaAnneDavis.aspx>; Heath Yardage Lee, *Winnie Davis: Daughter of the Lost Cause* (Lincoln: Potomac Books, 2014), 46, 149–51, 171; *The Papers of Jefferson Davis* vol. 14 1880–1889, ed. by Lynda Laswell Crist and Suzanne Scott Gibbs, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2015) 546.

in these articles was formulaic and focused primarily on her connection to her father and to the Lost Cause. Moreover, they often focused on the grief that southerners felt about her passing rather than celebrating Winnie's life. Such language should not be surprising when one considers that for the American public, Winnie was more of a symbol of the Lost Cause than a person. She embodied both the values of the Old South that the veterans fought for, and the potential for what the South could become after the war. Southerners latched on to Winnie, reading into her personal history what they wanted and ignoring the facts that did not fit the Lost Cause narrative of her life that they chose to believe. At no other time in her life was this more evident than in the articles about and tributes to Winnie after her death.²⁵

The *Confederate Veteran* devoted the first two pages of the September 1898 issue to the news of Winnie's death, with portraits of her and her mother on the front page. The announcement of her death was divided between proclamations from the leaders of the two most prominent patriotic societies—the UCV and the UDC—and a tribute from a columnist at the *Louisville Times*. In UCV Commander-in-Chief John B. Gordon's statement, which appeared first, he noted that no other woman had received such adulation from the former Confederates, and that the veteran's grief would be "as profound and poignant as the love for her while living was universal and sincere." UDC President Kate Cabell Currie's announcement began, "The love and devotion bestowed upon her by the entire Southland was but a just tribute to her glorious womanhood." While expressing sorrow for Winnie's passing, these statements actually focus on the feelings of white southerners, most of whom did not know Winnie personally, rather than acknowledging the grief of her own family. Both leaders expressed their condolences to her

²⁵ "Varina Anne Davis (1864–1898)," The Papers of Jefferson Davis, accessed December 3, 2015, <https://jeffersondavis.rice.edu/VarinaAnneDavis.aspx>.

mother, who by this time was going by Varina Jefferson Davis, but this came after statements about how Winnie's death would affect the general populace. Both statements called upon the members of their organizations to express their condolences in an appropriate manner, with Kate suggesting that the Daughters wear a mourning badge for thirty days. After the initial article, the *Veteran* ran an announcement for a monument dedicated to Winnie, and called for monetary contributions to make the statue a reality. In the months following Winnie's death, individual chapters of the UDC and camps of the UCV and USCV wrote to the magazine to express declarations of condolence and demonstrate what they were doing to memorialize the Daughter of the Confederacy.²⁶

Newspapers reporting on Winnie's death overwhelmingly printed a stock article that provided an overview of the illness that led to her death and gave some basic information about her life. This article was reprinted across the United States, but some newspapers ran more in-depth pieces about Winnie's life that provided readers with anecdotes about her life in addition to the facts surrounding her demise. The week after her death, the *St. Louis Republic* printed a nearly full-page article under the headline "The Confederacy's Daughter: Winnie Davis Came to Her People in Their Darkest Hour — Stories of Her Life." The article outlined the basic trajectory of Winnie's life, focusing on her relationship with her father and the details that connected her to the Lost Cause. The author of the article spent two columns detailing Winnie's failed engagement to Wilkinson in order to demonstrate that she did not marry a northerner in order to keep and honor her father's name. The specific facts of her life, however, were less important to the article than focusing on her connection to her father, his life, and the Lost Cause.

²⁶ A tribute from the Commander of the United Sons of Confederate Veterans, Robert A. Smyth, was printed later in the same issue. "United Daughters of the Confederacy," *Confederate Veteran* 6 (September 1898) 401-02; "United Sons of Confederate Veterans, Special Department," *Confederate Veteran* 6 (September 1898), 441.

In describing Winnie's birth, the author accurately describes her mother as Jefferson's second wife, but mistakenly identifies her as Annie Haskell, not Varina Howell Davis. This three paragraph section of the article goes into more detail about Jefferson's marriage to his first wife, the daughter of President Zachary Taylor, than anything about Winnie. Other articles about Winnie's death made similar mistakes and, given how popular a public figure she was by the end of her life, the only explanation for such a publication error is that the details mattered less than her symbolic connection to the Lost Cause.²⁷

Winnie's death made headlines around the United States, and her funeral in Richmond, Virginia, was also a newsworthy event. The Columbus, Ohio, *Enquirer-Sun* described her funeral as "one of a character given a great military hero, more than that of a woman." Indeed, Winnie's funeral was a Lost Cause celebration that exemplified the status of Civil War memorialization at the turn of the twentieth century. The funeral contained all of the trappings of a send-off fit for a general or head of state, not necessarily the head of state's daughter. As often occurred when public officials passed away in locations far from their final resting place, Winnie's body was transferred from Narragansett, Rhode Island, to Richmond, Virginia, by a well-publicized funeral train. The local Narragansett chapter of the Union army's patriotic organization, the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR), offered to escort Winnie's body to the train station. While Union and Confederate soldiers had already begun holding so-called Blue and Gray reunions, a GAR escort for the body of the daughter of the president of the Confederacy suggests two things. First, this gesture demonstrates that some relationships between white northerners and white southerners

²⁷ "The Confederacy's Daughter: Winnie Davis Came to Her People in Their Darkest Hour — Stories of Her Life," *St. Louis (MO) Republic*, September 25, 1898.

had been mended and second, that Winnie's notoriety as the Daughter of the Confederacy transcended regional boundaries.²⁸

If the funeral procession was symbolic, so too was the location of the service and the burial site. The funeral ceremony took place at St. Paul's Episcopal Church, which had been the church of Jefferson Davis and General Robert E. Lee during the Civil War. Reverends Drs. Harlley Carmichael and Moses D. Hoge presided over the ceremony, the latter having been a central figure in the spiritual life of the Confederacy and later the Lost Cause, speaking at the unveiling of the monument to Confederate General Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson and writing tracts in defense of the South for decades after the end of the war. Confederate memorial associations and other civic clubs participated in the procession from St. Paul's to Hollywood Cemetery, where Winnie was to be buried next to her father. Winnie's internment at Hollywood was symbolic as well. The premiere Confederate cemetery in the state, indeed, the former Confederacy, Hollywood was the final resting place of notable soldiers and politicians including Jefferson Davis and J. E. B. Stuart. Burying Winnie, who was a mere infant when the Civil War

²⁸ "Winnie Davis Laid to Rest; Daughter of the Confederacy Buried by the Side of her Illustrious Father," *Enquirer-Sun* (Columbus, Ohio), September 24, 1898; "Blue and Gray; G. A. R. Will Escort the Remains of Miss 'Winnie' Davis," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, September 23, 1898. Historians disagree over the extent to which postwar reconciliation occurred. See Nina Silber, *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865–1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993); John R. Neff, *Honoring the Civil War Dead: Commemoration and the Problem of Reconciliation* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2005); and Carole Emberton, *Beyond Redemption: Race, Violence, and the American South after the Civil War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013).

ended, in the most hallowed cemetery in the former Confederacy, elevated her to the status of the soldiers and statesmen buried there.²⁹

The symbolic nature of Winnie Davis to the Confederate Lost Cause was highlighted most by the reaction to her death. Public expressions of sorrow and condolence more often emphasized what she meant to former Confederates and her service to the Lost Cause over the actual (and accurate) details of her life. As was common with the portrayal of all daughters in Confederate memorial events, news articles announcing Winnie's death primarily placed her the context of her father and focused on his life and achievements over those of the woman purportedly being honored. The use of Winnie as a symbol of Confederate memory was not lost on some Americans. The Lexington, Kentucky, *Morning Herald* ran an article that addressed why Winnie had been so important to the movement and what her death meant to white southerners. The article claimed that Winnie had been thrust into the public eye but that she had not relished it in; she remained a modest woman who was "grateful for the affection of her country, bequeathed to her by her father." This made her worthy of the veteran's praise, but the article also acknowledged that Winnie's revered status atop the pedestal of the Lost Cause was "representative of an honored idea." That idea, according to the author, was the truth behind the Confederacy, which could not be suppressed even if the Confederacy ceased to exist as a nation. And although the article claimed that what was left of the Confederacy died along with Winnie, the "Truth" that drove white southerners to war would live on beyond her death.³⁰

²⁹ "Winnie Davis Laid to Rest; Daughter of the Confederacy Buried by the Side of her Illustrious Father," *Enquirer-Sun* (Columbus, Ohio), September 24, 1898.

³⁰ The author left the meaning of the cited quotation ambiguous, failing to clarify whether the country that Jefferson bequeathed to his daughter was the United States or the former Confederacy. This was likely purposeful, given the postwar Confederate sympathies in Kentucky and the push for reconciliation, especially in the wake of the

The use of Confederate daughters in Lost Cause ceremonies was a deliberate choice made by veterans to support the masculinity that such events celebrated. Still fearful that the Confederacy's loss had left white southern veterans emasculated, the leaders of Confederate memorialization selected young white southern women to feature in their events for both gender and generational reasons. As was discussed in the previous chapter, the construction of white southern masculinity in the last quarter of the nineteenth century caused the sons of Confederate veterans not to be especially interested in celebrating the Lost Cause because participating in memorialization might obscure their own masculinity. Rather than a mere alternative to Confederate sons, young white southern daughters provided veterans with an opportunity to reify gender ideals that would fortify their own masculinity. Generationally speaking, young white women were also more desirable to veterans than the women who had experienced the war first hand. Despite the considerable efforts by such women during the war and after to care for the soldiers, living and deceased, Confederate women reminded veterans of their gender crisis.

Rather than be burdened with the constant evocation of their failed manhood by allowing Confederate women to participate in their memorial events, veterans focused on the next generation. Daughters who were born during or after the war suited veterans better because they learned traditional gender roles, and ex-Confederates used the aspiring ladyhood of these young women to define their masculinity. Specific criteria for the daughters further emphasized what veterans wanted out of their symbolic use of daughters. Inviting Confederate daughters to participate in memorial events helped veterans to feel secure in their masculinity and ostensibly reinforced ideas about how white southern women were supposed to behave in public. Many

Spanish-American War. For postwar Kentucky, see Anne Elizabeth Marshall, *Creating Confederate Kentucky: The Lost Cause and Civil War Memory in a Border State* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010). "A Last Tribute," *Morning Herald* (Lexington, Kentucky), September 30, 1898.

white southern women saw the vaulted status that daughters received from veterans and chose to use the identity to advance public service on their own terms.

CHAPTER THREE

At the 1890 meeting of the Confederate Survivors' Association in Augusta, Georgia, Charles Colcock Jones addressed the audience on a topic of great concern: veterans were dying. Their deaths were not due to a new or specific disease or even a war-related cause but rather old age. Jones lamented not only the passing of so many veterans, but also what he considered to be the poor status of Confederate memory. He worried that the "absurd guise" of the New South was shifting the focus of too many young southerners away from the memory of their fathers' heroic fight. Jones's solution to this problem was to permit southern sons to join the Confederate Survivors' Association as junior members "so that when we pass into the realm of shadows there may be those...who will regard with pride and cherish with devotion the recollections which we deem sacred."¹ "To our descendants do we naturally and confidently look for the protection of our posthumous reputations," he said. Jones believed that the veterans' sons were the rightful heirs to the Lost Cause, and that they could protect the memory of the war from fading into oblivion.

Jones, like many Confederate veterans, wanted southern sons to carry the torch of the Lost Cause into the twentieth century. The most prolific Confederate memorial organization of the late nineteenth century, however, was largely comprised of daughters, not sons. Confederate veterans accepted that daughters had a substantial role to play in memorialization and included attractive young women in positions of prominence during public events. But many veterans never stopped hoping that their sons would take over the mantle of Confederate memorialization. Unfortunately

¹ Charles C. Jones, "Sons of Confederate Veterans: Prefatory Note. The Address," in *Southern Historical Society Papers* 18 (January–December 1890): 92-94, 96, 97.

for the veterans, however, their sons did not jump at the opportunity to take over the tradition in the same way that the women of the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) did. The reasons behind this are complex and intertwined, and thoroughly gendered. The ideology of sonhood, which described the relationship of a son to his family and how it affected his public behavior, did not compel the generation of Confederate sons to participate in Lost Cause memorialization. Neither did the construction of manhood, which underwent a significant transformation in the years following Confederate defeat. In the South, the turn from reserved, well thought out manhood to violent, martial masculinity occurred earlier than it did in the rest of the United States. The turn to masculinity emphasized proving one's manliness through physical power. The racial and economic conditions of the postwar South caused men to feel the need to prove their masculinity, and memorialization threatened to undermine it. Instead of joining the United Sons of Confederate Veterans (USCV), young men signed up for military service in the Spanish-American War.

This chapter examines why the sons of Confederate veterans did not enthusiastically celebrate the Lost Cause. It begins with an examination of sonhood, which emphasized family dedication but also encouraged sons to be men independent of their parents. The transition from manhood to masculinity as the ideal of male behavior in the wake of the Civil War caused men to need to prove their masculine ability through physical and often violent activities. The rise of martial masculinity caused Confederate veterans to harken back to their battlefield experiences as the pinnacle of their manliness. For the sons of Confederate veterans, though, it meant relying less on the accomplishments of their fathers and more on their own demonstrations of physical prowess. This contributed to the rise of racial violence in the 1880s and 1890s. It also caused the generation of southern sons to question the efficacy of memorializing the Lost Cause. Walter

Hines Page's semi-autobiographical novel *The Southerner* demonstrates some of the concerns that southern sons had with celebrating Confederate memory. Finally, some sons did commemorate the Lost Cause. Yet the promotional material for the USCV shows that the group addressed a number of the concerns about the Lost Cause that their contemporaries held. Ultimately, many southern sons privileged their need to assert their martial masculinity over their fathers' desire for their sons to celebrate the Confederacy.

The generation of men and women who participated in Confederate memory as sons and daughters in the 1890s and early twentieth century were largely born after 1850. This meant that they experienced the Civil War as children, or that their knowledge of the war came from their family's experience during Reconstruction. In many ways this made the experience of Reconstruction the most important factor in whether or not the next generation of southerners felt compelled to participate in the Lost Cause. Caroline E. Janney argues that the Daughters' tenacious defense of the Confederacy was really about preserving an ideal of womanhood that they were not able to achieve due to the war and its aftermath—Reconstruction irreversibly changed the southern economy to the point that it was next to impossible for women to achieve the antebellum ideal of ladyhood. If the influence of Reconstruction was so important for daughters' role in the Lost Cause, then logically it should also explain sons' participation (or lack thereof) in the Lost Cause.²

² Historians have demonstrated the importance of postwar attitudes and Reconstruction experiences on Confederate memorialization. Jason Phillips argues that diehard Confederates convinced themselves during the war that they could not be conquered. That attitude persisted after the war when veterans admitted defeat but retained their convictions. Instead, Confederate veterans believed that the war was a test from God and that He would ultimately provide southerners with redemption. Phillips argues that the Lost Cause was an extension of this postwar belief. Similarly, Anne Sarah Rubin finds that Confederates sought southern distinctiveness both during and after the

Whereas daughters viewed the circumstances of Reconstruction as preventing them from attaining the lifestyle that they expected to inherit, sons grew up in a tumultuous world marked by violent assertions of masculinity and dramatically changing socioeconomic circumstances. In particular, men of all ages pursued a swift and complete subjugation of freed people. Daughters could not achieve the pinnacle of womanhood, the southern lady, but they could still attain other womanly markers. White men viewed African American political and social autonomy as a threat that undermined their masculinity.³ The political atmosphere of Reconstruction further emasculated some men of the Confederate generation, and the efforts of veterans to reassert their manhood after defeat caused the next generation to question how a man realized his masculine potential. The economic and political turmoil that the sons of veterans witnessed during Reconstruction influenced their post-Reconstruction lives, making many sons' enthusiastic supporters of the New South and less supportive of Confederate memory.⁴

war. The Confederate experience was entirely bound up in the war, and Rubin argues that the militarism of that experience continued into the postwar period. According to Rubin, by 1868 southerners had accomplished their goal of separateness while still accepting defeat. Jason Phillips, *Diehard Rebels: The Confederate Culture of Invincibility* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2007), 182; Anne Sarah Rubin, *A Shattered Nation: The Rise and Fall of the Confederacy, 1861–1868* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), viii–ix, 238. Caroline E. Janney, *Remembering the Civil War: Reconstruction and the Limits of Reconciliation* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 243–44.

³ The ideal of the southern lady was directly tied to slavery and the plantation household. With the abolition of slavery in 1865, elite white southern women continued to emulate the manners of the southern lady but they could not achieve the identity. Anne Firor Scott, *The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics, 1830-1930*, 25th Anniversary Edition, (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1995), 106.

⁴ For more on the impact of Reconstruction on the South, see Roger L. Ransom and Richard Sutch, *One Kind of Freedom: The economic consequences of emancipation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1977); Steven

Even before the formal end of Reconstruction, many southerners embarked on a violent campaign against freed people and Republican state governments. Seeking to regain power over state governments from federally mandated military occupation, southerners referred to this movement as their Redemption. As Carole Emberton argues, the use of violence was intimately entangled in the “postwar ‘obsession with manhood.’” Men used violence to assert their manhood and their citizenship. Although Redeemers sought to reinstate antebellum power dynamics as much as possible, they also wanted the South to prosper once again.⁵ To this end southerners, including Confederate veterans, supported industrialization as a means of progress. Fueled by northern and foreign capital, industrialization caused a spark of economic revitalization in the South. The expansion of railroads throughout the region and the flight of rural southerners to growing towns and cities helped southerners enter into the business world in greater numbers than before the war. While not all members of the Confederate generation believed that industrializing and becoming more like their northern “foes” was the best way to improve their situation, many of their sons embraced the tenets of the New South creed as the pathway to economic success. Although for many young men the shift from farm to city was a

Hahn, *The Roots of Southern Populism: Yeoman Farmers and the Transformation of Georgia's Upcountry, 1850-1890* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877* (New York: Harper & Row, 1989), and Laura F. Edwards, *Gendered Strife and Confusion: The Political Culture of Reconstruction* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997).

⁵ Emberton quotes Richard Yarborough, “Race, Violence, and Manhood: The Masculine Ideal in Frederick Douglass's ‘The Heroic Slave,’” in *Haunted Bodies: Gender and Southern Texts*, ed. Anne Goodwyn Jones and Susan V. Donaldson (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1997), 161 in Carole Emberton, *Beyond Redemption: Race, Violence, and the American South After the Civil War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 8; C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1966), 19.

lateral, rather than vertical, change in their lifestyle, they saw opportunities in towns and cities and in business that they believed would give them a better chance to prosper in the turbulent economy of the late nineteenth century. The Confederate generation noticed how quickly many young men had embraced the ideas of the New South, and their sons' enthusiasm for this new way of life concerned some of them. The conscious effort made by most southerners not to refight the war but still retain southern distinctiveness resulted in Confederate sons who had little interest in the ways of the Old South.⁶

Across the South, men of the Confederate generation lamented the fact that their sons were not interested in the defining experience of their lives—the Civil War. As Charles Colcock Jones stated in his “Sons of Confederate Veterans” speech to the Confederate Survivors’ Association, he believed that the New South’s focus on “utilitarianism,” “speculation and expediency,” and the “consolidation of wealth and centralization of government” caused southerners to ignore the heroic deeds of the veterans and everything that the Confederacy stood for. South Carolinian and Confederate General Wade Hampton wrote that he “deplore[d] the dearth of sentiment in the

⁶ Peter S. Carmichael argues that youngest generation of veterans from Virginia, whom he calls the last generation, supported diversifying the region’s economic base in the 1850s, and that they viewed the end of the war and the abolition of slavery as an opportunity to implement the changes that they had advocated for before the war began. This group of veterans was more successful in enacting their plans for economic growth after the war because they moved from the political periphery to the center. Carmichael, *The Last Generation: Young Virginians in Peace, War, and Reunion* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 221-22. Despite the rapid urbanization of the South after the Civil War, the region remained decidedly rural when compared to the North. New Orleans, the South’s largest city, registered fifteenth on the list of largest cities in the United States in 1910, and, as Edward L. Ayers notes, southern towns and cities functioned as trading centers rather than manufacturing hubs. Ayers, *The Promise of the New South: Life After Reconstruction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 27, 55-56, 64.

South, especially among the young men,” for the Lost Cause.⁷ Such statements by members of the Confederate generation suggest that sons were clearly not as interested in memorializing the Confederacy as their fathers had hoped. Confederate sons grew up hearing the stories of their father’s and grandfather’s battlefield heroics, but they had also witnessed the consequences that the Confederacy’s defeat wrought on both the region and its men, and it impacted their interest in the Lost Cause.⁸

The politics and economics of Reconstruction made a lasting impression on the white southern men born after 1850, but the sons’ generation’s lack of interest in the Lost Cause was also a response to the construction of their roles as sons and as men in the post–Civil War South. These two identities, which were in many ways intertwined, provided the foundation upon which men went out into the world. Sonhood and manhood were learned identities that parents taught their children at early ages. As discussed in the introduction, the ideology of daughterhood is a set of cultural expectations about a woman’s position in the family hierarchy and what that position does or should entail for her identity, behavior, and role in society. The ideology of sonhood worked in a similar way, but because of the construction of manhood, sonhood had very different implications. Although a complete evaluation of the ideology of sonhood is beyond the scope of this project, examining the relationship of a son to his family, and specifically his father, is important to understanding why an organization such as the USCV did not prosper like the much more popular UDC did. But a man’s identity as a son was not the only hurdle preventing members of this generation from joining an association like the USCV. The Confederacy’s defeat caused many men, both of the veterans’ and their sons’ generation, to question whether their

⁷ Wade Hampton to Thomas L. Rosser, April 15, 1895, quoted in Ayers, *The Promise of the New South*, 27.

⁸ Jones, “Sons of Confederate Veterans,” in *Southern Historical Society Papers*, 96.

manhood remained intact. In addition to questioning the validity of their manhood, men had to deal with changes in the construction of white manhood. The transition from manhood to masculinity, and the emphasis on martial masculinity, caused sons to question whether or not they could celebrate the manliness of the veterans and retain their own manly status. The combined factors of sonhood and manhood made sons question whether memorializing the Lost Cause was the right choice for their masculinity.

A third element of identity politics contributed to sons' rejection of the Lost Cause: national identity. Historians have debated the construction of Confederate nationalism for many years. Yet as completely as Confederate nationalism did or did not develop, the end of the war marked the end of the Confederate national identity. While some veterans and other members of the Confederate generation might have resisted identifying once more as American, Anne Sarah Rubin argues that most southerners sought a distinctive American regional identity rather than continuing to hold on to a Confederate identity. When veterans began commemorating the Lost Cause in the 1880s and 1890s, they did not renounce their American identity. As David M. Potter points out, nationalism is a form of group loyalty that is too often interpreted as absolute because of its institutionalization. Potter argues that a plurality of loyalties exists that makes individuals able to inhabit otherwise opposite identities, such as nationalism and sectionalism. The generation of Confederate sons had no concept of what it meant to be part of the Confederate nation. The construction of masculinity after the war connected manhood to citizenship. Confederate sons learned how to be manly citizens of the United States, and memorializing the

Confederacy was a foreign concept to them. Celebrating the Lost Cause not only threatened the manhood of Confederate sons, but their national identity as well.⁹

Part of the reason why sons did not flock to the Lost Cause in the same way that daughters did was because of the ideal family roles foisted upon girls and boys at early ages. Although parents generally raised toddlers without significant gender-based differentiation, as children grew older their upbringings were increasingly shaped by gender expectations. At the very least, parents emphasized different qualities in their sons and daughters, stressing independence and virility in boys and restraint and abstinence in girls.¹⁰ Since the emphasis on childhood as a special, separate stage of life wherein children should be catered to did not take hold until the very end of the nineteenth century, Confederate veterans largely raised their sons and daughters under the assumption that they were being trained for adulthood.¹¹ For girls and young women, this often meant learning how to execute household tasks, including both chores and management. Elite young women also received an education that ranged from the ornamental to

⁹ Confederate nationalism has been a topic of interest for historians for decades. Some titles on the subject include Paul D. Escott, *After Secession: Jefferson Davis and the Failure of Confederate Nationalism* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978), Drew Gilpin Faust, *The Creation of Confederate Nationalism: Ideology and Identity in the Civil War South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1988), George Rable, *Civil Wars: Women and the Crisis of Southern Nationalism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), and Rubin, *A Shattered Nation*, viii–ix. David M. Potter, “The Historian’s Use of Nationalism and Vice Versa,” *American Historical Review* 67 (July 1962), 931.

¹⁰ Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South*. 25th Anniversary Edition. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 154, 227; Glover, *Southern Sons*, 2, 12.

¹¹ Adolescence as a separate life stage did not become widely acknowledged in the United States until the turn of the twentieth century. See Joseph F. Kett, *Rites of Passage: Adolescence in America, 1790-Present* (New York: Basic Books, 1977).

the classical. Sons received a different training that stressed honor to their families, especially their fathers, while at the same time emphasizing manly autonomy. These bifurcated child rearing practices of families served very important social purposes in a society built upon racial, economic, and gender hierarchies.¹²

In addition to learning how to perform their prescribed gender roles when they reached adulthood, children also learned how to perform their familial roles. Childrearing included more than simply teaching sons and daughters' gender-specific behaviors; sonhood and daughterhood also included an element of public perception. Parents spent significant time and energy teaching their children how to become successful adults so that their success would reflect favorably upon the family. Yet as historian Bertram Wyatt-Brown put it, "Daughters, sisters, and wives were held in high esteem, but it was the men who counted in life within as well as outside the family." Many of the expectations that families had of their daughters were based on the lives that their daughters would likely lead as adults. Elite parents anticipated that their daughters would lead lives of dependence that primarily took place in the confines of the household. Daughters remained dependent on their father (or another male relative) until they married and their dependence was transferred to their husband. Moreover, these women spent the majority of their lives working in and managing the household. In anticipation of this lifestyle, daughters learned

¹² The best survey of white southern women's education in the antebellum period is Christie Ann Farnham, *The Education of the Southern Belle: Higher Education and Student Socialization in the Antebellum South* (New York: New York University Press, 1994). For a good discussion of white women's education after the war, see Jane Turner Censer, *The Reconstruction of White Southern Womanhood, 1865–1895* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2003), 12-18, 50, 170-77.

their familial role through the instruction of household management and the tasks that they would be expected to perform as wives and mothers.¹³

Unlike the dependency that they taught their daughters, parents trained their sons to become the leaders of the future. Sons were expected to leave their parents' households and set up their own independent households. Sons received training that emphasized both manly autonomy and familial duty, characteristics that were important to manhood. The emphasis on independence caused the ideology of sonhood to affect sons very differently than daughterhood affected daughters. Instead of creating a relationship of mutual dependence, sons were expected to contribute to their family's good reputation but also to establish their independence as men. Lorri Glover shows that when sons did not live up to their family's expectations, family members expressed disappointment about their behavior. Glover also demonstrates that parents gave sons a lot of space to pursue their interests as long as they lived up to their social responsibilities as men. This led to a boys-will-be-boys attitude towards young men's behavior. Sons learned a lot about how they should behave from their fathers, a process that had the potential to create a competitive relationship between fathers and sons.¹⁴

Scholars across disciplines have recognized that for much of recorded history and throughout the classic literary canon, the father-son relationship has been, in a word, complicated. Whether this is due to an Oedipal complex or some other less explicitly psychological phenomenon, fathers and sons also existed in a precarious relationship in which they were loving family members who were often in competition with each other. Much of the conflict between the generations rested on what Bertram Wyatt-Brown refers to as "two interrelated problems" facing

¹³ Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor*, 173.

¹⁴ Lorri Glover, *Southern Sons: Becoming Men in the New Nation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), 9–10, 15–16.

the sons: coming to terms with the honor and deference that they held for their fathers, while simultaneously shedding their dependence on their fathers in order to assert themselves as their own autonomous men.¹⁵ This conflict plagued sons of all socio-economic classes, as the patriarchal nature of white southern society transgressed class boundaries.¹⁶ Moreover, the heavy hand of the patriarchal South made it difficult for fathers to cede any independence to their sons. In fact, some fathers could only acknowledge the independence of their sons in light of the dependence of their daughters. For instance, Edgeworth Bird wrote to his wife Sallie that they needed to raise their daughter with special training in mind but that their son required no such consideration. Once the younger generation broke their dependency on their fathers and cemented themselves as individuals in white southern society, it would have been hard for them to venerate their fathers too much and feel as though they retained their autonomy.¹⁷

Conflicts in the father-son relationship may have contributed to white southern sons' hesitation to participate in the Lost Cause, but so did fears that venerating the veterans would undermine their own manhood. If the men of the Confederate generation thought that their manhood was damaged by defeat, the war left the next generation of white southern men uncertain about how to define their own manhood. Could they rely on antebellum notions of manhood, or had the war negated those traditional methods? If it had, what would replace antebellum gender constructs? For the generation of sons of Confederate veterans, the crisis of

¹⁵ Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor*, 166.

¹⁶ For some of the ways that lower class white men embraced elite white southern manhood, see Stephanie McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds: Yeoman Households, Gender Relations, and the Political Culture of the Antebellum South Carolina Low Country* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

¹⁷ John Rozier, ed. *The Granite Farm Letters: The Civil War Correspondence of Edgeworth and Sallie Bird*. Foreword by Theodore Rosengarten (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1988), 144.

manhood that plagued their fathers after the Civil War did not trickle down to them in the same manner. Rather, as they found themselves increasingly defined by masculinity instead of manhood, white southern sons faced a different crisis of gender—how to prove themselves as men without the outlets that had been available to their forefathers.

The transition from manhood to masculinity in the United States during the last quarter of the nineteenth century consisted of a shift in the characteristics that defined a man from self-control and economic success to physical, passionate demonstrations of power. However, Carole Emberton successfully locates this shift in the Civil War and Reconstruction in the South. The definitions of manhood and masculinity in the South were slightly closer than in the North and therefore the transition manifested itself in uniquely southern ways. Some scholars have argued that the sons' transition from manhood to masculinity was not difficult because southern honor already emphasized defending the reputation of one's family and oneself through physical means. When it came to the question of their fathers' masculinity, Confederate sons had two concerns: how would celebrating their father's masculine accomplishments in pursuit of a cause that they did not understand affect their own masculinity, and would they ever get the chance to prove their masculinity on the field of battle?¹⁸

¹⁸ According to Craig Thompson Friend, two separate but intimately related archetypes of white southern manhood arose after the Civil War: the Christian gentleman and the martial masculine. The Christian gentleman was a "reaction to the emasculation of being conquered" and emphasized honor, self-restraint and a pious faith. The prototypical Christian gentleman was General Robert E. Lee. The martial masculine ideal was built on honor and mastery, and "exalted Confederate veterans and their sacrifices." Friend argues that the two were closely linked by an emphasis on using violence to protect and defend their families and themselves. Because of the stress that both archetypes placed on violence and physical demonstrations of power, and since this chapter explicitly deals with Confederate memory, I often describe the ideal white southern masculinity in this period as "martial." This does not

For decades, historians have relied on honor as a defining characteristic of southern manhood. However, in recent years scholarship has begun to question the dominance of honor in the construction of manhood. Glover argues that manhood was the achievement of social benchmarks, not an adherence to a code of honor. Although honor and proper social behavior continued to play a significant role in masculinity, the defining characteristic of this gender ideal was physicality. This manifested itself in the activities that white men participated in and how they proved their masculinity to other white men. The transition from manhood to masculinity was a national trend that took place in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. By most scholars' accounts, the shift to masculinity was a reaction to the rapidly changing socioeconomic conditions in the Northeast. The rise of middle-class office jobs and the purported feminization of the domestic arena caused white northern men to feel insecure about their manliness. Men began participating in sports (boxing became especially popular) and other physically demanding activities like hunting to prove that they had not been feminized. Despite considerable urbanization after the Civil War, the American South remained predominantly rural and therefore did not have this pressure influencing their masculinity.¹⁹ As Emberton argues in *Beyond*

negate or undermine any of the other masculinities present in the New South, but rather focuses on the one most frequently exhibited in connection to Confederate memory. Craig Thompson Friend, "From Southern Manhood to Southern Masculinities: An Introduction," *Southern Masculinity: Perspectives on Manhood in the South Since Reconstruction*, ed. Craig Thompson Friend, (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2009), xi–xii, xv; Emberton, *Beyond Redemption*, 9.

¹⁹ See Friend, "From Southern Manhood to Southern Masculinities: An Introduction," in *Southern Masculinity*; Michael Kimmel, *Manhood in America: A Cultural History*. 3rd edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012); Brian P. Luskey, *On the Make: Clerks and the Quest for Capital in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: New York University Press, 2010).

Redemption: Race, Violence, and the American South After the Civil War, however, the transition from manhood to masculinity in the South began in the Civil War and Reconstruction.

Emberton suggests that freedom became equated with fighting for white and black men. Although Confederate defeat emasculated veterans in many respects, whites used violence after the war to simultaneously subjugate freed people and reassure their own masculinity. This was not left to the generation of men who fought in the Civil War, however. The sons of Confederate veterans grew up during Reconstruction and Redemption with martial masculinity as their example. The martial masculinity of the sons of Confederate veterans manifested itself in violence against African Americans. Confederate daughters also participated in racial violence against African Americans, both by espousing the rhetoric of protecting white women from black rapists and by physically participating in lynch mobs. Sons had no war to prove their masculinity, and they had to prove it somehow. Although after the Civil War very few southerners defended the institution of slavery as right or just, they deeply resented the progress made by the freed people. Emberton asserts that masculinity became intimately connected to citizenship after the war, with whites performing their masculine prowess by violently denying free people access to the citizenship granted to African Americans by the Fourteenth Amendment.²⁰

Men's emphasis on physicality was arguably an extension of antebellum customs that made activities such as duels socially acceptable, but given the experience of war and Reconstruction, their emphasis on martial manifestations of masculinity was even more acceptable. Physical

²⁰ Emberton, *Beyond Redemption*, 101–05, 139–140; Crystal Feimster, *Southern Horrors: Women and the Politics of Rape and Lynching* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), 131; Kristina DuRocher, “‘Is This The Man?’: White Girls’ Participation in Southern Lynchings,” in *Raising Racists: The Socialization of White Children in the Jim Crow South* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2011), 131–152.

power quickly replaced mastery as a display of one's manhood. The abolition of slavery meant that white southern men could no longer benefit from a legal system that automatically elevated their status and made them men by racial default. The economic ramifications of the war, followed by downturns in the 1870s and early 1890s, meant that many white southern sons did not have the financial independence that the previous generation could at least aspire to, if not obtain. Many southerners viewed the progress made by African Americans during Reconstruction with deep suspicion and felt that they needed to demonstrate their power over blacks in both legal and extralegal ways. Lynchings, which increased dramatically in the last fifteen years of the nineteenth century, were displays of white masculine power over not just African Americans but their entire community. Lynchings became spectacles in which men asserted their masculinity not only for themselves but in order to retain their position as protectors of women and to teach their sons white supremacy.²¹

Confederate veterans and their sons both used martial masculinity to assert white supremacy and dominate their communities. Veterans also emphasized the role that the Civil War had in establishing their masculinity—so much so that in many ways, martial masculinity became one of the defining elements of the Lost Cause. Whereas the veterans used the newfound emphasis on physicality to look back upon their lives and celebrate their time as soldiers, many of their sons focused on defining masculinity for the future. Sons could not dwell on past actions to define masculinity in the present because they needed to prove it for themselves. And although veterans envisioned themselves as they had been on the battlefield—as the pinnacle of martial

²¹ See Kris DuRocher, "Violent Masculinity: Learning and Ritual Performance in Southern Lynching," in *Southern Masculinity*, 46-64; Joel Williamson, *The Crucible of Race: Black-White Relations in the American South Since Emancipation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984); Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor*; and C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1971).

masculinity—by the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century the veterans embodied a decidedly different appearance. The war left thousands of Confederate veterans physically and/or psychologically wounded. For some young white southern men, these injuries made it difficult to see veterans as the old men saw themselves. In fact, as Brian Craig Miller points out, southern manhood was so dependent on physical power that the amputation of limbs and other physically altering wounds severely undermined traditional manhood ideals. While wounded soldiers received sympathy and respect for their sacrifice, Miller argues that white southern society “partially embrace[d] and partially shun[ned]” these returning warriors. Sons respected Confederate veterans for what they accomplished during the war, but by the end of the century they were not always prepared to hold their fathers’ generation up on a pedestal of masculinity when the veterans no longer appeared to embody the characteristics.²²

One such perspective that questioned the masculinity of the veterans was that of Walter Hines Page, a North Carolina journalist who wrote a semi-autobiographical novel about his own peculiar relationship with the South. Page was born in 1855 to a slaveholding family near Cary, North Carolina. When the Civil War began, Page’s father was an avowed Unionist. Allison Francis Page’s politics impacted his son, who came of age during Reconstruction and experienced the social, political, and economic turmoil of the period, albeit with a different perspective than that of his Confederate-sympathizing neighbors. After attending both Trinity College (now Duke University) and Randolph-Macon College, Page briefly enrolled in Johns Hopkins University before pursuing a career in journalism. He found success as a writer and later as an editor of both local newspapers and the magazine *The Atlantic*. Page spent

²² Brian Craig Miller, *Empty Sleeves: Amputation in the Civil War South* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2015), 6–8.

considerable energy during his life trying to improve conditions in the South during the late nineteenth century despite living and working in the Northeast. An early supporter of Woodrow Wilson, Page lived his final years in London, England, where he served as President Wilson's ambassador to the United Kingdom during World War I. Although Page was not a Confederate sympathizer, he was a white southerner by birth and by training who came of age during Reconstruction. His observations on the rise of the Lost Cause and how Confederate memory impacted those who subscribed to it provides a window onto the generational divide.²³

Page's 1909 novel *The Southerner* is the fictional autobiography of Nicholas Worth, who serves as the novel's narrator, and is a semi-autobiographical expression of the life of the author. Worth tells his life's story from his earliest recollections through his adulthood and in so doing touches upon the major social, political, and economic topics of the post-Civil War South. Throughout the narrative, Worth makes multiple references to the Lost Cause, giving his opinion on the movement and how the emphasis on Confederate memory impacted not only the generation of men who fought the war, but also what it did to the psyche of the next generation. Despite Page's Unionist and reconciliationist perspective on the Civil War, his opinions of Confederate memory in *The Southerner* express a fundamentally generational point of view that focused more on the politics of the present more than the past.

The narrator's first description of the Confederate veterans that he grew up seeing in his hometown was decidedly unfavorable. Worth describes the veterans as "the saddest relics of a

²³ John Milton Cooper, *Walter Hines Page: The Southerner as American, 1855–1919* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977), 4, 13; "Page, Walter Hines," NCpedia, Accessed May 10, 2016, <http://ncpedia.org/biography/page-walter-hines>.

brave army, I imagine, that were ever seen; for most of them were now but wrecks of men.”²⁴

The war left many veterans physically and psychologically scarred, and their sons saw the deleterious affects of war on the veterans’ manhood. Especially for white southern sons who were very young during the war or born after its end, it was difficult to imagine the broken down veterans that they saw in their daily lives as the heroic figures that the Lost Cause celebrated. For the young boys who only knew the veterans after they had “borne the physical scourging of the nation,” the idea that they should grow up to be like these white southern men was not necessarily an inviting future.²⁵

More than just the physical affects of the war on the former soldiers, Page describes the psychological impact of both the war itself and the lingering memory the conflict had on the veterans. He writes that the veterans had spent so much time reflecting on the war that they could not think of anything else. And since veterans had often made tremendous sacrifices that caused them to dwell on the past, Page posits that white southern society allowed veterans to become engulfed by their memories of the war so as not to offend them. While southerners permitted veterans to reside both in the real world and in their memories, Page makes it clear that the focus on the Lost Cause was detrimental to both the children of the veterans and the South as a whole. “I have since sometimes thought that many of the men who survived that unnatural war unwittingly did us a greater hurt than the war itself,” Worth opines. The author notes more than once that since the war, the South has been an unequal member of the Union and that it was still being punished for causing the war. To be sure this subjection affected the veterans, but it also impacted the next generation of southerners who were trying to carve out livelihoods for

²⁴ Walter Hines Page, *The Southerner, a novel; Being the Autobiography of Nicholas Worth* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1909), 42.

²⁵ Ibid., 42.

themselves. Page, speaking as Worth, refers to his generation as “disinherited” because of their father’s actions. More than simply having opportunities that were available before the war taken away, though, Worth believes that lingering blame for slavery and the war was unfairly placed upon his generation. Although Worth, and by extension Page, may have been predisposed not to celebrate the Lost Cause due to his family’s Unionism, the concerns raised in *The Southerner* about there not being opportunities available to young men because of their father’s actions was a very real concern.²⁶

Manhood was a multifaceted concept, but one of its core tenets that are often overlooked was access to political, economic, and social opportunities. During the antebellum period men, especially from the elite class, used their status at the top of the southern social hierarchy to secure favorable social and economic circumstances for themselves. If many sons like Page believed that their father’s actions during the Civil War were directly responsible for the comparative lack of opportunities after the conflict, it can be inferred that this would prevent white southern sons from celebrating the very actions that caused them to miss out on chances for their own improvement. The sense of missed opportunities and the mistrust of veterans’ masculinity made for two difficult hurdles that southern sons had to clear in order to commemorate the Lost Cause in the way that their fathers wanted them to. Although living vicariously through their fathers’ martial past was not a way that the sons could prove their own masculinity, the martial masculine was a manly ideal that white men across the United States aspired to at the end of the nineteenth century.²⁷

²⁶ Ibid., 46, 62.

²⁷ Friend, “From Southern Manhood to Southern Masculinities: An Introduction,” *Southern Masculinity*, xi-xii.

The emphasis on physical manifestations of masculinity was not new for southern men, but the national acceptance of such traits encouraged an appreciation of the military as an outlet for displaying masculinity. The rising importance of martial exploits to the concept of masculinity provided a boost of confidence for Confederate veterans, who saw the opportunity to celebrate their military records without focusing on their eventual defeat. The veterans' rhetoric was peppered with allusions to manliness and heroism that stemmed directly from battlefield exploits. An article in the *Confederate Veteran* recalling what the "rebel yell" sounded like turned into a step-by-step reminiscence of what it was like to be in the midst of battle for Keller Anderson, a member of the Kentucky Orphan Brigade. Anderson described the sounds of minnie balls hissing around the soldiers as they charged forward, what it was like to step over dead soldiers, and how the "rebel yell" arose at the height of battle. He finished this reminiscence by describing the men who created this unforgettable sound as "hardened soldiers, full of courage." The detailed description of the battlefield experience that the author felt necessary to include is indicative of how veterans discussed their wartime experiences during the Lost Cause period of memorialization. One could hardly turn a page of the *Confederate Veteran* or hear a speech made at the UCV's annual reunions passed without a description of battlefield prowess.²⁸

This shift in perspective from arguing the politics of secession to the focus on martial victories allowed veterans to change the tone of their events from memorialization to commemoration.²⁹ While this effectively broadened the appeal of the Lost Cause to veterans themselves, it did not necessarily have the same effect on their sons. Having listened to war stories of the Confederate generation and being cognizant of northern suspicion of southern

²⁸ "The Rebel Yell," *Confederate Veteran* 1 (January 1893), 14–15.

²⁹ Gaines M. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 6, 71, 76.

military exercises, the sons worried about having an opportunity to prove their own martial masculinity. Many would eventually get such a chance when the United States declared war on Spain in 1898. Confederate sons leapt at the opportunity to prove their masculinity and American patriotism. Young men joined the army and headed off to Cuba and the Philippines to reclaim the manhood that their father's generation lost during the Civil War. Fighting for the United States against a foreign foe solidified the southern commitment to the United States. It also helped Confederate sons to form a national identity exclusive to the United States without any lingering questions about their attachment to the Confederacy. This worked for the handful of Confederate veterans who participated in the conflict, including Generals Fitzhugh Lee and Joseph Wheeler, and the sons of veterans, like JEB Stuart, Jr. The Spanish-American War provided catharsis for the nation and assurances for Confederate sons. This popular war allowed southern sons to realize the potential of their manhood and their national identity in ways that Lost Cause memory did not.³⁰

Despite all of the deterrents that may have prevented sons from celebrating the Lost Cause in formal organizations, the fact of the matter is that some did. The existence of the United Sons of Confederate Veterans (USCV) provides evidence that some young men did venerate their father's generations' accomplishments during the Civil War. There is some proof that by joining the USCV, Confederate sons were torn between honoring their family's history and distancing themselves from the defining manly event of their fathers' generation. Examining the USCV, its

³⁰ Kristin L. Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 114–18; Nina Silber, *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865–1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 185; Sean M. Heuvel, ed., *Life After J. E. B. Stuart: The Memoirs of his Granddaughter, Marrow Stuart Smith* (Lanham, MD: Hamilton Books, 2011), 4.

membership, and its early promotional literature demonstrates the fraught relationship that this organization of sons had with the Lost Cause and celebrating their fathers' memories.

Originally formed under the name United Sons of Confederate Veterans, the organization now known as the Sons of Confederate Veterans was the only official auxiliary group of the United Confederate Veterans (UCV). The establishment of the USCV in 1896 meant that the Sons were tied for third in the order of official organizational formation—seven years behind the UCV, two years after the UDC, and the same year as the Children of the Confederacy. A constituency already existed for the Daughters when they officially organized in 1894; in fact, the formal organization of the UDC was in many ways a consolidation of disparate groups of women from across the South who had been engaged in memorial work on behalf of the Lost Cause continuously since the end of the war. While the impetus for the UCV came from the desire of veterans themselves, the USCV's genesis appears to have come from the combined desire of the men who joined the Sons and the Veterans. Confederate veterans wanted their sons to join their commemorative efforts from the early days of the Lost Cause. The veterans made multiple calls for the participation of the next generation of white southern men to join their efforts. The first known attempt to form an organization of sons of Confederate veterans took place in New Orleans, Louisiana, in the spring of 1889. Calls for white southern sons to form associations or to be permitted to join established veterans' groups continued into the 1890s.

In addition to Charles Colcock Jones's 1890 appeal before the Confederate Survivors' Association, which appeared at the beginning of this chapter, the UCV addressed the existence of

sons and daughters groups at their annual meeting that same year.³¹ Small, local societies existed throughout the South and in northern cities like New York, where UCV camps already existed until the national association was chartered in 1896. Since the USCV was founded as an auxiliary of the Veterans, the two organizations were particularly close—the USCV designed their annual meetings to be held at the same time and in the same location as the UCV’s yearly gathering. This was done to entice the Sons to attend the meetings and demonstrate their support for the Veterans. The Sons also plugged into the Veterans’ network of resources immediately after its founding. Despite the closeness of the organizations, the USCV did not inspire as enthusiastic a constituency as the UDC, likely because Confederate memorialization was not built into the duty of sons in the way that it was incorporated into the duty of the good daughter. The repeated calls for a national organization by the veterans and the amount of time that it took for the USCV to actually incorporate demonstrates the proponents of a son-specific patriotic-hereditary society had trouble exciting interest in their cause.³²

³¹ Jones, “Sons of Confederates,” 92–7; *Minutes of the First Annual Meeting and Reunion of the United Confederate Veterans, Held in Chattanooga, Tennessee, July 3, 1890*, (New Orleans: Hopkins’ Printing Office, 1891), 2–4.

³² The organization used the name United Sons of Confederate Veterans until 1908, when concerns arose that the acronym could be confused with the United States Colored Volunteers. Seeking as much distance from an African American association as possible, the association dropped the “United” from their name and have been known as the Sons of Confederate Veterans ever since. I have chosen to use the title that the organization went by at the time being described, i.e. USCV before 1908, and SCV after. The shorthand “Sons,” however, applies to both. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy*, 108; Sons of Confederate Veterans, *Carry Me Back to Old Virginny: Sons of Confederate Veterans Centennial, Richmond, Va., 1896-1996*, (Richmond: Sons of Confederate Veterans, 1996); “The Auxiliary Association,” *Daily Picayune*, April 23, 1889; “Sons of Confederate Veterans,” *Daily Picayune*, May 21, 1889.

One of the interesting aspects of the USCV's popularity is the existence of promotional literature designed to convince white southern men to join. This was very different than the recruitment situation of the UCV and the UDC, which were popular enough in their early years that they did not need to advertise for members. The *Appeal for Organization of Camps of United Sons of Confederate Veterans* was written by Fontaine Watts Mahood, the son of a soldier in the Mercer's Rifles, 24th Virginia Infantry. Mahood's *Appeal* elucidates the purpose and goals of the USCV and urges every son of a Confederate veteran to join the organization in order to honor their fathers and the South. The pamphlet begins by defining the USCV as a patriotic, historical, benevolent, and fraternal organization dedicated to honoring "patriotism, bravery, self-sacrifice and every other noble virtue." After justifying why local camps were necessary, Mahood explains why white southern men should join the USCV. The first provision held that joining the USCV would show that the sons "love and honor" their fathers and specifically states that joining would prove that white southern sons did not view their fathers as traitors. This was especially important to veterans; even though the Lost Cause focused on the battlefield victories, veterans remained sensitive to accusations that the Confederacy was a treasonous endeavor. A show of support by the Sons for the manhood of veterans did a lot to bolster the veterans' confidence. Another core tenet of the USCV was the undertaking of benevolent work, and the *Appeal* appealed to sons' sense of duty by claiming that the association would seek to ensure that Confederate veterans did not suffer due to poverty, and that they would be well cared for in their old age. Although the primary focus of the USCV was the memory of their fathers and the Lost Cause, Mahood also gave reasons why men would want to join an organization that focused more on the concerns of their own generation.³³

³³ Fontaine Watts Mahood, the author of the *Appeal for Organization of Camps of United Sons of Confederate*

Mahood's reasons for why sons should join the USCV focused on how the organization could benefit members socially and politically. One of the main draws was the sense of community that the USCV promised its potential members. "This is a fraternal organization, binding together for mutual help and work men with the proudest lineage the world has ever known," Mahood asserted. The pamphlet emphasized that the group would provide its members with an environment wherein likeminded men could discuss topics of mutual interest, namely the preservation of southern civilization and "the regency of the white race." This exact phrase appears four times in the six-page-long pamphlet, with at least one additional reference to the Confederacy as "the last white man's government the world ever saw."³⁴ These repeated references to white supremacy reflect the political climate of the mid-1890s, one that weighed heavily on the minds of the Sons' generation.

Race relations in the United States, and especially in the South, reached a particular low in the 1890s with the codification of Jim Crow laws that legally subjected African Americans and the dramatic rise in the number of lynchings of African American men and women. These issues affected all southerners but were of particular interest to Mahood's audience because many of the racial conflicts of the era were closely tied to the insecurities endemic in white southern masculinity. In the wake of the emancipation of the former slaves, many men believed that the

Veterans, and his father shared the same name. There is no evidence that the younger Mahood used a suffix to indicate that he was the second of his name. Given the fact that the elder Fontaine W. Mahood died in 1881 and calls for a patriotic-hereditary society for Confederate sons, let alone the USCV, did not begin until the end of the 1880s, I have confidently inferred that the younger Mahood wrote the pamphlet. "Fontaine Watts Mahood: Biographical Sketch," in *Old Dominion* vol. 4 (Richmond, Virginia: M. W. Hazlewood, 1870) p. 236; Fontaine Watts Mahood, *Appeal for Organization of Camps of United Sons of Confederate Veterans* (No publisher, no date), 1-2.

³⁴ Ibid., 1, 4.

legal manhood of African American men undermined their own white manhood. Once it was politically prudent, a combination of men from both the veterans' and their sons' generations began codifying African American inferiority once again via Jim Crow legislation. Extralegal means of controlling black bodies also demonstrated the insecurity of white southern manhood, as racial violence disproportionately targeted African American men who were accused of assaulting white southern women. This was especially true when the white women in question were young daughters because maintaining lily-white bloodlines was of the utmost importance to southern fathers. The need to control and subjugate black bodies, male and female, remained a core feature of white southern masculinity after the Civil War, and given the language present in the *Appeal*, the Sons' generation felt the issue was pressing enough to include as one of the main objectives of their organization.³⁵

By including white supremacist rhetoric in a promotional pamphlet for the USCV, the organizers of the USCV were clearly concerned about their position in the sociopolitical hierarchy. They made the subjugation of African Americans an explicit part of the mission of the association, a distinction that rests solely with the Sons and none of the other major Lost Cause organizations. Like the need to include racially specific language, however, Mahood also felt that

³⁵ The historiography of race relations and white supremacy in the New South has been and continues to be a rich area of inquiry. C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955) remains required reading on white supremacy. For more on how gender and racial violence were intertwined, see DuRocher, "Violent Masculinity: Learning and Ritual Performance in Southern Lynching," in *Southern Masculinity*, 46–64; Kate Côté Gillin, *Shrill Hurrahs: Women, Gender, and Racial Violence in South Carolina 1865-1900* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2013); Hannah Rosen, *Terror in the Heart of Freedom: Citizenship, Sexual Violence, and the Meaning of Race in the Postemancipation South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009); Diane Miller Sommerville, *Rape and Race in the Nineteenth Century South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004).

it was necessary to put potential members' minds at ease about another subject that might concern them as they considered joining a camp: that the USCV was too focused on the past and could not benefit the generation of men who were paragons of the New South. "Don't look on the U. S. C. V. as being an organization living in the past. We have a work as hard to perform as our fathers. The U. S. C. V. is a live organization, with its face to the foe, and while shedding the tribute of memory and a tear for the past, it is full panoplied for the battle of the future," Mahood urges. This statement is both telling and curious in ways that divulge the true intentions of the organizers of the USCV. It is telling because it acknowledges the concern that by joining an organization devoted to the memory of their fathers' heroics, the Sons would lose focus on the progress of southern society. It also intimates the ever-present concern that the Sons' generation would not have the opportunity to prove their manliness on the battlefield as their fathers did. Mahood felt that he needed to reassure readers that this generation's work was as worthy a cause as the Lost Cause.

Concerns over setting themselves apart from their fathers and proving their own masculinity likely deterred many white southern men from joining the USCV, and the society's organizers were aware that this would be a membership hurdle that they would have to overcome. The curious element of Mahood's statement lies in the final sentence quoted above: the idea the USCV had an adversary that it was prepared to take on. Although the enemy being alluded to is unclear, one might infer that Manhood is referencing the battle for white male supremacy. In the beginning of the *Appeal*, Mahood makes several gestures towards reconciliation, writing that the Sons were "non-political, and non-sectarian," and that the group would work for the benefit of both the South and the Union. It is clear, however, that given the language in the rest of the

pamphlet, the USCV (and indeed all of the Confederate heritage organizations) had a stridently political agenda at the core of their organization's purpose.³⁶

There are many ways to gauge the popularity of an organization, including how much press coverage it received and how many members it had. The Lost Cause produced several publications published by local patriotic-hereditary camps and chapters as well as larger, national periodicals. The most prominent of the Lost Cause publications was the *Confederate Veteran*, a monthly magazine published by Sumner A. Cunningham in Louisville, Kentucky. The *Veteran* was the official magazine of the UCV and in December 1895 it became the organ of the UDC and eventually the USCV, too. The first mention of any organization of sons of veterans occurred in July 1896 when the R. E. Lee Camp No. 1, Sons of Veterans, from Richmond, Virginia, hosted the Camp Moultrie Sons of Veterans from Charleston, South Carolina. The *Veteran* recounted the genesis of Camp Moultrie, Sons of Veterans, before concluding that the meeting between the two camps went well and that both associations were successful in their own right. The next issue of the *Veteran* announced the formation of the United Sons of Confederate Veterans. The article explained the purpose of goals and of the organization, as well as the structure of the leadership and the elected officials. After that introductory article, the USCV did not appear in print in the *Veteran* again until January 1897, four months later. In the July 1897 issue of the *Veteran* a recurring column began that detailed the developments of the organization. By contrast, the *Veteran* published information about the UDC in practically every issue after the organization's inception in 1894. This included articles and announcements as well as photographic portraits of

³⁶ "Constitution and by-laws of the United Confederate Veterans," *Confederate Veteran*, April 1896, 167-171; United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Constitution of the United Daughters of the Confederacy* (Atlanta: no publisher, 1895), accessed 8 November 2015, <https://archive.org/details/constitutionofdaughters>; Mahood, *Appeal*, 3.

young, attractive UDC members. The *Veteran's* sparse coverage could have been a case of the association not supplying the magazine with enough information, or it could have been indicative of a lack of interest in the association.³⁷

Whether it was the fear of white southern men's place in the racial hierarchy or the concern over what an organization dedicated to the manliness of the previous generation might do to their ability to perform masculinity, men who were eligible to join the USCV did not do so in droves. In the first year of its existence, the USCV chartered 32 camps across the South. In its second year, the Sons organized 69 new camps, and at the third annual reunion, the Sons boasted 132 officially chartered camps. This growth is similar to that of the UDC, which chartered 20 chapters in their first year, 69 more in the second, and by the third year of its existence, the Daughters counted 138 total chapters. A distinction must be drawn between the organization and membership of the Sons and that of the Daughters, however. Whereas the Daughters developed a dedicated, active cohort, those who joined the USCV did not create a robust membership dedicated to sustaining and perpetuating their local camps or the national association. As Caroline E. Janney points out, despite having nearly 500 camps and over fifteen thousand members, only forty-two delegates showed up to the ninth annual reunion of the USCV in 1905. In an attempt to excite interest in the organization, in 1903 the UCV ceded some time during their annual conventions to the Sons.³⁸ Instead of the USCV simply holding their meetings alone

³⁷ Masthead, *Confederate Veteran* 3 (December 1895), 384; "Patriotic Sons of Veterans," *Confederate Veteran* 4 (July 1896), 215–16; "United Sons of Confederate Veterans," *Confederate Veteran* 4 (August 1896), 259–60; Masthead, *Confederate Veteran* 5 (January 1897), 20.

³⁸ *Minutes of the Sixth Annual Reunion of the United Sons of Confederate Veterans, In the City of Memphis, Tennessee, May 28, 29, and 30, 1901. Held Simultaneously with the Eleventh Annual Reunion of the United Confederate Veterans*, (Louisville: Bradley and Gilbert Company, 1901), 17–18; Karen L. Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*:

side the UCV, the Sons conducted their business with the veterans present in order to build organizational cohesiveness. The Sons' share of responsibilities increased over time as the number of Confederate veterans rapidly declined in the early twentieth century. In the interim, however, the Confederate memorialization landscape was filled (literally and figuratively) by the work of the UDC.

Despite the desires of many Confederate veterans and the men who did indeed join early on, the USCV was not a prominent patriotic-hereditary organization for Confederate sons.

Determining why the association was not more appealing to these men is tricky, but from the context of the era, inferences can be made that shed light on the subject. First, the construction of the two important, gender-based concepts, sonhood and manhood, prevented sons from investing too much into Confederate memory. The ideology of sonhood, which emphasized the public behavior of a son and his relationship to his family, was not as strong a force in men's lives as the ideology of daughterhood was in women's lives because of the independence instilled in white southern boys. Paired with the potentially contentious relationship between fathers and sons, men felt less filial compulsion to venerate Confederate veterans. The changes that took place to the concept of white southern manhood, namely the emphasis on physical and martial prowess that define masculinity, kept many men from seeking out formal memorialization. Their insecurities in the new racial landscape of the South and the need to prove their own masculinity rather than rely on the manly accomplishments of their fathers caused many white southern sons to be disinterested in direct involvement in patriotic-hereditary societies. Without the enthusiasm that they desired from their sons, and with white southern women already enthusiastically

The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003), 28; Janney, *Remembering the Civil War*, 282; Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy*, 172.

organized, Confederate veterans largely accepted that white women would be the ones to spread the message of the Lost Cause for generations to come.

CHAPTER FOUR

Adele Briscoe Looscan embraced the Progressive Era as completely as any other southern woman in the late nineteenth century. In 1881 she established the Ladies Reading Club, one of the first women's clubs in Houston, Texas. Looscan went on to join many other women's clubs and was a charter member of Texas Women's Press Association and the Texas State Historical Association (TSHA). As her involvement with the TSHA indicates, she was deeply invested in the history of Texas, writing many articles for local journals and newspapers. When her mother, Mary Jane Harris Briscoe, offered to hold the planning meeting for what would become known as the Daughters of the Republic of Texas at her home, Looscan attended and became a charter member of that organization too. She served as the Historian-General of the Daughters for many years and used her interest in writing history to raise money for the society. She was also an active member of the United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Daughters of the American Revolution. Looscan's participation in multiple patriotic-hereditary societies in addition to other organizations dedicated to historic preservation indicates that she was deeply invested in the goals of these associations. While Looscan belonged to many different organizations, her personal correspondence indicates that she was intimately involved with the Daughters of the Republic of Texas above all other associations. This patriotic-hereditary society used the ideology of daughterhood to accomplish its goals of memorialization and historic preservation. Along with the United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Daughters of the American

Revolution, daughterhood patriotic-hereditary societies were among the most popular and most effective women's clubs in the Progressive Era South.¹

After Confederate veterans began using daughters to boost their masculinity and secure traditional gender roles, women began organizing their own societies under the banner of daughterhood. They even chose a similar subject matter: patriotic memorialization. Over the course of approximately five years in the early 1890s, white southern women formed three large and influential patriotic-hereditary societies that identified themselves as daughters. These societies were the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR), the Daughters of the Republic of Texas (DRT), and the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC). Women formed the DAR, the DRT, and the UDC for the purpose of honoring and promoting the memory of the respective historical event, taking up a mantle similar to that of the work of the Ladies Memorial Associations (LMAs) and the memorial organizing pursued by Confederate veterans. But while the sentiment and some of the activities were at least similar if not the same as the LMAs and veterans associations, daughterhood societies put an emphasis on their sentimentality and nurturing skills to take over the care and dissemination of public memory. White southern used the ideology of daughterhood to justify their interest in patriotic memory and to show that their public organizing would remain within the boundaries of the woman's sphere.

The rise of women's patriotic-hereditary societies at the end of the nineteenth century occurred at the confluence of rising white supremacy and the woman's club movement. The changes that womanhood underwent in the late nineteenth century, to varying degrees influenced by women's experiences during and after the Civil War, created a constituency of women eager

¹ Claudia Hazlewood, "Looscan, Adele Lubbock Briscoe," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed March 09, 2016, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/flo19>; Laura Lyons McLemore, *Adele Briscoe Looscan: Daughter of the Republic* (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 2016), 81.

to become more involved in the public sphere while still retaining the privileges afforded them by claiming that their work fell well within the private sphere. Daughterhood was an essential tool for women to accomplish their goals because it gave them a legitimate reason to want to pursue organized work outside of their homes. What better reason could women have for forming historically oriented women's clubs other than honoring their fathers' accomplishments? Patriotic-hereditary societies promoted a kind of patriotism that explicitly glorified their members' ancestors and would teach the next generation of southerners how to be patriotic at the same time. White southern women created the DRT and the UDC and were instrumental in the founding of the DAR because they wanted to preserve and protect the memory of their forefathers for future generations—the work of family history that they as women had always been in charge of. They created these societies under the banner of daughterhood, painstakingly seeking out like-minded white women to join and crafting their organizations so that no one could question their motivation to control public memory.

This chapter examines the founding, organization, and work of the DAR, the DRT, and the UDC. All three of these patriotic-hereditary societies formed between 1890 and 1894 in the South, or (as with the DAR) with white southern women playing key roles in the founding of the associations. Scholars of southern women's history have been so familiar with these organizations that they have accepted the use of “daughter” in the groups' names as a mere signification of the hereditary aspect of a patriotic-hereditary society. But upon scrutinizing the mission statements, membership requirements, and the kind of memorial work that these patriotic-hereditary associations wanted to carry out, the use of “daughter” to identify the UDC, the DAR, and the DRT clearly served a much more important function. Patriotic-hereditary

societies sought to engage in very public and very political work at a time when society still hoped to enforce traditional gender roles on women.

In order for daughterhood to give women the best of both the public and private spheres, however, founders believed that they needed to prove an authentic hereditary connection to the ancestors they sought to memorialize. Otherwise, the founders argued, what gave these women the right to control public memory? The daughters had to be actual daughters. Therefore the DAR, the DRT, and the UDC all created strict hereditary guidelines for membership in their societies. Yet even after these associations established hereditary guidelines for eligibility, patriotic-hereditary societies found themselves in turmoil over the membership requirements. Conflicts over membership criteria led to significant debates in all three of these organizations and eventually led to an irreversible schism in the DAR. For the founders and executive officers of these three associations, defining their membership became the primary means by which they established and maintained their authenticity. Claiming daughterhood—and being able to prove it—gave women’s patriotic-hereditary societies the authority to control public memory by employing traditional gender tropes in order to allow women to pursue political work that was only just becoming acceptable.

The conventional narrative of the woman’s club movement in the late nineteenth century begins with the founding of Sorosis, a literary club in New York City in 1868. The first secular women’s clubs were organized by elite white women around shared interests, including but not limited to literature, history, music, and philanthropy. The woman’s club movement flourished in the towns and cities of the Northeast and eventually spread to other regions of the country. Scholars traditionally hold that the woman’s club movement arrived in the South in the 1880s, and by the 1890s elite white southern women, especially those living in urban areas, created and

joined their own societies. As Caroline E. Janney argues, however, the club movement arrived in the South much earlier than the 1880s with the advent of Ladies Memorial Associations (LMAs) in the immediate aftermath of the Civil War. The LMAs focused their initial work on the proper burial and memorialization of the Confederate dead, which included dedicating land for cemeteries, decorating gravestones, and celebrating Memorial Days. This kind of work caused women to leave their homes and work in public in ways that many had only recently experienced during the Civil War.²

The women who joined the LMAs were typically the same women who had contributed their services to the Confederate war effort, making them primarily adult women who had a stake in the ill-fated Confederacy. Far from being the apolitical, strictly memorial groups that they purported to be, the LMAs served an important political functions in the post–Civil War South: they allowed white southerners to continue honoring the Confederacy by focusing on the sentimentality of women’s work. Even the name Ladies Memorial Associations had political implications. The white southern lady was the pinnacle of womanhood and commanded respect from the rest of southern society. By choosing to identify themselves as ladies, the women who joined the LMAs made a statement that their motivation for entering the public sphere in this way fell within the confines of women’s traditional interests and were therefore void of political implications. Although the women of the LMAs may not have considered that their societies fell under the woman’s club movement, they pursued their agenda based upon their values as women

² Jane Cunningham Croly, *The History of the Woman’s Club Movement in America* (New York: Henry G. Allen & Co., 1898), 15; Caroline E. Janney, *Burying the Dead but Not the Past: Ladies Memorial Associations and the Lost Cause* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 67–68.

and in the process influenced the way that white southern society mourned the Confederate dead.³

In her study of white and black women's clubs in Galveston, Texas, Elizabeth Hayes Turner notes that women's clubs "began as an educational and cultural self-improvement plan." Whereas the woman's club movement in the Northeast and Midwest took on an increasingly progressive tone at the turn of the twentieth century, southern women's clubs remained largely conservative organizations. Clubs for literary, historical, and other intellectual interests cropped up across the South, but arguably the most prominent white southern women's clubs were of a patriotic orientation. In the late nineteenth century the United States witnessed a surge of patriotism and patriotic organizing that was in many ways a conservative reaction to the increased immigrant population in the country. Wallace Evan Davies argues that toward the end of the nineteenth century, veterans' and patriotic-hereditary societies "displayed a combination of cocky nationalism and idealistic internationalism" that guided their pursuits.⁴ In the South the

³ The woman's club movement grew to include many different organizations dedicated to women's seemingly endless interests in the late nineteenth century. Groups for literature, history, other educational pursuits, and even women's vocations, were common across the United States. More progressive subjects were more popular in the Northeast and Midwest. Some such as temperance and woman's suffrage found small, devoted followings among white southern women, while other like the settlement house movement, which grew out of the club movement, never caught on in the South. For more on the woman's club movement, see Croly, *The History of the Woman's Club Movement in America*; Janney, *Burying the Dead but Not the Past*, 105–132; Gaines M. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 46, 89; and Megan Seaholm, "Earnest Women: The White Woman's Club Movement in Progressive Era Texas, 1880–1920," Ph. D. dissertation, Rice University, 1988.

⁴ Elizabeth Hayes Turner, *Women, Culture, and Community: Religion and Reform in Galveston, 1880-1920* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 152; Wallace Evan Davies, *Patriotism on Parade: The Story of*

rise of patriotic-hereditary societies was also a reaction to the aging population of the veterans from the Civil War and the increasingly white supremacist attitudes of many southerners.⁵

For women's clubs, this nativism and white supremacy led to the creation of associations that required a hereditary connection to the event or the people that the group sought to honor. These organizations attached authentic patriotic belief to lineage and simultaneously created hierarchies of patriotism that often followed existing socioeconomic class lines. Men and women alike created societies from the local to the national and even the international. The further back that one could trace one's ancestry in order to join the group, the more prestigious the association. Such associations as the Society of the Mayflower Descendants, the First Families of Virginia, and the Baronial Order of Runnemeade were primarily formed to accentuate members' social

Veterans' and Hereditary Organizations in America, 1783–1900 (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1955), 310.

⁵ Another notable woman's club in the South was the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU). After assuming the presidency in 1879, Frances E. Willard took a tour of the South to increase the popularity of the WCTU among southern women. Many white southern women became proponents of temperance, including the former first lady of the Confederacy, Varina Davis, and activist and politician Rebecca Latimer Felton. Nina Silber argues that the WCTU enjoyed more success than other northern reform movements did in the South because it appealed to women's sentimental proclivities and their roles as the moral center of the family. Despite its popularity, the WCTU was often criticized as a northern organization forcing its influence on the South. As such, it was not broadly popular in the region. On Frances E. Willard and the WCTU, see Ruth Bordin, *Woman and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873–1900* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1981). Nina Silber, *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865–1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 103–04; *The Papers of Jefferson Davis* volume 14 1880–1889 ed. by Lynda Laswell Crist, Suzanne Scott Gibbs, and William C. Davis, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2015): 377–378, 380n5, 380n6; Josephine Bone Floyd, “Rebecca Latimer Felton, Champion of Women's Rights,” in *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 30 (June 1946): 81–104.

standing. But the popularity of patriotic-hereditary associations among white women in the South was about more than social status alone. For many women, joining these organizations had the additional benefit of providing them with an acceptable outlet for public participation. Women joined multiple patriotic-hereditary societies at the end of the nineteenth century, but the DAR, the DRT, and the UDC stand out as being the most popular and the most important.⁶

The UDC, the DAR, and the DRT were the most prominent of the patriotic-hereditary societies in the South for several reasons. First, all three societies originated in the South or counted white southern women among the group's official founders. This allowed white southern women to join without feeling that they were dishonoring their beloved South. Second, these associations focused their work on issues that white southern women were most interested in, not just social standing. And third, women constructed groups were constructed in a way that allowed them to be involved in the public, political sphere while still remaining entrenched in traditional women's activities. But perhaps the most important factor in the popularity of these specific patriotic-hereditary societies was that they chose to identify themselves as daughters, and this was an identity that women understood as beneficial to the mission of the organization. In order to influence public memory, the UDC, the DAR, and the DRT needed to prove themselves as worthy of the patriotic causes that they championed. The ideology of daughterhood allowed patriotic-hereditary societies to use daughter to identify their associations

⁶ Patriotic-hereditary societies for white women existed outside of the daughterhood societies, but they were not as popular in the South. Moreover, they tended to focus more on the social aspect of belonging to an exclusive association, not the patriotic work that the DAR, the DRT, and the UDC emphasized. For those reasons, societies like the Colonial Dames are not covered here. Davies, *Patriotism on Parade*, 72, 2.

because it gave them a claim of authenticity that was strong enough to allow women to do the work of creating public memory without social rebuke.⁷

Although the daughterhood organizations were the most popular patriotic-hereditary societies in the South, other patriotic-hereditary societies existed that commanded substantial interest from white southern women. One such association was the Colonial Dames. While the Dames and other patriotic-hereditary societies required specific eligibility requirements and pursued memorial work, the tone of many of these societies was markedly different than the daughterhood organizations. The Colonial Dames were a good example of the differences in the tone of the daughterhood organizations and other patriotic-hereditary clubs.

The purpose of the Colonial Dames was “to study and to preserve the records and the relics of the Thirteen Colonies and to teach the lessons of patriotism that are found therein.”⁸ The founders of the Dames believed that the prominence of the Revolutionary War in American history obscured the importance of the colonial era, which they thought was worthy of appreciation in its own right. The first known organization to use the name Colonial Dames of America (CDA) began in New York, New York in May 1890. The CDA was an explicitly aristocratic society that was modeled on the Society of the Cincinnati, a Revolutionary War-era

⁷ “National Daughters of the Confederacy Organize, Adopt a Constitution and Elect Officers,” *The Confederate Veteran*, 2 (October 1984): 306; Flora Darling Adams, *Founding and Organization of the Daughters of the American Revolution and Daughters of the Revolution* (Philadelphia: Independence Publishing Company, 1901): 9; Mary Ann Jones Harvey, “The Life of Hally Bryan Perry,” (unpublished manuscript, January 1958): 1, Box 2F292, Hally Bryan Perry Papers, Dolph Briscoe Center for American History at the University of Texas at Austin.

⁸ Mrs. Joseph Rucker Lamar, *A History of the National Society of Colonial Dames of America, From 1891 to 1933* (Atlanta: Walter W. Brown Publishing, 1934), 16.

association for officers of the Continental Army.⁹ According to a December 1, 1890, *New York Herald* article, “Only descendants of Colonial aristocrats are eligible for membership, and the number is limited to 150 members.”¹⁰ In the spring of 1891 a group of women in Philadelphia contacted the New York Dames to ask if they could use the name Colonial Dames for their own patriotic-hereditary society. The New York Dames consented, hoping that the Philadelphia Dames would serve as a chapter of the CDA. Instead, the Philadelphia women sought to create a federation of state societies. Afterwards, the New York society was known as the Colonial Dames of America, and the society begun in Philadelphia was known as the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America. The NSCDA expanded across the United States in ways that the CDA did not but retained the eligibility exclusivity of the New York society, keeping membership relatively low.¹¹

⁹ Officers of the Continental Army organized the Society of the Cincinnati in 1783 as a club for all officers who served in the Continental Army for three years or more. In order to perpetuate the society, the eligibility requirements permitted lineal descendants of Revolutionary War officers to join. By the late nineteenth century, membership dwindled because of the strict eligibility clause. Wallace Evan Davies, *Patriotism on Parade: The Story of Veterans' and Hereditary Organizations in American, 1783–1900* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955), 3.

¹⁰ “Colonial Dames: A Social Organization Which Can Trace its Genealogy to the Colonists” *New York Herald*, December 1, 1890.

¹¹ In 1899 the Colonial Dames of America initiated a lawsuit to merge the two organizations under the name “National Society of the Colonial Dames of America.” The lawsuit was ultimately unsuccessful, and the Colonial Dames of America and the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America remain two separate entities today. Clarinda Pendleton Lamar, *A History of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America: From 1891–1933* (Atlanta: Walter W. Brown Publishing, 1934), 19–27.

None of the three official histories of the NSCDA addresses how the founding members of either society chose the term Dames to identify their society. Given the aristocratic origins of the society and the fact that dame is a noble title, one can infer that the society chose Dames over Daughters to emphasize the elite nature of the organization. The women who founded the Dames wanted to preserve and promote the history of Colonial America, but they wanted to do their work within the boundaries of a certain social class. Restricting membership eligibility was common to all patriotic-hereditary societies, but the Dames created their association with social class as an explicitly important organizational element. This was different from how patriotic-hereditary societies that identified as daughters conceived of their groups. Social class was often an implicit aspect of the DAR, the DRT, and the UDC, but the primary focus of these societies was on using their daughterhood to influence the dissemination of public, patriotic memory. Therefore, although the Colonial Dames was popular among wealthy white southern women, the elitism of the Dames made the way that they accomplished their mission too different from the daughterhood societies to include them in this project.¹²

In the late 1880s and early 1890s, white southern women formed organizations dedicated to supporting Confederate memory that no longer explicitly resembled the Ladies Memorial Associations. Often created as auxiliaries to veterans associations, as early as 1890 some of these women's groups began using the name Daughters of the Confederacy to identify themselves. The

¹² My thanks to Bridgitte Rodriguez, NSCDA Membership Manager, for sending me scans of these three official histories of the NSCDA: Lamar, *A History of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America*; National Society of the Colonial Dames of America, *The National Society of the Colonial Dames of America: Its Beginning, Its Purpose, and A Record of Its Work* (no pub., 1913); *A History of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America: An Address by Marguerite Appleton, Presented to the National Board Dinner, The Sulgrave Club, October 15, 1966. Updated Revisions, January 1974* (no pub., no date).

first known society to use the moniker was in St. Louis, Missouri, and others quickly followed. Catherine Meriwether Goodlett of Nashville, Tennessee, was the president of her local Daughters of the Confederacy association in 1894 when she received a letter from Anna Davenport Raines asking if the Ladies Auxiliary to the Confederate Veterans Association in Savannah, Georgia, could use the name Daughters of the Confederacy too. This began a correspondence between Goodlett and Raines that eventually led to the formation of a national federation of women working on behalf of Confederate memory. Goodlett, Raines, and other women met in Nashville and created the National Association of the Daughters of the Confederacy (NDOC) on September 10, 1894.¹³

Historian Karen L. Cox argues that the NDOC was a union of the Ladies Memorial Associations and the Daughters of the Confederacy, mixing the two generations of women who made up the societies. Although they harbored close organizational ties, the NDOC was never officially affiliated with the United Confederate Veterans. The women who created the NDOC saw themselves as supplementing the memorial work of the Confederate veterans in an effort to take over the memorialization of the Confederacy when the veterans eventually died out. The constitution written in September 1894 carried the NDOC through its first year in which the organization chartered twenty chapters. In November 1895 the NDOC met to revise its constitution and in the process changed its name to the United Daughters of the Confederacy. The name allegedly paid homage to the youngest daughter of Confederate president Jefferson Davis, Varina Anne “Winnie” Davis, who received the nickname in 1886 when John B. Gordon introduced her as the “Daughter of the Confederacy” at an event in honor of her father. The UDC

¹³ Caroline Janney, *Burying the Dead but not the Past: Ladies Memorial Associations and the Lost Cause* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008): x–xiii; Mary B. Poppenheim, et al., *The History of the United Daughters of the Confederacy* Volume 1 1894–1929 (Reprint; Kila, MT: Kissinger Publishing, 2012): 2–10.

continued to grow throughout the last few years of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth with only one major internal disagreement.¹⁴

In 1895 the *Confederate Veteran* magazine, the official magazine of the UCV and the Lost Cause, ran an article that referred to Goodlett as the founder of the UDC, a claim that Raines strenuously objected to. Raines began a six-year campaign to be publicly recognized as a founder of the association, which resulted in a committee of UDC members meeting at the 1901 convention to examine the evidence behind Raines's claim. Goodlett was incensed by what she viewed as Raines trying to undermine her authority as the founder of the society, and she also saw the campaign as an affront to her honor. Cox argues that this disagreement demonstrates that the UDC represented a new kind of white southern womanhood. The UDC expanded on what the LMAs had done in terms of the idea of what a women's memorial organization should do; they took women's involvement in Confederate memorialization from the sentimental to the highly political. Goodlett and Raines also belonged to two different generations of women, which created potential for friction in a multigenerational association. Whereas Goodlett felt that Raines should respect her authority as an elder, Raines felt that she deserved credit as an equal participant in the conversation that led to the NDOC. This was not simply a petty argument over recognition. Women took the foundations of these clubs very seriously because above all else, patriotic-hereditary societies needed to be able to prove their authenticity in order to wield the influence they desired over public memory.¹⁵

Unlike the UDC, which was in some ways a continuation of the women's organizing that had been going on since the Civil War, the DRT had no precedent before cousins Bettie Ballinger and

¹⁴ Karen L. Cox, *Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003): 15–17

¹⁵ The committee found in favor of Goodlett as the founder of the UDC. Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 25, 1.

Hally Bryan, both of Galveston, Texas, came up with the idea. According to the DRT's official history, Ballinger and Bryan had the idea to form a patriotic-hereditary society dedicated to the memory of the heroes of the Republic of Texas in 1891 after one of their relative's remains were slated to be moved from their original resting place to a new location without any recognition of his service to the Republic. Moreover, the cousins had recently read Henderson K. Yoakum's *History of Texas from its First Settlement in 1685 to its Annexation by the United States in 1846*, which inspired them further. The cousins enlisted the help of Bryan's father, Colonel Guy M. Bryan, a founding member of the Texas Veterans Association (TVA), to find women who might be interested in and eligible to join their society. In November 1891 Bryan, Ballinger, and thirteen other women met at the home of Mary Jane Harris Briscoe in Houston, Texas, to officially form the organization. At this meeting, the group decided to call itself the Daughters of Female Descendants of Heroes of '36, but changed the name to the Daughters of the Lone Star Republic shortly thereafter. At the first official meeting of the General Society in April 1892, the association made one final change to their name, selecting the Daughters of the Republic of Texas.¹⁶

The DRT began with the General Society and two satellite chapters in Galveston and Houston before expanding throughout the state. They held their first annual convention in Lampasas, Texas, alongside the TVA's annual meeting. This began a long collaboration between the two organizations that culminated in the DRT taking over the responsibilities of the Veterans

¹⁶ Daughters of the Republic of Texas, *Inception, Organization and Work of the Daughters of the Republic of Texas* (Houston: No publisher, 1904), 5–6; L. W. Kemp, "Texas Veterans Association," Handbook of Texas Online, accessed January 21, 2016 [tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/vot01](http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/vot01); Mrs. Grady Rash, Jr., "DAUGHTERS OF THE REPUBLIC OF TEXAS," Handbook of Texas Online, accessed January 21, 2016, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/vnd03>.

when the TVA dissolved on April 19, 1907. Many of the founding members of the General Society of the DRT were the daughters and wives of men who had participated in the fight for independence from Mexico or the military and government of the Republic of Texas—some had even lived in and contributed to the Republic themselves. Like the UDC and the DAR, the General Society of the DRT sought out women who were related to the pioneers, soldiers, and statesmen who had made important contributions to the Lone Star state before, during, and after the war for independence. For example, the first president of the DRT was Mary S. M. Jones, the widow of Anson Jones, the last president of the Republic of Texas. The society also included many descendants of Stephen F. Austin, Sam Houston, and the Old Three Hundred, the designation for the first three hundred families who colonized Texas in 1824.¹⁷ The purpose of the DRT was twofold: to memorialize the men and women who secured the independence of the Republic of Texas and to encourage research into and the preservation of historical documents and relics.¹⁸

¹⁷ Kemp, "Texas Veterans Association;" Christopher Long, "OLD THREE HUNDRED," *The Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed January 21, 2016, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/umo01>.

¹⁸ Although the focus of the DRT was on the early history of Anglo Texas, many of the founding members came from East Texas, which in the mid- to late-nineteenth century was western most corner of the South. Part of the reason that the DRT chose to use Daughter to identify their organization from the very beginning was the desire to connect their efforts with the white southern understanding of a daughter's duty to the honor and memory of her family. Daughters of the Republic of Texas, "Charter," *Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Meeting of the Daughters of the Republic of Texas. Held at Houston, Texas, April 20th, 1895. Also Charter, Constitution and By-Laws of the Association*. (Houston: Dealy & Baker, Stationers and Printers, 1896), p. 3-4; Daughters of the Republic of Texas, *Fifty Years of Achievement: The History of the Daughters of the Republic of Texas, Together with the Charter, By-Laws, Constitution and List of Members* (Dallas: Banks Upshaw and Company, 1942): 11–13; Harvey, "The Life of Hally Bryan Perry," 37–38.

Halfway across the country from Houston, Texas, the National Society Daughters of the American Revolution formed in Washington, D.C. in 1890. The choice of daughter to identify this association is particularly interesting, given that by the last decade of the nineteenth century, the odds of many of the members being “real daughters” was slim. Yet the DAR took the hereditary nature of their society extremely seriously. The origins of the DAR are complicated, as different people involved in the early years of the society told slightly different versions of the founding narrative. Some details, however, remain consistent enough to understand a general outline of events. The impetus to organize the society occurred when the Sons of the American Revolution (SAR) decided to amend their constitution to specifically prohibit women from joining the association. On July 12, 1890, a letter from Mary S. Lockwood appeared in the *Washington Post* deriding the Sons’ decision to exclude women and questioned why a women’s association commemorating the Revolutionary War did not exist yet. Approximately one week later the *Post* published a letter from William O. McDowell, the great-grandson of Hannah Arnett and a member of the Board of Directors of the New Jersey SAR. McDowell explicitly called on American women to form their own patriotic-hereditary society honoring Revolutionary War Patriots. According to the DAR’s official narrative of its founding, Mary Desha, Ellen Walworth, Mary S. Lockwood, and Eugenia Washington responded to McDowell’s letter and through him set up a preliminary meeting to organize the society. The four women who responded to McDowell’s letter invited other women who they thought would be interested in such an association, and the group met for the first time on August 19, 1890. The Executive Committee and Board of Advisors were selected at that initial meeting, and the women reviewed and revised

the constitution in order to be sent out in circulars that announced the formation of the organization and included membership applications.¹⁹

These are the basic facts of the official narrative of the society's origins, but there were other people who played important roles in the founding of the DAR that the modern organization does not recognize. McDowell had been corresponding with several interested parties about forming a women's patriotic-hereditary society devoted to the Revolutionary War even before the SAR voted to formally exclude women. His correspondents included George Washington Ball, the head of the Mary Washington Association of America. McDowell wanted Ball's help in finding interested and qualified members for such an association. He also corresponded with Flora Adams Darling, a woman who would play an important and controversial role in the early years of the DAR. Darling's correspondence with Mary Virginia Ellet Cabell, the first Vice President-General of DAR, indicates that Darling believed that she and McDowell were responsible for the creation of the society. Darling was an early correspondent of the recognized founders, she was selected at the initial meeting in August 1890 to serve on the Board of Advisors, and among other important contributions, she claimed to have written the first draft of the constitution. Despite this early involvement, Darling is not considered by the DAR to be a

¹⁹ Hannah Arnett was a white woman who convinced many men in Elizabethtown, New Jersey, to eschew the British and join the Patriots during the Revolutionary War. She became somewhat of a folk hero for her actions, and name was invoked by those who wanted to excite interest in white women's contributions to the American Revolution. Mary S. Lockwood, "Women Worthy of Honor: The Patriotic Spirit of '76; Something for the Sons of the Revolution to Read—Hannah Thurston Arnett," *Washington Post*, July 12, 1890; William O. McDowell, "Hannah Arnett's Life; her Descendants Heard from in the Following Letters," *Washington Post*, July 21, 1890; Eugenia Washington, *The True Story of the Origin of the National Society Daughters of the American Revolution* (No date, no pub.), 1, Series 1.1 Box 1, NSDAR Archive, Washington, DC.

founding member because of her abrupt exit from the society in late 1891. Tumultuous origins aside, the DAR held its first official meeting in Washington, D. C., in November 1890.²⁰

Darling's vision for the DAR was different from that of many of the other founding members. She wanted the society to foster a close relationship with the SAR and felt that McDowell deserved more recognition for his role in the organization of the DAR. By contrast, founders Desha, Walworth, and Washington wanted complete separation from the SAR. They felt that the SAR's decision to specifically prohibit women from joining was disrespectful and wanted little to do with their male counterparts. As the DAR formalized their constitution and made other important choices regarding the society's future, Darling felt that her suggestions were purposefully ignored by Desha, Walworth, and the other members of the executive board. She wrote many letters to Cabell about her unhappiness with the direction of the society that ranged from simply expressing frustration when her ideas were not implemented to demanding that her suggestions be made. Within less than a year Darling left the DAR in protest over the eligibility clause, taking many members with her and forming her own patriotic-hereditary society, the Daughters of the Revolution.²¹

Among the very first agenda items for each patriotic-hereditary society was writing a constitution. The first section of the constitutions of DAR, the DRT, and the UDC contained respective society's mission statement. This section laid out the reasons why white southern

²⁰ William O. McDowell Scrapbook, Daughters of the American Revolution Archives; Flora Darling Adams to Mary Virginia Ellet Cabell, November 21, [1891], Cabell Papers, Box 1.9, Daughters of the American Revolution archive; Darling, *Founding and Organization of the Daughters of the American Revolution and the Daughters of the Revolution*, 20, 112.

²¹ Flora Darling Adams to Mary Virginia Ellet Cabell, November 21, [1891], Cabell Papers, Box 1.9, Daughters of the American Revolution archive.

women formed these patriotic-hereditary societies and the kinds of work that they intended to accomplish. The DAR, the DRT, and the UDC all used remarkably similar language to explain their group's purpose. The DAR's objectives were "to perpetuate the memory and spirit of the women and men of the Revolutionary period [and] to collect and preserve the historical and biographical records, documents and relics" of the past. The DRT's goal was to "perpetuate the memory and spirit of the men and women who achieved and maintained the independence of Texas... To encourage historical research into the earliest records of Texas... [and] to foster the preservation of documents and relics," as well as to promote holidays honoring Texas independence and the construction of monuments on historic grounds. Finally, the UDC echoed many of these sentiments when they stated their purpose was "to collect and preserve the material for a truthful history of the war between the Confederate States and the United States of America; to honor the memory of those who served and those who fell in the service of the Confederate States ... and to fulfill the duties of sacred charity to the survivors of the war and those dependent upon them." Notably all three mission statements used some iteration of collecting and preserving memory, which is exactly what these associations did—they became the gatekeepers of public memory for their respective historical moments. The guiding principles of these associations were similar in both language and goals, which reflects the focus on memorialization and justifying daughters' right to claim ownership over public memory.²²

²² "The True Story of the Origins of the National Society Daughters of the American Revolution," 8, Cabell Papers, Box 1.37, Daughters of the American Revolution Archives; The Daughters of the Republic of Texas, "Charter," *Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Meeting of the Daughters of the Republic of Texas. Held at Houston, Texas, April 20th, 1895. Also Charter, Constitution and By-Laws of the Association.* (Houston: Dealy & Baker, Stationers and Printers, 1896), p. 3-4; United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Constitution of the United Daughters of the Confederacy*, (Atlanta: No publisher, 1895), 2, <https://archive.org/details/constitutionofdaughters>.

The patriotic and hereditary aspects of the patriotic-hereditary society were assumed to be mutually related—it serves to reason that the founding members of these associations believed that one could not be patriotic unless one was descended from someone who participated in the historic event, and that no one could be the descendent of a veteran and not express due patriotism for their cause. This is why the organizations created and adhered to strict rules for membership—in order to claim authenticity as an organization, they needed their members to hold credible claims to patriotism. Material service to the respective cause was integral to that legitimacy as founding members debated what kind of service was permissible.

After crafting their mission statements, patriotic-hereditary societies took pains to lay out the various structural elements that would govern their associations. One of the most important aspects of their constitutions was the eligibility clause. Determining who was eligible to join was integral to the success of a society because the members determined the authenticity of the group's claim to control of the memory of their specific historical event. The women who created and joined these patriotic-hereditary societies recognized that their work celebrated the heroic actions of men who had come before them. As such, white southern women needed to be able to justify their interest in commemorating their specific patriots, and they chose daughterhood as that justification. Daughterhood allowed women to serve as bridges between the past and the present because they represented a lineal connection to their heroic ancestors. Since many southerners were already well-versed in the implications that daughterhood had on a young women and her connection to her family, they accepted daughterhood as all the justification necessary to take up the cause of historical memory. In order to achieve and maintain authenticity, though, patriotic-hereditary societies needed to guarantee that their members were in fact descendants of the heroic men they sought to honor. If women who were not direct

descendants of patriots joined patriotic-hereditary groups, many members feared that the presence of non-descendants would negate the authenticity of the association and prevent women from achieving their memorial goals.

The eligibility clauses of these constitutions were the most important element of the patriotic-hereditary society's infrastructure, and as a consequence, they were also the most highly contested. The DAR, the DRT, and the UDC all included eligibility clauses in their inaugural constitutions that were at least debated if not amended within the first few years of the association's existence. The members of all three societies raised questions big and small regarding the merit of the original membership requirements. In some instances, members quibbled over the wording of the clause in order to make it sound more professional. In other instances, however, the clubwomen had serious disagreements about who should be eligible to join their association. Most notably, these organizations faced the question of whether to restrict their membership to direct, lineal descendants only or to open eligibility up to indirect, collateral descendants. The DAR, the DRT, and the UDC handled differences of opinion over eligibility in the manner that best suited the aims of the organization, and all amended their requirements in the first few years of their existence. The debates over whose daughterhood counted and whose did not demonstrates the earnest desire of women to achieve authority through authenticity.

The DAR passed its first constitution in October 1891 with the eligibility clause restricting membership to direct descendants of Revolutionary War Patriots. The clause read, "Any woman may be eligible for membership, who is of the age of eighteen years, and who is descended from an ancestor who, with unfailing loyalty, rendered material aid to the cause of Independence as a recognized patriot, as a soldier or sailor, or as a civil officer in one of the several Colonies or States, or of the United Colonies or States provided that the applicant shall be acceptable to the

Society.”²³ The following month, Mary Desha suggested that the DAR admit members who were the descendants of important men who died childless, such as George Washington, into their ranks. Desha recommended amending the constitution to add the “mother of a patriot” clause, which allowed women to join if they could trace their lineage back to any woman whose son was a Patriot. Although this might seem like a fairly innocuous addition to their membership requirements, the Desha clause, as it was colloquially known, caused a major rift within the DAR during its formative months. The most vocal early opponent of collateral eligibility was Flora Adams Darling.²⁴

Darling vehemently opposed the Desha clause and believed that changing the eligibility clause to anything other than lineal descent went against the goals of the society. As Darling wrote in her book, *Founding and Organization of the Daughters of the American Revolution and Daughters of the Revolution*, her objection to the “mother of a patriot” clause was that “a mother might have ten sons, one might be a patriot and nine might be Tories: yet if the clause should be carried it would make the descendants of the nine Tories fully eligible to the order as the descendants of the patriot.” Despite her objection to allowing collateral descendants into the DAR, Darling did want to include the ancestors of important founding fathers like Washington and James Madison who died childless. She suggested that in such instances, “the nearest kinswoman of such [a] patriot can submit their claims and make applications for membership to

²³ *Constitution and By-Laws of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution* (Washington, DC: Ramsey & Bisbee, Printers and Binders, 1891) 4, Series 1.1 Box 1 Early Records of the National Society, NSDAR Archive, Washington, DC.

²⁴ Ellen Hardin Walworth, “Eligibility: A Statement,” *American Monthly Magazine* vol. 1 no. 5 (November 1892), 493; Flora Adams Darling, *Founding and Organization of the Daughters of the American Revolution and Daughters of the Revolution* (Philadelphia: Independence Publishing Company, 1901), 12.

the society to be submitted to the executive committee and considered in a just and equitable manner.”²⁵ Despite these objections, the Desha clause passed the Committee on the Constitution shortly after its proposal and the Board of Management quickly accepted it. The codification of collateral eligibility and other incidents caused Darling to believe that there was a conspiracy working against her. Darling resigned from the organization in June 1891, and she helped to turn the New York Chapter of the DAR into the first chapter of a new organization, the Daughters of the Revolution.²⁶

The debate over the addition of the Desha clause to the eligibility requirements of the DAR did not end with Darling’s exit from the society. By the publication of the first issue of the DAR’s official magazine, *American Monthly*, in July 1891, members openly debated the eligibility clause. The arguments made by the clubwomen as to why they should or should not remove the Desha clause from the constitution shows just how integral they believed eligibility was to the DAR’s ability to fulfill its mission. The debate began when the regent from Pennsylvania, Julia K. Hogg, suggested amending the eligibility requirement to remove the Desha clause and replace it with a statement that allowed applicants to claim their place in the society if they were “descended from a man or a woman who, with unfailing loyalty, rendered

²⁵ Mary Desha to Mary Virginia Ellet Cabell, 11 November 1890, Papers of Mary Virginia Ellet Cabell, 1.7, National Society Daughters of the American Revolution, Washington, D.C.; Darling, *Founding and Organization*, 64; Flora Adams Darling to Mary Virginia Ellet Cabell, November 11, Mary Virginia Ellet Cabell Papers, Box 1.9, NSDAR.

²⁶ The Daughters of the Revolution (DR) was a patriotic-hereditary society created in the image of the DAR by Flora Adams Darling. The biggest difference between the two organizations was that the DR required proof of lineal descent from a Revolutionary War Patriot in order for women to join. Darling, *Founding and Organization*, 21, 125–29;

material aid to the cause of Independence...” Hogg believed that as written, the eligibility requirements—including the Desha clause—only allowed women to apply for membership based on their descent from a woman who was a mother of a patriot, and not through a woman who was herself a patriot who aided the war effort. Vice President General Ellen Hardin Walworth refuted that interpretation of the eligibility clause in *American Monthly*, but many other members cited this point of confusion as a reason why the Desha clause should be removed from the constitution. But the most popular reason that members gave for excising the mother of a patriot clause from the constitution was that they feared that it negatively impacted the ability of the DAR to carry out its goals.²⁷

The DAR allowed the debate over the eligibility clause to play out in the pages of *American Monthly*, even going so far as to dedicate considerable space in the January 1893 issue to it. Some submissions came in from members who believed the Desha clause should remain in the constitution, but more came from members who wanted it removed. Mrs. Simon B. Buckner, regent of the state of Kentucky, argued that membership requirements should be in accordance with the mission of the society. Since the DAR’s mission was to honor the memory of the Revolutionary War patriots, Buckner believed that the best way to accomplish this was by “restricting the membership to the descendants of those who actually participated in the struggle for independence.”²⁸ Dr. Persifor Frazer, a Philadelphia scholar who delivered an address before the society at their annual meeting, scoffed at the suggestion that what mattered was the applicant’s patriotism, not their ancestor’s role in the Revolution. “This principle might lead to the establishment of a very worthy society of patriots but not Daughters of the American

²⁷ Julia K. Hogg, “Eligibility: Lineal Descent,” *American Monthly Magazine* 2 (1892): 104; Ellen Hardin Walworth, “American Society,” *American Monthly Magazine* 1 (1892): 312–14.

²⁸ Mrs. Simon B. Buckner, “Eligibility: Lineal Descent,” *American Monthly Magazine* 3 (1893): 109.

Revolution,” he wrote. Both Buckner and Frazer advocated lineal descent as necessary to accomplish the work of the DAR, but neither made the connection between heritage and patriotism quite as clear as Sara A. Pryor.²⁹

Pryor, who was a vice-president general of the DAR and the honorary regent of Virginia, submitted a letter in support of removing the Desha clause from the constitution because she thought that the DAR was more than a group of women who held a common interest. She believed that it was women’s hereditary link to the patriots that allowed them to pursue the work of commemoration. Pryor wrote, “We declare to the world that we have undertaken a certain work, commenced by the men whose lineal daughters we are; that it is our right, because of this heritage of blood, to aid in matters pertaining to the honor of our country; and that we are only assuming the place and privilege which belongs to us because of our close kinship to the founders of this great nation.”³⁰ Although a letter from Helen M. Boynton suggested that this emphasis on lineage was actually an effort to make the society “less common,” Pryor’s letter demonstrates that at least some of the Daughters knew that their claim to public memory was tenuous unless they had a concrete connection to Revolutionary patriots. They selected daughterhood because it gave them the connection that they needed to pursue memorialization, and because white southerners understood the commitment that daughters were expected to maintain to their family’s honor.³¹

Like the DAR, the DRT also had difficulty settling the question of eligibility for its society. In the first draft of the DRT’s constitution, the eligibility clause granted membership to the descendants of everyone that contributed to the civil and military livelihood of the Republic of

²⁹ Dr. Persifor Frazer, “Eligibility: Its Various Aspects,” *American Monthly Magazine* 1 (1892): 497.

³⁰ Sara A. Pryor, “Eligibility,” *American Monthly Magazine*, 2 (1893): 127.

³¹ Helen M. Boynton, “Mother of a Patriot,” *American Monthly Magazine* 2 (1893): 108.

Texas until the United States annexed it in 1846. In December 1891, a month into the life of the DRT, charter member Adele Briscoe Looscan wrote to Hally Bryan that she felt that the initial eligibility clause was “too liberal.” “It occurred to me,” Looscan wrote, “that this would admit many descendants of mere speculators who played but a minor and [surely] selfish part in the establishment and maintenance of the government, and would for that reason lower the standard of the organization.”³² Looscan went on to say that while the clause as written would produce a much larger membership, she questioned whether a large membership was the purpose of the DRT. She also noted that it would be easier to expand their membership requirements later rather than to curtail them. In the first official constitution of the DRT, the eligibility clause admitted women “whose ancestors were of the Old Three Hundred, or were soldiers, seamen, or civil officers of the State of Coahuila and Texas, who aided in establishing the independence of Texas, or served the Republic of Texas in maintaining its independence of Texas up to its annexation to the United States.” It also specifically stipulated that the widows and wives of such men who served the Republic were eligible for membership.³³

Although Looscan was concerned about the eligibility requirements allowing women to join whose descendants had not made significant material contributions to the Republic of Texas, many members and potential members wrote to the Executive Committee about making the DRT a more inclusive society. In their first effort to encourage women to join the organization, the

³² Adele Briscoe Looscan to Hally B. Bryan, 20 December 1891, Hally Bryan Perry papers, 2F288, Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, University of Texas.

³³ Daughters of the Republic of Texas, *Constitution and by-laws of the Daughters of the Republic of Texas*, (Houston: Gray’s Printing Office, 1892), <http://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth34963/> : accessed January 22, 2016, University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History, <http://texashistory.unt.edu>; crediting Austin History Center, Austin Public Library, Austin, Texas.

DRT sent a circular to the members of the TVA explaining the aims of the society and encouraging the Veterans to submit the names of eligible women.³⁴ The officers of the Executive Committee also wrote personal letters to the descendants of Texans famous for their contributions to the Republic. In return, the DRT received questions about the eligibility clause. Generally speaking, these questions centered around two main topics: verifying whether members could claim their eligibility through female ascendants and whether the society would permit honorary membership for women who were not technically eligible but were connected to prominent men of the Republic of Texas.

As it was written, the DRT's eligibility clause allowed woman to join the society through a man or a woman who rendered material aid to the Republic of Texas. However, this did not stop potential members from writing to the Executive Committee to verify whether or not their ancestral connections made them eligible to join the DRT. Angie V. Winkler wrote to Looscan to ask if she and her three stepdaughters were eligible for membership. Winkler had joined the TVA through her husband's military service, and she thought that her stepdaughters might also be eligible through their mother's side of the family because their maternal uncles had fought at the Battle of San Jacinto and their maternal grandfather participated in the convention that declared Texas an independent Republic.³⁵ Kate S. Terrell wrote a similar letter to Looscan in March 1894 asking whether some women who were interested in joining her Dallas, Texas, chapter

³⁴ Adele Briscoe Looscan to Hally B. Bryan, 20 December 1891, Hally Bryan Perry papers, 2F288, Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, Austin, Texas.

³⁵ Angie V. Winkler to Adele Briscoe Looscan, March 27, 1893, Box 103 folder 23, Albert and Ethel Herzstein Library at the San Jacinto Monument.

were eligible to join through female ascendants who had lived in Texas since 1834.³⁶ Despite the fact that the eligibility clause clearly stated that women could join the society through male or female ascendants, many women still questioned whether they could claim a female relative in their membership application. This has little to do with the way that the eligibility clause was written and more to do with the way that the ideology of daughterhood emphasized the central relationship between fathers and daughters. Daughterhood was so closely connected to the father in this patriarchal society that women had difficulty comprehending that patriotic-hereditary societies would permit membership through female ascendants. Yet at the same time, women were interested in being able to join through the patriotic actions and accomplishments of their female ancestors. This thread runs through the DAR and the UDC as well, with all three organizations writing their constitutions so that applicants could join through their female ancestors but all three also had to clarify this for potential members.

The second eligibility topic that the DRT dealt with was whether or not they would create an honorary membership category for women who were not technically eligible but had an undeniable connection to a hero of the Republic of Texas. Specifically, the members of the Executive Committee and Rebecca Jane Fisher, the president of the William B. Travis chapter in Austin, Texas, corresponded over whether or not to create the designation “honorary member” for Eliza Johnston, the widow of Albert Sidney Johnston. Albert fought for the Texas army in the war for Texas independence in 1836 and was the Republic’s secretary of war in 1838. Eliza’s only connection to Texas came from her marriage to Albert: the couple lived intermittently in Texas during the era of the Republic and after annexation, and several of their children were born

³⁶ Kate S. Terrell to Adele Briscoe Loosen, March 12, 1894, Adele Briscoe Looscan Papers, box 103, Folder 2, Albert and Ethel Herzstein Library, San Jacinto Monument.

there. The family was living in San Francisco, California, in 1860 when Albert resigned from the United States military to join the Confederate army. He was killed at the Battle of Shiloh in 1862, and Eliza and their five surviving children remained in California. Much like the DAR wanted the descendants of famous Revolutionary War Patriots in their society, the DRT wanted as many women with famous Texas surnames in their organization as possible. Fisher and the Executive Committee wanted to be able to claim Eliza Johnston as a Daughter of the Republic of Texas. Although the membership requirements of the constitution specifically stated that the widows and wives of men who fought on behalf of the Republic of Texas were eligible to join, the DRT struggled over whether to admit Eliza as a member or create a special designation for her and women like her.³⁷

The objection to making Eliza a member despite her marriage to a hero of the Republic was that she married him after his stalwart service in the Texas army and government. As Fisher wrote to Looscan, women who married Texas veterans after their service to the Republic did not understand the hardships that those who colonized Anglo Texas had faced and thus they “[did] not sympathize nor appreciate our order as they should.” Nevertheless, in the era of the Lost Cause and with Confederate sympathy running deeply among the members of the DRT, Fisher wanted to be able to say that the widow of Confederate General Albert Sidney Johnston belonged to her chapter. “She is quite an acquisition to our ‘Daughters’ and we feel honored in hearing her name enrolled among us,” Fisher wrote.³⁸ The idea of making Eliza an honorary member may have come from Eliza herself. She wrote to Fisher that she did not believe herself eligible to join

³⁷ June Melby Benowitz, "Johnston, Eliza Griffin," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed March 09, 2016, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fjoba>.

³⁸ Rebecca Jane Fisher to Adele Briscoe Looscan, February 15, 1893, Adele Briscoe Looscan Collection, Box 100 Folder 5, Albert and Ethel Herzstein Library at the San Jacinto Monument.

the DRT because of her lack of hereditary connection to the Republic of Texas, but that she would appreciate it if they would accept her as an honorary member “as did the ‘Ladies Memorial Society’ in Louisiana, ‘The Daughters of the War of 1812’ and ‘the Revolutionary War.’”³⁹ The DRT wrestled with the question of creating an honorary membership category for several years. Letters from Looscan and Cornelia Branch Stone in April 1896 indicate that the Executive Committee believed that initiating such a position would require amending the constitution and would create undue opposition and complications, so they did not pursue it further.⁴⁰

The membership requirements to join the UDC were the least controversial of all three organizations. In fact, members did not significantly protest the eligibility clause of the UDC’s constitution until there was talk of expanding it to make it more inclusive a decade after the organization officially formed. Like the DAR and the DRT, the UDC built their society on the principle that applicants had to prove that they were the descendant of a Confederate soldier or statesman in order to join. The original membership provisions required that white southern women prove that they were “the widows, wives, mothers, sisters or lineal descendants of men who served honorably in the army, or navy, of the Confederate States; or who served in the civil service of the Confederate States, or, one of the Southern states; or, who gave personal service to the Confederate cause; or, those who were living, give aid [and] comfort to the Confederate States during the war.”⁴¹ The eligibility clause was purposefully constructed in this way to permit

³⁹ Eliza Johnston to Rebecca Jane Fisher, January 29, 1894; Rebecca Jane Fisher Papers, Austin History Center, Austin, Texas.

⁴⁰ Adele Briscoe Looscan to Hally B. Bryan, April 17, 1896; Cornelia Branch Stone to Hally B. Bryan, April 13, 1896, Hally Bryan Perry papers, 2F288, Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, Austin, Texas.

⁴¹ Poppenheim, *The History of the United Daughters of the Confederacy*, 22.

membership through female ascendants who contributed to the Confederate cause and the UDC wanted to specifically include female ascendants because the Daughters wanted to acknowledge all of the sacrifices that white Confederate women made during the Civil War.⁴²

Whereas the DRT opted not to create an honorary membership category, the UDC did permit honorary members. Although the designation does not appear to have been codified in the society's constitution, references to honorary members and honorary chapter officers appeared in the minutes from the annual meetings of both state conventions and the national conventions. In the case of honorary officers, this designation appears to have been reserved for former officers in order to recognize the women for their service. Honorary membership in a specific chapter came from one of two methods. The first form of honorary membership was reserved for women who were instrumental in organizing the chapter but no longer lived close enough to the town to be an active member. The second reason why chapters had honorary memberships was to include famous daughters on their membership roster. Many famous Confederate daughters were honorary members of UDC chapters but do not appear to have belonged to a chapter as a regular member. For example, Annie Dowling Robertson, the daughter of Richard W. "Dick" Dowling, the hero of the battle of Sabine Pass, seems to have been an intermittent member of the UDC in Texas. Robertson was listed as an honorary member of the Albert Sidney Johnston chapter in Austin, Texas, in 1899, 1902, 1903, and 1904. In 1900, she was the president of the newly formed Reagan-Lubbock chapter in Georgetown, Texas, a town approximately thirty miles north of Austin. From 1905 to 1911, Robertson did not appear on any of the chapter rosters published

⁴² In 1906, the national organization suggested that in order to increase their lagging membership they should allow "southern sympathizers" to join the UDC. The Texas Division expressed outrage at this suggestion at their yearly convention. *Proceedings of the Eleventh Annual Convention of the Texas Division, United Daughters of the Confederacy. Held in Bryan, December 4, 5, 6, 7, 1906.* (No publisher, 1907): 29; Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 23–24.

in the minutes of the Texas Division's annual meeting. She reappears as an honorary member of the Dick Dowling chapter in Beaumont, Texas, in 1912, 1914, and 1917. Given the distance between Beaumont and Austin, where Robertson lived, her honorary membership in the Dowling chapter was probably due to the new chapter being named after her father. Varina Anne "Winnie" Davis was also an honorary member of several UDC chapters. The fact that the UDC allowed for honorary membership when neither the DAR nor the DRT did demonstrates the UDC's desire to entice famous daughters to participate in the society even if it was only nominal.⁴³

⁴³ The Texas Division of the UDC did not hold an annual meeting in 1918 due to the Spanish Influenza epidemic. Texas Division United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Minutes of the Second Annual Convention of the Texas Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy Held in Galveston, Texas, December 17 and 18, 1897*. (Galveston: Clarke & Courts, Manufacturing Stationers, 1898); Texas Division United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the fourth annual convention of the Texas Division United Daughters of the Confederacy held in Austin, Texas, November 29-30, 1899*, (Tyler, TX: Sword and Shield Pub. Co., 1900); Texas Division United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Convention of the Texas Division United Daughters of the Confederacy. Held in Corsicana, Texas, December 4, 5, and 6, 1900*, (Ennis, TX: Hal Marchbanks, Printer, 1901); Texas Division, United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Convention of the Texas Division United Daughters of the Confederacy. Held in San Antonio, Texas, December 3, 4, and 5, 1901*, (No location: no publisher, 1902); Texas Division United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Convention of the Texas Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. Held in Fort Worth, Texas, December 2, 3, and 4, 1902* (Fort Worth, TX: Humphreys and Carpenter, 1903); Texas Division United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Convention of the Texas Division United Daughters of the Confederacy. Held in Houston, Texas, December 1, 2, 3, 4, 1903* (Fort Worth, TX, Speer Printing Co., 1904); Texas Division United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Convention of the Texas Division United Daughters of the Confederacy. Held in Waxahachie, December 6, 7, 8 and 9, 1904* (No location: no publisher, 1905); Texas Division United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Convention of the Texas Division United Daughters of the Confederacy. Held in Waco, December 5, 6, 7, 8,*

1905 (No location: No publisher, 1906); Texas Division United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Eleventh Annual Convention of the Texas Division, United Daughters of the Confederacy. Held in Bryan December 4, 5, 6, 7, 1906.* (No location: No publisher, 1907); Texas Division United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Twelfth Annual Convention of the Texas Division United Daughters of the Confederacy. Held in Austin, December 3, 4, 5, 6, 1907. Albert Sidney Johnston Chapter, Hostess.* (No location: No publisher, 1908); Texas Division United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Thirteenth Annual Convention of the Texas Division United Daughters of the Confederacy. Held in Terrell, December 1, 2, 3, 4, 1908. Gen. J.S. Griffith Chapter, Hostess* (No location: No publisher, 1909); Texas Division United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Fourteenth Annual Convention of the Texas Division United Daughters of the Confederacy. Held in Brownwood, December 7,8,9,10, 1909. Winnie Davis Chapter, Hostess* (Austin, TX: Von Boeckmann-Jones Company, 1910); Texas Division United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Seventeenth Annual Convention of the Texas Division United Daughters of the Confederacy. Held in Ft. Worth December 3rd-6th, 1912. Julia Jackson Chapter, Hostess* (No location: No publisher, 1913); Texas Division United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Eighteenth Annual Convention of the Texas Division United Daughters of the Confederacy. Held in San Antonio, October 28-31* (No location: No publisher, 1914); Texas Division United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Twentieth Annual Convention of the Texas Division United Daughters of the Confederacy. Held in Austin, Texas, Dec. 7-9, 1915* (No location: No publisher, 1916); Texas Division United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Twenty-first Annual Convention of the Texas Division United Daughters of the Confederacy. Held in Corpus Christi, Texas, October 24-26, 1916* (No location: No publisher, 1917); Texas Division United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Twenty-second Annual Convention Texas Division United Daughters of the Confederacy. Held at Longview, October 23-25, 1917* (No location: No publisher, 1918); Texas Division United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Twenty-third Annual Convention of the Texas Division United Daughters of the Confederacy. Held at Marlin, Texas, October 21-24, 1919* (No location: no publisher, 1920); Texas Division United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention (Report of 1920) Texas Division United Daughters of the Confederacy. Directory 1921. Held in Austin, Texas, October 26-28, 1920* (No location: no publisher, 1921); *The Confederate Daughter* 1, no. 4 (April 1900), 11–12.

The UDC's eligibility clause was fairly inclusive, but there were women that the framers of the constitution wanted to prevent from joining. First and foremost, the founders wanted to exclude women who married Union veterans or Union sympathizers, going so far as to prohibit one of the women who attended the initial September 1894 organizational meeting from joining after they found out that she was married to a northern man. Founding member Anna Davenport Raines in particular wanted to make the membership more exclusive than many of her counterparts. She was a proponent of prohibiting northern women who married southern men after the war from becoming members. Raines also lobbied on behalf of the idea that applicants not only had to be eligible to join the society but also had to be voted into the UDC by existing members. The original 1894 eligibility clause prevented applicants from being accepted into the society if there were three "black balls," or votes, against their entry from current members. The "black balling" provision was written out of the constitution in 1895, but the UDC retained the right to exclude objectionable members. In 1896 Raines went so far as to recommend all applicants have the endorsement of a member in order to join the UDC.⁴⁴ Raines's desire to keep out applicants that existing members did not like or found objectionable in any way was not unique to the UDC. Both the DAR and the DRT included language in their eligibility clauses that allowed applicants to be rejected if members found them unacceptable. This is indicative of a problem that many people find with such organizations—although they purported to be inclusive of all women based on the merit of their ancestor's patriotic service, patriotic-hereditary societies tended to reinforce, or at least try to reinforce, preexisting class lines in the New South. Whether

⁴⁴ Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 22–23.

this was self-fulfilled or not is unknown, however, as the women club movement as a whole attracted middle- and upper-class women who had leisure time to spend as they saw fit.⁴⁵

Interest in joining patriotic-hereditary societies was not determined by class alone. Not even the strong draw of patriotism was enough to make the woman's club movement appeal to women living in rural communities. Adele Briscoe Looscan received multiple letters from women whom she had reached out to about starting new chapters of the DRT. Many of the correspondents wrote back to say that although they wanted to join the DRT, they did not believe that there was enough interest in their town to create an entire chapter. "I think it impossible to organize anything here—even a chapter of the 'Daughters of the Republic,'" wrote Anna Ehinger of Navasota, Texas. Ehinger posited that if the women lived closer to Houston and could attend the meetings of the Houston chapter, then maybe there would be more enthusiasm for the society. Nettie Houston Bringhurst, a descendant of Sam Houston, wrote that she and her female relatives were "slow to take the lead in anything," but they would be "quite willing to work provided it be behind the scenes." This hesitance on the part of rural women to join the DRT in spite of its

⁴⁵ There was also an element of social class that informed the rules for joining patriotic-hereditary societies. A woman had to be able to trace her family heritage back to a participant of the Civil War, the Republic of Texas, or the American Revolution, which in some instances required access to family and legal documents. Moreover, they had to prove that their ancestor rendered material aid to the cause, which might have been difficult for less affluent families who lacked the resources and the education to track and record family history. Beyond proving eligibility, however, the club movement as a whole was dominated by middle and upper class women who had the education and the leisure time to devote to these endeavors outside of their home. Although social class undoubtedly played a part in who chose to join patriotic-hereditary societies in the beginning the desire to grow the organizations into the twentieth century and the language of the hereditary provisions shows that genealogy, not class, drove membership. Constitution and by-laws, 1890-1896, Early Records of the National Society, Series 1.1 Box 1, National Society Daughters of the American Revolution, Washington, D.C.; Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 21–4;

subject matter demonstrates the fact that women were not entirely prepared to participate in the club movement even when the content was agreeable to them.⁴⁶

At the turn of the twentieth century, women's patriotic-hereditary societies emerged as some of the fastest growing white women's clubs in the South. This was in contrast to the progressive clubs of white northern women and societies dedicated to racial uplift that African American women created. Much of their popularity had to do with how they used the ideology of daughterhood to justify their associations. The UDC, the DAR, and the DRT were organized in different places by different founders, and yet they shared similar purposes, methods, and often membership rolls. The founders of these patriotic-hereditary societies wanted to honor the achievements of their ancestors, but as women living in a society transitioning toward more public involvement for women, they still needed to prove their legitimacy as the right group to curate such public memory. Southerners understood daughters as connecting the generations, and since the work of the UDC, the DAR, and the DRT was to preserve the history of the past and promote it for future generations, identifying as daughters gave them the credibility necessary for their work. After southern society recognized the Daughters, as all three groups were colloquially known, as the proper gatekeepers of public memory, these societies continued to emphasize their daughterhood in their memorial projects. They did this by focusing on their identity as daughters for the sole purpose of promoting their version of the historical narrative. Claiming daughterhood gave women's patriotic-hereditary societies the authority to control public memory because it

⁴⁶ Anna Ehinger to Adele Briscoe Looscan, December 1, 1892 (emphasis in original), Adele Briscoe Looscan Papers, box 99 folder 20, Albert and Ethel Herzstein Library, San Jacinto Museum; Nettie Houston Bringhurst to Adele Briscoe Looscan, December 26, 1892, Adele Briscoe Looscan Papers, box 97, Albert and Ethel Herzstein Library, San Jacinto Monument.

employed a traditional gender trope in order to allow white southern women to pursue political work that was only just becoming socially acceptable.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ Deborah Gray White, *Too Heavy a Load: Black Women in Defense of Themselves, 1894–1994* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1999), 26–30.

CHAPTER FIVE

The debut of patriotic-hereditary societies marked a moment in which women engaged in civil society in new ways, but that did not mean that they sought to transgress the rules of their society. The women who joined the DAR, the DRT, and the UDC did not do so to change their society but to remind the people of a glorious past. This is why they took great pains to craft membership requirements for the associations. Patriotic-hereditary societies feared that womanhood alone did not confer the authenticity necessary to control the public memory of their historic era. Instead of womanhood, they claimed daughterhood because it allowed them to publicly advocate for their cause without rebuke. As women acting in public, southerners might have questioned the patriotic-hereditary clubwomen. As daughters, however, southerners accepted that the work of these societies promoted the heroics of their forefathers. Unlike men who could not take up the cause because it would have endangered the construction of their manliness, the ideology of daughterhood helped women as daughters to pursue patriotic-hereditary work because it placed an expectation on women that they would want to preserve their family's history and pass it on to their own children. They could do so because daughters were the only members of society who knew the correct narrative of the past and had both a vested interest in and acceptable method of perpetuating it. This aspect of daughterhood, serving as a bridge between past and future generations, gave patriotic-hereditary societies the legitimacy to pursue their public, political agendas.

The DAR, the DRT, and the UDC channeled their efforts to control public memory through various educational, memorial, and political projects. Many of these ventures followed a common script, because the majority of members belonged to more than one woman's club.

Although they focused on history and memory, patriotic-hereditary societies used many of the same tactics of the woman's club movement. Moreover, the similarity in the memorial work done by patriotic-hereditary societies made following specific strategies very easy. Clubwomen learned effective tools in one association and applied it to others. The DAR, the DRT, and the UDC undertook projects that focused on promoting the heroes that served in the Revolutionary War, the Republic of Texas, and the Confederacy, respectively, for children in the present and in the future. This often put women in explicitly public, political roles, but the Daughters truly believed that their efforts were justifiable because they were acting as good daughters. The ideology of daughterhood emboldened women to act in public in ways that they rarely had before.

In the 1890s women began participating in public more than ever before with the rising popularity of the woman's club movement. The woman's club movement was a multifaceted, multiracial campaign in which women formed associations concerning numerous topics. Middle- and upper-class urban women in particular joined women's clubs. Women created clubs around history, music, literature, and philanthropy. Clubs with philanthropic missions statements were especially important in the urban North and Midwest, where the settlement house movement and other social justice reforms gained prominence during the Progressive Era.¹ Benevolent societies,

¹ The woman's movement began in the North, with women carrying on a tradition of involvement in the abolition and woman suffrage movements. Without such traditions in the South, the woman's club movement manifested itself slower and slightly later. Clubwomen founded associations for any and all subjects, but some topics were more popular in specific regions of the United States. Woman's suffrage, for example, had a smaller but dedicated following in the South than in the North and West. I argue that the ideology of daughterhood made patriotic-hereditary societies among the most popular in the South because the memorial work and the way that the clubwomen pursued it resonated with southerners. For more on the woman's club movement, see Anne Firor Scott,

especially those with religious affiliations, contributed aid and support to their communities. Benevolence became an even more important part of patriotic work at the end of the nineteenth century. Veterans and women's clubs alike created homes for aging veterans and the widows and orphans of the war's casualties. The DAR, the DRT, and the UDC all debated whether or not to include financial aid to those in need as basic elements of their work.² Although they chose not to directly extend monetary assistance to individual members in need, clubwomen often belonged to multiple societies and could find help elsewhere.³

Natural Allies: Women's Associations in American History (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991) and Janet Floyd and others, eds., *Becoming Visible: Women's Presence in Late Nineteenth-Century America* (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi B. V., 2010), and Deborah Gray White, *Too Heavy a Load: Black Women in Defense of Themselves, 1894–1994* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1999). For southern clubwomen, see Elizabeth Hayes Turner, *Women, Culture and Community: Religion and Reform in Galveston, 1880–1920* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); Joan Marie Johnson, *Southern Ladies, New Women: Race, Region, and Clubwomen in South Carolina, 1890–1930* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004); and Anastasia Sims, *The Power of Femininity in the New South: Women's Organizations and Politics in North Carolina, 1880–1930* (Columbia, S. C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1997).

² For more on homes for Confederate veterans, widows, and orphans, see Rust Williams, *My Old Confederate Home: A Respectable Place for Civil War Veterans* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2010); James Marten, *Sing Not War: The Lives of Union and Confederate Veterans in Gilded Age America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), especially chapter 4; and Karen L. Cox, *Dixie's Daughters: the United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003), 35, 75–92, 160.

³ DAR founding member Ellen Hardin Walworth argued that since the DAR engaged in charitable work and its members learned about being charitable from that work, the society did not need to provide charity for its own members. Similarly, the Executive Committee of the DRT discussed but chose not to act as an organization in

Women's patriotic-hereditary societies were not significantly different from other women's clubs that became popular in the 1890s. In terms of the kind of work that southern clubwomen pursued, most had to do with children, education, and community. The DAR, the DRT, and the UDC focused on those areas just as much as other clubs. All clubwomen relied on widely accepted ideas of the innate differences between men and women that rest behind separate spheres ideology.⁴ Women were expected to be sentimental, nurturing, and disinterested in formal, organized politics. When women joined clubs, they emphasized the womanly attributes to justify their activities. If pressed for further proof that women's clubs were only doing the work ascribed to them, many clubwomen claimed the right to act through their motherhood.

In her study of increasingly politicized clubwomen of Dallas, Texas, Elizabeth York Enstam argues that women used motherhood as a means of accessing social issues. Beginning with the physical conditions of elementary schools, some Dallas clubwomen increasingly pursued reform

charitable giving to individuals. "Winter Work for Chapters," *American Monthly Magazine* 3 (September 1893), 333.

⁴ Historians have written volumes on separate spheres ideology, the notion that men and women inhabited distinct spheres of influence. Initial work on the subject included Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820–1860," *American Quarterly* vol. 18 no. 2 (Summer 1966); Nancy F. Cott, *Bonds of Womanhood: Woman's Sphere in New England, 1780–1835* 2nd Ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997) and Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1985). Critiques of separate spheres ideology began in the 1980s and 1990s. For a succinct article on this critique, see Linda K. Kerber, "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Woman's History," *Journal of American History* 75 (June 1988), 9–39. Feminist scholars in particular argued against the dichotomy between public and private as articulated by Jürgen Habermas. Such critiques included Craig J. Calhoun, ed., *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1992), and Joan B. Landes, ed., *Feminism, the Public and the Private* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).

measures that required interaction with the legislature. Throughout their work, these clubwomen claimed that issues of education, public health, and public safety naturally fell within their sphere of influence by virtue of their motherhood. They also argued that because they used “private influence and indirect means,” their work was not political.⁵ Enstam points out that the Dallas clubwomen, like many women of their day, took a very narrow view of what constituted the political in their lives. Due to the understanding of gender constructions at the turn of the twentieth century, the Dallas clubwomen were successful in making their motherhood argument. Enstam’s clubwomen were not alone in using woman’s role as mother to justify progressive activism. Much of the settlement house movement in Chicago and the urban Northeast and reforms for children across the country argued for women’s involvement based on maternal interest.⁶

The DAR, the DRT, and the UDC used daughterhood, not motherhood, to justify their control of public memory. Claiming daughterhood rather than motherhood did not significantly alter the kinds of work that patriotic-hereditary clubwomen did, but it changed the rhetoric of their work. Whereas clubwomen using motherhood claimed that their work benefitted their children and greater community, patriotic-hereditary society members worked to preserve and promote the ideals of bygone eras. Their daughterhood allowed them to reach back to the days of the American Revolution, the Republic of Texas, and the Confederacy, if only by virtue of bloodline, and instill in future generations a reverence for the legacies of these entities. Unlike women’s clubs that claimed motherhood to pursue progressive reforms, patriotic-hereditary society

⁵ Elizabeth York Enstam, “The Called it ‘Motherhood’: Dallas Women and Public Life, 1895-1918” in *Hidden Histories of Women in the New South* edited by Virginia Bernhard, Betty Brandon, Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, Theda Purdue, and Elizabeth H. Turner (Columbia and London: University of Missouri Press, 1994), 78.

⁶ Ibid., 73.

members used daughterhood to work on thoroughly conservative agendas. Despite the differences in the political tone of their work, women's clubs often used the same strategies. This was not paradoxical to the women participating in the patriotic-hereditary associations; they used the best tools at their disposal. Given these similarities in tactics, the use of daughterhood to justify the work of these patriotic-hereditary societies made a huge difference in the way that women pursued their goals.

In their simultaneous role as guardians and creators of public memory, the DAR, the DRT, and the UDC built monuments, wrote histories, and worked both in and out of schools to influence children's understanding of the past. In all of their various ventures, these patriotic-hereditary societies' primary focus remained on honoring the memory of the men and women of the past. This served to differentiate their patriotic work from the work that other women's clubs pursued. The educational work of the DAR, the DRT, and the UDC provides a good example of how patriotic-hereditary societies did the same work as other women's clubs but how they approached it from a different angle. As Enstam and others have shown, when women advocated for educational reform, they frequently did so as mothers. Women as mothers often sought reforms for the overall educational experience, including the facilities, the curriculum, and the benefits of a quality education for the students. In their capacity as daughters in patriotic-hereditary societies, women's primary concern was that their association's narrative of the past be taught to children. The DAR, the DRT, and the UDC made education a primary piece of achieving their objectives. Focusing on education made using their daughterhood very easy. As a bridge between generations, daughters advocating for patriotic education were fulfilling their daughterhood by imparting a specific kind of knowledge to the next generation. How the DAR, the DRT, and the UDC approached their educational outreach demonstrates that patriotic-

hereditary societies used the ideology of daughterhood to perpetuate the ideas of the past for the future.

For the DRT, teaching school children about the Texas Revolution and the Republic of Texas was a priority second only to purchasing and preserving the San Jacinto battlefield as a monument. The DRT's first foray into education was a project that placed framed lithographed portraits of Stephen F. Austin and Sam Houston, and a Texas flag, in every school room in the state. The society sold the lithographs to the individual schools that in turn agreed to frame the portraits and hang them up in classrooms. The Daughters worked endlessly to get these portraits in schools because Austin and Houston were the two biggest symbols of the Republic of Texas. They believed that if portraits of those two men hung in schools across the state, then the narrative of the Texas Revolution and the Republic could not be ignored. As well intentioned as it was, this project was not immediately successful. At the turn of the twentieth century, the decentralized nature of Texas' public schools meant that each school had to purchase its own sets of portraits. The economic climate of the mid-1890s caused schools to have fewer funds for extraneous expenditures. DRT Historian-General Adele Briscoe Looscan received many letters from teachers and school principals who wanted to purchase the portraits but were not sure that the schools could afford them. The Daughters placed portraits of Austin and Houston in as many schools as they could so that the youngest generation would know the faces of the heroes of the Republic of Texas like the Daughters did as school children.⁷

⁷ Daughters of the Republic of Texas, *Inception, Organization and Work of the Daughters of the Republic of Texas*, (no pub., [1904]), 16, Adele Briscoe Looscan Papers, 127:3, Albert and Ethel Hertzstein Library at the San Jacinto Monument, La Porte, Texas; Adele Briscoe Looscan to Adina de Zavala, March 1, 1892, Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, 2M127: Letters c. 1892, University of Texas at Austin; J. M. Ballinger to Adele Briscoe Looscan, February 16, 1897, Adele Briscoe Looscan Papers, 97:17, Albert and Ethel Hertzstein Library at

The DRT increased the visibility and knowledge of the heroes of the Republic of Texas in schools in any way that they could. Members used their connections to teachers and schools to increase awareness of Texas history, including suggesting curricula and promoting the idea that children learn and sing songs on Texas holidays. Rebecca Jane Fisher, president of the William B. Travis chapter, once lectured a meeting of the examining board of normal teachers in Austin on the debt that school children owed to the heroes of Texas. Afterward she wrote to Looscan that she “requested [the teachers] to have all school holidays named in honor of some Texas hero. And I gave them a list to choose from.” This was in addition to the DRT’s efforts to increase the observation of San Jacinto Day (April 21) and Texas Independence Day (May 2). The promotion of these two holidays was so important to the DRT that it was the third of three objectives outlined in the society’s charter. As in placing the lithographed portraits of Austin and Houston in school rooms, the push to celebrate these two holidays was an attempt to bring the memory of the Texas Revolution and the Republic of Texas to the forefront of children’s consciousness. The DRT believed that by getting their narrative of the Revolution and Republic of Texas into classroom, the students would become as invested in this history as the Daughters were.⁸

Whereas the DRT tried to affect the visibility of the Republic of Texas by working with teachers and schools, the UDC went directly to the children. Frustrated by what they perceived as northern textbooks distorting the narrative of the Civil War, the members of the UDC fought

the San Jacinto Monument, La Porte, Texas; Adina de Zavala to Adele Briscoe Looscan, June 3, 1902, Adele Briscoe Looscan Papers, 97:2, Albert and Ethel Hertzstein Library at the San Jacinto Monument, La Porte, Texas.

⁸ Enstam, “They Called It ‘Motherhood,’” 71–95; Adina de Zavala to Adele Briscoe Looscan, 3 February 1897, Adele Briscoe Looscan Papers 99:1, Albert and Ethel Herzstein Library at the San Jacinto Monument, La Porte, Texas; Rebecca Jane Fisher to Adele Briscoe Looscan, no date, Adele Briscoe Looscan Papers, 100:8, Albert and Ethel Herzstein Library at the San Jacinto Monument, La Porte, Texas.

hard to have their history of the conflict taught to southern schoolchildren. The society printed or endorsed histories of the South and the Civil War that promoted their version of slavery and the constitutionality of secession and the role of slavery in the causes of the war. One notable example of the UDC's own literature for kids was a booklet written and published by Cornelia Branch Stone, who served as president of both the Texas Division of the UDC and the national organization. The *U. D. C. Catechism for Children Arranged for Veuve Jefferson Davis Chapter U. D. C. Galveston, Texas* was meant to teach children the UDC-approved answers to questions that they might have about slavery and the causes of the Civil War. First and foremost, the pamphlet referred to the conflict as the War Between the States, and the answers to the posed questions dispelled the notion that the war was a rebellion of any sort. The *Catechism for Children* stated that the cause of the war was “[t]he disregard, on the part of the States of the North, for the rights of the Southern or slave-holding States.” Stone went on to write that the southern states were not responsible for slavery—it was introduced to North America by the colonizing powers. Finally, one of the most distorted statements in the *Catechism for Children* was that southerners did not believe that slavery was right but since the United States Constitution allowed for it and so much of the South's economy was dependent on slaves, southerners “did not feel it was just to submit to wholesale robbery.” The *Catechism for Children* demonstrated the UDC's commitment to educating children in the ways of the Lost Cause was more about the benefits that it brought to their organization and its longevity than the potential educational benefits to the children.⁹

⁹ Cornelia Branch Stone, *U. D. C. Catechism for Children Arranged for Veuve Jefferson Davis Chapter U. D. C. Galveston, Texas*, (No publisher, 1912), 3, 4, Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, University of Texas at Austin.

In addition to their efforts to control the historical narrative of the South and of the Confederacy, the UDC sought to involve children and young adults in the Lost Cause directly. In 1896 the Mary Custis Lee Chapter of the UDC, located in Alexandria, Virginia, created a youth auxiliary called the Children of the Confederacy. The Children had similar hereditary requirements as the Daughters, and the purpose of the organization was to formally integrate the Lost Cause into the lives of eligible boys and girls.¹⁰ The UDC also made it a practice to reward children, especially girls, who exhibited Confederate patriotism. The best known instance of the UDC celebrating a display of patriotism by a child occurred when Laura Galt, a thirteen-year-old from Louisville, Kentucky, refused to sing “Marching Through Georgia” in school. While her classmates sang, Galt reportedly put her fingers in her ears in defiance of her teacher’s reprimand. Confederate sympathizers, especially the women of the UDC, made Galt the poster child of the Lost Cause. Her story landed on the first page of the July 1902 issue of the *Confederate Veteran*, and the UDC made her an honorary member. While the UDC celebrated spontaneous displays of Confederate patriotism from children, they also prompted it. Along with the DAR and the DRT, the UDC held annual essay contests for schoolchildren. All three patriotic-hereditary organizations rewarded the best essay on that year’s topic with a medal and later, a monetary award. By incentivizing patriotism for children, daughterhood societies created a reason for the next generation to care about their historical moment in time.¹¹

Much like the DRT and the UDC, the DAR made education an important piece of its work. Unlike the DRT, which wanted to perpetuate the history of Texas as an independent nation, and unlike the UDC, which wanted to counter the northern narrative of the Civil War, the DAR did

¹⁰ “United Daughters in Virginia,” *Confederate Veteran* IV (May 1896), 141.

¹¹ “Children of the Confederacy,” *Confederate Veteran* IV (May 1896), 144; “Wouldn’t Sing Marching Through Georgia,” *Confederate Veteran* X (July 1902), 291.

not need to convince anyone of the value of learning about Revolutionary history. The society certainly wanted the schoolchildren to learn about the American Revolution and encouraged history in schools. The Daughters also wanted their members to be well informed. The DAR sponsored history lectures for its members and the public. Beyond history, the DAR primarily focused its educational outreach on reinforcing the ideals of American citizenship. This mattered to the Daughters because democracy and freedom were the core tenets of citizenship that their ancestors fought for. The DAR felt that Americans needed to be taught what it meant to be a citizen at the turn of the century for two reasons. First, the Executive Committee believed that the world was looking to the United States as an example of progress. “Boys and girls should be educated to useful citizenship,” Mary Virginia Ellet Cabell said in her address to the DAR Continental Congress in 1892, so that “the United States should be esteemed a first-class embassy.” Like the UDC, the DAR sponsored a children’s auxiliary called the Children of the American Revolution to initiate the next generation into patriotic organizing and teach the principles of citizenship.¹² Second, the DAR’s emphasis on citizenship was a response to the influx of immigrants entering the United States in the 1890s. In historian general Mary S. Lockwood’s 1893 report, she warned members that the incoming immigrants did not understand the American spirit. She also noted that the DAR was the best organization in the country to teach new Americans how to become good citizens.¹³

¹² The DRT organized a children’s auxiliary much later than the DAR or the UDC. At the 1928 annual convention, DRT President General Clara Driscoll Sevier suggested that a committee of young people organize the children’s association. The following year the DRT officially established the Children of the Republic of Texas. “Children of the Republic of Texas: Brief History,” accessed April 5, 2016, <http://www.drtinfo.org/membership-2/children-of-the-republic-of-texas>.

¹³ “Report of the Historian-General,” *American Monthly Magazine* 2 (January 1893), 450.

The Daughters devised two main ways to teach new immigrants the values of American citizenship. Building on their success with the Children of the American Revolution, in the early twentieth century the DAR organized the Children of the Republic. This auxiliary group was specifically for immigrant children and the American-born children of immigrants. The purpose of the Children of the Republic clubs, which by 1912 had chapters in each state in the country, was to “Americanize our little foreigners, and to develop them into good citizens.”¹⁴ The Children of the Republic taught members history, American values, and how to be well-rounded citizens. The Daughters also coached adult immigrants on how to become good citizens. According to the DAR’s official narrative, the association began helping immigrants with the naturalization process around 1910. In 1920 the Daughters compiled and published the first version of the *DAR Manual for Citizenship*. The *Manual* covered American history, government, and the roles of citizens. Although their approach to educating the public was different than the DRT and the UDC, the DAR continued to use their daughterhood to justify their actions. As the Daughters of Revolutionary heroes, these women understood the importance of citizenship better than anyone else. They believed that it was their duty to preserve the ideals of the Revolutionary generation and by teaching future Americans the values of citizenship, the DAR acted as a bridge between the past and the present.¹⁵

As their *raison d’être*, daughterhood patriotic-hereditary societies made memorialization a key component of their mission statements. The ways that daughterhood societies pursued memorial work, however, was different from the way that veterans and other previous

¹⁴ “Philanthropy And Education Work of D. A. R. More Important Than Their ‘Ancestry Activity,’” *Washington Post*, April 14, 1912.

¹⁵ “DAR Manual for Citizenship,” accessed April 5, 2016, <http://www.dar.org/national-society/education/dar-manual-citizenship>.

organizations had memorialized the Revolutionary War era, the Republic of Texas, and the Confederacy. The DAR, the DRT, and the UDC kept true to their role as a bridge between generations in their memorial work. They focused their efforts on preserving the narratives, artifacts, and places that mattered most to their respective historical event in order for future generations to learn about the past. Each society built monuments, marked graves, participated in memorial holidays, preserved buildings and battlefields, and promoted their narrative of history to varying degrees. For the DAR and the DRT, however, monuments to soldiers did not hold the same importance as it did for the UDC because of the distance between their historic event and the present. Instead, the DAR and the DRT busied themselves creating other public symbols and spaces for Americans to commemorate the Revolutionary War and the Republic of Texas. As a result, these two associations erected fewer monuments to soldiers than did the UDC.

The post–Civil War era saw an explosion of monuments to Union and Confederate regiments and soldiers. These monuments were largely funded and erected by veterans’ organizations, women’s organizations including the Women’s Relief Corps, the Ladies Memorial Associations, and the UDC.¹⁶ As John R. Neff argues, “monuments tell us at least as much, and perhaps far more, about the people who build them than about the individuals they are intended

¹⁶ For monuments erected by veterans associations, see Gaines M. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865 to 1913* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987); Marten, *Sing Not War*; John R. Neff, *Honoring the Civil War Dead: Commemoration and the Problem of Reconciliation* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2005). For work of the Women’s Relief Corps, see Marten, *Sing Not War*, and Cecilia Elizabeth O’Leary, *To Die For: The Paradox of American Patriotism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999). For the Ladies Memorial Association, see Caroline E. Janney, *Burying the Dead But Not the Past: Ladies Memorial Associations and the Lost Cause* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), and Cox, *Dixie’s Daughters*.

to honor.”¹⁷ Those former Confederates and their descendants who built monuments did so for specific purposes: to honor fallen soldiers, to celebrate battlefield heroism, and to erect symbols to point to for future generations. The UDC continued to fund and build monuments to Confederate soldiers because in spite of the declining numbers, there were still a sizable number of veterans alive to honor with monuments. Moreover, many members were real daughters who witnessed the celebration of monument unveilings and wanted the same celebratory attitude of the Lost Cause carried on to their children.

Within the first few years of its existence, the local, state, and national levels of the UDC planned to build various monuments around the South. These memorial projects, big and small, took time, money, and tremendous organization. Local chapters not only raised money for their own memorial plaques and statues to commemorate local and regional heroes, but they also constituted the fundraising base of the society’s larger projects. The Daughters raised money more effectively than the veterans ever did. Upon the news of Varina Anne “Winnie” Davis’ death in September 1898, the Richmond, Virginia, chapter of the UDC announced that it would erect a monument in her honor.¹⁸ The national society took over the effort and unveiled the monument just fourteen months later in November 1899.¹⁹ Although they originated many of their own memorials, sometimes the UDC worked with the United Confederate Veterans and the United Sons of Confederate Veterans to erect monuments. Most notably, the fundraising prowess of the UDC helped fund the monument honoring Jefferson Davis in Richmond, Virginia. Around the turn of the twentieth century, the Jefferson Davis Monument Association and the United

¹⁷ Neff, *Honoring the Civil War Dead*, 3.

¹⁸ “Body of Miss Davis to go to Richmond. Movement to Erect a Monument Started by the Daughters of the Confederacy,” *New York Tribune*, September 21, 1898.

¹⁹ “Unveiling of Davis Monuments,” *New York Tribune*, November 10, 1899.

Confederate Veterans (UCV) turned over the fundraising for and completion of the proposed monument to the UDC.²⁰ The UCV gave all of the funds previously raised to the Daughters, a sum of \$20,000. Mrs. N. V. Randolph, Chair of the UDC Central Committee, estimated that the Daughters needed \$50,000 to erect the monument. In November 1901 at the eighth annual meeting of the UDC in Wilmington, North Carolina, the society announced that efforts to raise funds for the monument that year alone resulted in \$13,000. With the fundraising efforts of the UDC, the Daughters and the Veterans unveiled the Jefferson Davis monument in June 1907.²¹

The DAR, being the farthest chronologically removed from the event it commemorated, sought tangible ways to memorialize the Revolution. The collection and preservation of artifacts was a top priority for the DAR, more so than the building of monuments to the Founding Fathers. In fact, the first monument that the DAR sponsored was not even for a soldier or

²⁰ Efforts to build a monument to the Confederate president formally began in January 1890 when the Jefferson Davis Monument Association petitioned the Virginia legislature to accept the society's charter. The Jefferson Davis Monument Association worked with the UCV to raise funds for the monument throughout the 1890s. The *Confederate Veteran* first reported that the UCV asked the UDC to take over the project in the February 1901 issue of the magazine. However, in May 1906 the president of the Jefferson Davis Monument Association, Mrs. George S. Holmes, gave a speech that stated that the UCV turned the monument project over to the Daughters in 1899. "The Jefferson Davis Monument," *Confederate Veteran* IX (February 1901), 57; "The Davis Monument. Mrs. George S. Holmes, President of the Jefferson Davis Memorial Association, Says Funds Are All in Hand and Work on Monument is Progressing," *Charlotte Daily Observer*, May 17, 1906; "Jefferson Davis' Monument Association Chartered," *The Knoxville (TN) Journal* January 7, 1890; "The Davis Monument. Its Location Decided—An Appeal for Aid," *Columbus (GA) Daily Enquirer*, September 21, 1892.

²¹ "The Jefferson Davis Monument," *Confederate Veteran* IX (February 1901), 57; "Daughters of the Confederacy. Monument Successfully Undertaken to Erect a Handsome Monument in Memory of Jefferson Davis," *Dallas Morning News*, November 16, 1901; "Jefferson Davis Shaft. Is Unveiled at Richmond by Veterans and Daughters," *Savannah Tribune*, June 8, 1907.

statesman of the Revolutionary war; it was for Mary Washington. Descendants of George Washington began soliciting for a monument to his mother Mary in the mid-1870s when Captain George Washington Ball formed the Mary Washington Association. Ball corresponded frequently with William O. McDowell, whose letter to the *Washington Post* in 1889 helped spark the organization of the DAR. Both men believed that constructing a monument to Mary Washington should be a top priority for the Daughters, and the recognized founders agreed. The DAR helped the Mary Washington Monument Association of Fredericksburg and the National Mary Washington Memorial Association raise money to erect an obelisk to Mary Washington on the Fredericksburg, Virginia, plantation where she was buried.²² Local DAR chapters built monuments and placed placards and other markers to Revolutionary War soldiers in their communities, but the National Society was more concerned with controlling the historical narrative than erecting shrines to individual heroes.

Unlike the UDC or the DRT, the DAR published its own magazine that kept subscribers abreast of the society's historical interests.²³ Articles appeared detailing the work done by both the national society and the local chapters, but more often the articles published in *American Monthly* covered topics of historical interest. These articles reflected the lectures that members gave at both chapter meetings and the annual convention of the national society. The DAR invested time at meetings and pages in its magazine to members' historical essays because they

²² "Legacy," Mary Ball Washington: The Life and Legacy of the "Grandmother of our Country," accessed April 22, 2016, maryballwash.umwblogs.org/her-legacy/.

²³ The UDC and the DRT did not publish their own magazines, but they did have what contemporaries called departments in the *Confederate Veteran* magazine and local Texas newspapers, respectively.

wanted to keep alive the stories that the women learned growing up.²⁴ If the members knew the narrative of patriotism and read about new stories in the magazine, it stood to reason that the women would pass this knowledge on to their children. Along with the theme of preservation and restoration, the Daughters pursued the collection and display of Revolutionary War artifacts. Artifact exhibitions took place at the DAR's annual convention, and the society loaned out pieces to the World's Fair, the Smithsonian Institution, and other conventions around the country.²⁵ To facilitate the collection of relics, the DAR established a permanent headquarters in Washington, D. C. Fundraising for a building began shortly after the formation of the DAR in 1891, but securing financing and a location, and hammering out other details, delayed the establishment of Memorial Continental Hall until 1905.²⁶ The final piece of the DAR's memorialization efforts was the preservation of historic buildings. Such projects included the restoration of rooms in Independence Hall by the Philadelphia Chapter in 1896 and the preservation of George Washington's church by the Mount Vernon Chapter in 1901.²⁷ These projects often took place on the local level, which demonstrated an investment in the memorialization project that went far beyond the major military and political spaces of the Revolution.

The main thrust of the DRT's memorial work was the collection of relics and the preservation of important battlefields. Adele Briscoe Looscan sent and received numerous letters regarding

²⁴ "The Mission of the Daughters of the American Revolution is that of Restoration, Preservation, and Education," *American Monthly Magazine* 3 (July 1893), 3.

²⁵ For examples see *American Monthly Magazine*, 28 (January–June 1906), 513.

²⁶ "DAUGHTER'S NEW HALL: Dedication Ceremony at Opening of Congress" *Washington Post* April 18, 1905.

²⁷ "Back As They First Were: Daughters of the American Revolution to Restore Rooms in Independence Hall," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, March 20, 1896; "Washington's Church," *Boston Morning Journal*, July 30, 1901.

the collection of artifacts from the War for Texas Independence and the Republic of Texas. Much of this correspondence dealt with the security of sending artifacts to the William B. Travis chapter in Austin, Texas. Adina de Zavala, president of the De Zavala chapter in San Antonio, Texas, wrote to Looscan that her family had several artifacts but did not think that her mother would part with the items for fear of losing them in transit. De Zavala noted that a few years earlier the Galveston Historical Society lost her grandfather Lorenzo de Zavala's dress sword, making the family even more unlikely to let go of their remaining artifacts from the Republic.²⁸ Despite the concern over losing family heirlooms and significant pieces of Texas history, the DRT received several artifacts from women across the state. The DRT solicited not only artifacts that their heroes used to win the Texas War for Independence but also any item that once belonged to the important players in the Republic. For example, one of the notable items that appear in Looscan's correspondence was a gold locket containing a lock of General Albert Sidney Johnston's hair.²⁹ The William B. Travis chapter in Austin became the guardians of the DRT's relics because the Daughters wanted to establish a museum in the state capital to display their artifacts. How the DRT accomplished this goal will be discussed in the next section of this chapter on how daughterhood patriotic-hereditary societies engaged in politics.

Collecting historic artifacts was important to the DRT's mission, but it was not the only element of their memorial work. The Daughters passionately pursued historic preservation. Two projects in particular took up much of the DRT's memorial efforts: the San Jacinto battlefield and the Alamo. The Republic of Texas won its independence from Mexico on the banks of the San

²⁸ Adina de Zavala to Adele Briscoe Looscan, February 6, 1893, Adele Briscoe Looscan Papers, 99:1, Albert and Ethel Hertzstein Library, San Jacinto Monument, La Porte, Texas.

²⁹ Rebecca Jane Fisher to Adele Briscoe Looscan, October 26, 1894, Adele Briscoe Looscan Papers, Albert and Ethel Hertzstein Library, San Jacinto Monument.

Jacinto River on April 21, 1836. Private citizens owned the land until 1883, when the state of Texas purchased ten acres of the battlefield. When the DRT organized a few years later, the Daughters believed that a larger portion of the battlefield should be preserved. The DRT raised at least \$15,000 for the purchase of land, but the Daughters knew that this would not be sufficient to purchase the entire site. The society lobbied the Texas state legislature for help with the remaining funds but found that the state's financial situation would not permit such assistance as quickly as the DRT had hoped. In 1894 the Daughters purchased a tract of land, and in 1897 the legislature passed an appropriation to fund further land purchases at the battlefield. The DRT quickly organized a bazaar to raise more money to fix up the grounds.³⁰ In cooperation with the Texas Veterans Association (TVA) and often the state legislature, the DRT continued to improve the conditions of the San Jacinto battlefield and hosted many memorial celebrations at the site. This successful preservation project helped the Daughters prove themselves on the public stage and prepared them for an even more difficult preservation endeavor at the turn of the century.³¹

³⁰ Daughters of the Republic of Texas, *Inception, Organization, and Work of the Daughters of the Republic of Texas*, 9–11; L. D. Hill to Mary Jane (Harris) Briscoe, May 20, 1897, Adele Briscoe Looscan Papers, 131:21, Albert and Ethel Hertzstein Library, San Jacinto Monument and Museum, La Porte, Texas; Rebecca Jane Fisher to Adele Briscoe Looscan, February 15, 1894, Adele Briscoe Looscan Papers, 100:5, Albert and Ethel Hertzstein Library, San Jacinto Monument and Museum, La Porte, Texas; Kate S. Terrell to Adele Briscoe Looscan, June 12, 1894, Adele Briscoe Looscan Papers, 103:2, Albert and Ethel Hertzstein Library, San Jacinto Monument and Museum, La Porte, Texas; A. V. Winkler to Adele Briscoe Looscan, July 3, 1894, Adele Briscoe Looscan Papers, 103:23, Albert and Ethel Hertzstein Library, San Jacinto Monument and Museum, La Porte, Texas; “The Texas Veterans. How They Celebrated San Jacinto Day With Their Sons and Daughters. To Designate The Boundaries of the Battle Field With a View to its Purchase. Houston Selected,” *Dallas Morning News*, April 22, 1894.

³¹ The DRT, the Texas Veterans Association, and the state legislature continued to purchase land and improve the battlefield grounds throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In 1936 construction began on

The Battle of the Alamo was by far the most famous battle of the Texas Revolution, even by the standards of the DRT. The women of the DRT knew of and lamented the Alamo mission's disrepair, especially the fact that a grocery and import business owned the Alamo Mission building. The opportunity to get involved in preserving the Alamo came just after the turn of the twentieth century when the Daughters began raising funds to help the state purchase a building connected to the Alamo. The Hugo & Schmeltzer Company, the grocer and importer occupying the space, wanted \$75,000 for the building.³² The De Zavala chapter secured an option on the building, but the society could not raise the necessary funds quickly enough purchase the property. The De Zavala chapter reached an agreement with Clara Driscoll, a recent and wealthy member of the Daughters, to provide \$20,000 in order to purchase the building. With Driscoll's funds, the DRT raised enough money to assist the state in purchasing the building.³³ In 1905, the Twenty-ninth Texas legislature purchased the building from the Hugo & Schmeltzer Company for \$65,000 and appointed the DRT the custodians of the Alamo Mission property.³⁴

the San Jacinto Monument, which stands 570 feet tall. The 34-foot-tall star atop the obelisk made the San Jacinto Monument 15 feet taller than the Washington Monument. For more on the San Jacinto Battleground State Historical Park, see Andrew Forest Muir, "San Jacinto Battleground State Historical Park," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed April 14, 2016, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/gks04>; "Frequently Asked Questions," San Jacinto Museum of History, accessed April 14, 2016, http://www.sanjacinto-museum.org/About_Us/FAQs/.

³² "Daughters of the Republic. San Antonio Chapter May Purchase Part of Alamo Mission," March 26, 1904, *Dallas Morning News*.

³³ Adina de Zavala to Adele Briscoe Looscan, February 2, 1904, Adele Briscoe Looscan Papers, 99:2, Albert and Ethel Hertzstein Library, San Jacinto Monument, La Porte, Texas.

³⁴ Texas, "Alamo—Providing for the Purchase, Care and Preservation of," *General Laws of the State of Texas Passed by the Twenty-Ninth Legislature at its Regular Session*, (Austin: The State Printing Company, 1905), 7–8.

With the Alamo mission and the San Jacinto battlefield, the DRT insisted that more needed to be done to preserve these two landmarks. Although the Daughters knew that they could not raise the necessary funds for either project, they did not believe it was enough for the state alone to purchase and take over these properties. As the daughters of the heroes who fought valiantly at the Alamo and San Jacinto, they felt that it was their duty to preside over the restoration of these sites. And while the DRT worked with the TVA and the state legislature, the Daughters believed that they were best suited to serve as the guardians of these sites. This belief came from their daughterhood. As the descendants of Texas veterans, no one was better equipped to appreciate the battlefields of the Texas Revolution than the Daughters. The impetus to preserve and restore these places was a product of the belief that the Daughters were a bridge between past and future generations. Especially for the women of the DRT, many of whom were “real daughters,” the desire to promote Texas history for generations to come was a direct result of their daughterhood.

When the DRT pursued large preservation projects, they often worked with the Texas legislature to secure the funding and the rights to the locations. This demonstrates a unique relationship that the daughterhood societies had with politics and government. When the DAR, the DRT, and the UDC engaged in expressly political endeavors, which they did frequently, they claimed their right to do so because they were daughters commemorating their father’s patriotic accomplishments. Increased political engagement for women was not entirely new. Women’s relationship to politics and government began to change as a result of the Civil War. Stephanie McCurry argues that women demanded services from the Confederate government for the sacrifices that they made to the war effort. Women often argued that the government owed

services to them as the wives of soldiers.³⁵ This development in women's relationship to the state carried over into the way that women's patriotic-hereditary societies interacted politically.

The women of these daughterhood societies often argued that the state needed to keep them as guardians of the patriotic narratives of the past. The willingness of all three of these patriotic-hereditary societies, and the DRT in particular, to enter into politics to the extent that they dealt directly with state and local governments demonstrates that the societies understood that their work was political. The women's club movement contributed to a broader definition of what constituted political work for women. Although changing social attitudes permitted women's clubs to act in public, the members of these societies pursued their memorial work under the guise of authenticating family history. Acting as daughters allowed the members of these societies to claim that their work was strictly for the family and therefore apolitical. These women claimed a special right to enter the political sphere based on their daughterhood. But the irony of this was that under the guise of apolitical family work, the women in these organizations engaged in more political activities than before.

Of the three patriotic-hereditary societies discussed in this project, the DRT interacted with the formal bodies of government the most. As previously mentioned, the DRT took on two big preservation projects in its first twenty-five years. The state of Texas already owned some of the Alamo mission and the San Jacinto battlefield, but the DRT believed that more of both locations should be preserved in their entirety and that the Daughters could manage the sites better. Rather than try to take over either site from the state, the DRT worked with politicians to secure appropriations for the purchase of the Alamo Mission and larger tracts of the San Jacinto

³⁵ Stephanie McCurry, *Confederate Reckoning: Power and Politics in the Civil War South* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012), 178–217.

battlegrounds. While many of the women who played prominent roles in the DRT socialized in the same circles as many of the state legislators (and at least one woman was married to a state representative), the willingness to formally lobby state representatives was novel for the women.³⁶

As early as January 1893, the DRT asked the Texas legislature to pass an appropriations bill to purchase the rest of the San Jacinto battlefield and erect a monument on the grounds. Shortly thereafter Rebecca Jane Fisher wrote to Adele Briscoe Looscan with bad news. “I have been informed by some of the most influential members of the Senate & House,” Fisher began, “that an investigation into the financial conditions of the State Treasury, reveals the fact, that the Treasury will be almost quite empty after the necessary appropriations are made.” Fisher went on to write that the legislators strongly suggested that the DRT omit the monument from their request and that if they did, Fisher believed the bill would pass.³⁷ Like modern-day lobbyists, the Daughters did not request appropriations from the legislature without giving something back. The DRT often invited state legislators to picnics and other events at the battlefield to demonstrate the importance of the land and entice favorable voting.³⁸

³⁶ Ella Darcy Dibrell, a member of the Sequin, Texas, chapter of the DRT was married Joseph B. Dibrell, the a state representative from Sequin. Daughters of the Republic of Texas, *Inception, Organization, and Work of the Daughters of the Republic of Texas*, 3; W. W. White, "Dibrell, Joseph Burton," Handbook of Texas Online, accessed April 21, 2016, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fdi04>.

³⁷ “Costs and Fees,” *Dallas Morning News*, January 22, 1893; Rebecca Jane Fisher to Adele Briscoe Looscan, February 9, 1893, Adele Briscoe Looscan Papers, 100:4, Albert and Ethel Hertzstein Library, San Jacinto Monument and Museum, La Porte, Texas.

³⁸ Rebecca Jane Fisher to Adele Briscoe Looscan, October 12, 1893, Adele Briscoe Looscan Papers, 100:4, Albert and Ethel Hertzstein Library, San Jacinto Monument and Museum, La Porte, Texas.

Appropriations for the purchase and improvement of the Alamo mission and the San Jacinto battlefield were not the only instances in which the DRT sought assistance from the state legislature. When the Daughters wanted a location to display the artifacts that they collected from members, they turned to the state capital. In a letter to the state representatives, DRT Executive Committee President Mary Smith Jones requested that the legislators give the Daughters a room in the state capitol to display their relics. Jones concluded the letter with this request: “We, the Daughters of the Republic of Texas, therefore petition the Senate and House of Representatives of the Legislature to take the necessary steps toward creating this department, thereby putting the state in possession of these relics; and further, to empower the Daughters of the Republic of Texas with their guardianship in the Capitol—the management and manner of exhibit being left to their judgment [*sic*].”³⁹ On March 25, 1897, the Texas Senate adopted a House resolution to give the DRT the space they desired. The space and exhibit did not open until the spring of 1898, but the Daughters successfully lobbied the legislature for a place in the Texas Capitol Building for the state’s most important artifacts.⁴⁰

Neither the UDC nor the DAR worked as closely with state or other governments as the DRT did. This may have been a product of the fact that the DRT memorialized one state and the DAR and the UDC commemorated much larger regions. While the UDC and the DAR’s political activities were more informal, their enterprises were partisan nonetheless. When the UDC explicitly entered the political realm, they often did so in one of two ways. First, members denied

³⁹ Mrs. Anson Jones to the Honorable Senators and Representatives of the Legislature of the State of Texas, No date, Adele Briscoe Looscan Papers, Albert and Ethel Hertzstein Library at the San Jacinto Monument, La Porte, Texas.

⁴⁰ “The Senate,” *Dallas Morning News*, March 26, 1897; “An Exhibit of Relics,” *Dallas Morning News*, June 3, 1898.

that the UDC's work had any political overtones. This showed up in speeches given to sympathetic audiences and articles in Confederate-sympathizing magazines. In an article in the June 1898 issue of an Austin, Texas, magazine devoted to the UDC, *The Southern Tribute*, the author wrote that the Daughters "do not seek to stir up strife. Inspired by a high ambition, the Daughters of the Confederacy are doing only good and holy work." Of their memorial work, the author justified the erection of memorials and monuments as giving the generations of southerners born after the war "much to be proud of."⁴¹ Often the UDC emphasized the elements of their work that could most easily be spun as apolitical. In the notes from its organizing meeting, UDC Grand Division of Virginia noted that the goal of the society was to work with the UCV in "the noble work of charity & relief" for needy Confederate families.⁴² The claims that their work was strictly memorial and had no political intentions fit perfectly with the Daughters' self-presentation. Claiming to be good United States citizens who accepted the outcome of the war, the UDC maintained that their memorialization efforts simply honored the heroism of their fathers and helped those veterans and their families in need.

The second way that the UDC engaged in strictly political behavior was by the rhetoric that they used to describe important aspects of Confederate memorialization. Two of the most striking examples of this appear in the minutes from the 1907 annual meeting of the Texas Division of the UDC. The Texas Daughters unanimously passed a resolution that required the members to refer to the Civil War as the War Between the States, and that members use

⁴¹ *The Southern Tribute: A Monthly Magazine, Devoted to the Work and Interest of the Daughters of the Confederacy*. Edited by Judge B. G. Neighbors. 1 (June/July 1898), 289, Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, University of Texas at Austin.

⁴² Minutes, October 15 1894 meeting, UDC Grand Division of Virginia, Mss4Un3008b, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Virginia.

“Memorial Day” instead of the term “Decoration Day.”⁴³ The Daughters preferred using the War Between the States or even the War of the ‘60s over the Civil War in order to keep up the Lost Cause belief that southerners did not provoke the war and that secession was not unconstitutional. As previously established in the education section of this chapter, the UDC engaged in the denial of the South’s culpability for the war. In the 1912 *U. D. C. Catechism for Children*, the UDC placed the blame for the war on northern disregard for southern rights.⁴⁴ The difference between the use of Memorial Day and Decoration Day may have been mere semantics; the resolution did not provide a reason. The fact that the Texas UDC passed a resolution to commit its members to one over the other indicated that the terms resonated with the organization. The UDC engaged directly in politics in these areas because they needed to appear apolitical in order to fulfill their mission as Daughters. Claiming nonpartisanship and selecting inoffensive terminology allowed the UDC to continue to behave as a society of women interested in honoring their ancestors.

In the first twenty-five years of its existence, the DAR’s most contentious political battle took place over question of direct or indirect membership eligibility. The fallout from that contentious eligibility fight resulted in an exodus from the organization of many women and the formation of a separate patriotic-hereditary society. The Executive Committee of the DAR and Flora Adams Darling engaged in a political battle over who played what role in the founding and organization of the society. More than a squabble over membership, the eligibility question was about the

⁴³ *Proceedings of the Twelfth Annual Convention of the Texas Division United Daughters of the Confederacy. Held in Austin, December 3, 4, 5, 6, 1907. Albert Sidney Johnston Chapter, Hostess.* (No publisher, 1908), 35, Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, University of Texas at Austin.

⁴⁴ Cornelia Branch Stone, *U. D. C. Catechism for Children Arranged for Veuve Jefferson Davis Chapter U. D. C. Galveston, Texas* (No pub., 1912), 3, Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, University of Texas at Austin.

politics of what it meant to be a patriot. Moreover, Darling's quest for legitimacy as a founder was a request for the acknowledgement of control of the narrative. Both of these issues were political albeit not on the level of formal government. The DAR's attitude on assimilating immigrants and the publication of citizenship also took a decidedly political tone. Nativism ran high at the turn of the twentieth century. Although they acted as daughters protecting and promoting the patriotism of their ancestors, the fear that the immigrant population would weaken the United States' world standing was nothing if not political.

The society's first explicit foray into the political realm occurred during the Spanish-American War. On May 11, 1898, the National Society of the DAR adopted a series of resolutions in support of the war effort. The first expressed to the president of the United States that the Daughters would provide "all possible service" to the state in its effort against Spain. The second recommended that all members "take immediate steps" to aid the war effort. The third and final resolution stated that the DAR's pledges of support would be sent to President William McKinley.⁴⁵ One of the tangible ways that the DAR offered assistance to the war effort was by providing medical services similar to those performed by the Red Cross. DAR founding member Ellen Hardin Walworth noted that while the Red Cross was an international and neutral organization, the Daughters would work strictly at the direction of the U. S. Government. "What we aim to do is to raise money to send trained nurses and supplies, subject to the orders of hospital authorities," Walworth stated.⁴⁶ The women of the DAR believed that volunteering was their duty as well as an extension of their patriotic-heritage. In other words, the Daughters

⁴⁵ "D. A. R. Want to Help. Send Resolutions to the President Offering Aid to the Country," *New York Tribune*, May 12, 1898.

⁴⁶ "Woman's Work in War. Ready to Care for Wounded on the Field," *Omaha Sunday World Herald*, May 8, 1898; "Stray Shots," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, May 1, 1898

believed that their daughterhood compelled them to serve their country in order to demonstrate their hereditary patriotism.

In their three major areas of interest—education, memorialization, and politics—the daughterhood patriotic-hereditary societies acted as generational liaisons. The express reason behind all of the work done by the DAR, the DRT, and the UDC was to teach southerners in the present and the future about the heroes of the past. This was easy to understand through an examination of the educational and memorial work of these three groups. All three sought to educate children on the narrative of American history that their association endorsed. To accomplish this, the societies worked with teachers, schools, and the students themselves. In terms of memorialization, the placement of memorials, monuments, and the preservation of sacred spaces made visible symbols of the past for generations to come. The erection of monuments helped these patriotic-hereditary societies honor their ancestors to keep patriotism alive via public displays. Arguably, all of the work pursued by these three societies was political. However, when the DAR, the DRT, and the UDC engaged in political actions, whether it was lobbying governments or encouraging the use of partisan language, the Daughters entered the political realm in order to fulfill their duty as good daughters. The women's denial of the political goals of their associations and the use of the ideology of daughterhood to justify their actions allowed them to be even more political than they could have been in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries if they advocated as women.

This is not to say that the Daughters were disingenuous in their work. Quite the opposite—the women of the DAR, the DRT, and the UDC sincerely believed in what they were doing and how they were doing it. If anything, the Daughters' use of the ideology of daughterhood to accomplish their goals subverted traditional expectations for women's roles in public. These

patriotic-hereditary societies entered onto the political scene at a time when women's clubs in the South were rising in popularity but had not yet embarked on some of the more progressive threads of the club movement. The members of these patriotic-hereditary societies pursued educational, memorial, and political agendas because it was important to them to honor the legacies of their ancestors. They approached the work as daughters because they knew that the ideology of daughterhood resonated with other southerners just as it had with them. The Daughters used their daughterhood to justify their public work because advocating on behalf of their fathers was what gave them the opportunity to act in public in the first place.

CHAPTER SIX

The Daughters of the American Revolution, the Daughters of the Republic of Texas, and the United Daughters of the Confederacy successfully used the ideology of daughterhood to achieve their memorial goals in the 1890s and the early 1900s. These women's organizations maintained their places as the primary arbiters of public memory well into the second decade of the twentieth century. Although the daughterhood patriotic-hereditary societies retained control of patriotic organizing, their influence on southern society waned with each passing year. This had little to do with the ideology of daughterhood as an organizing principle. Instead daughterhood patriotic-hereditary societies diminished because of circumstantial changes that made historic patriotic memorialization less important to the society. While the contributing factors were broadly applicable to the DAR, the DRT, and the UDC, some weighed more heavily on specific organizations than others. Sectional reconciliation, the increased opportunities for women during the Progressive Era, and the nationalist fervor surrounding World War I served as the primary contributors to the drop-off in the role of women's patriotic-hereditary societies. As southern society changed, and women's roles in that society changed, the DAR, the DRT, and the UDC faded to the background. Women no longer needed to tie their public advocacy to their fathers' past to be taken seriously. The public phase of the ideology of daughterhood ended, but it remained a vital aspect of literature for women.

Residual tensions between northerners and southerners over the Civil War decreased as the early twentieth century progressed. Reconciliation became easier for Americans on both sides of the Mason-Dixon line after nationalizing events like the Spanish-American War. As national identity increased among southerners, lingering Confederate identity dissipated. A large part of

this was due to generational turnover, but an equally important part of it was due to the spread of white supremacist values across the country. The expansion of the women's club movement in the early twentieth century contributed to the decreasing role of patriotic-hereditary societies in the South. As women's clubs increased in both acceptability and popularity, middle- and upper-class women no longer needed daughterhood as a justification for joining clubs. Finally, the United States' entry into World War I changed the landscape of patriotic organizing. The DAR, the DRT, and the UDC all rallied around American patriotism during the war. The end result, however, was that the daughterhood societies lost their prewar prominence.

The circumstances that led to the declining popularity of the DAR, the DRT, and the UDC in the early twentieth century did not alter the role that the ideology of daughterhood played in the lives of women. As an ideological construct, daughterhood changed and adapted to fit different situations. The emphasis on daughterhood as an important means of women's organizing rose in the post-Civil War period and it waned around the First World War. This did not mean that the ideology of daughterhood disappeared from women's lives. The ideology of daughterhood remained an integral aspect of childrearing and family life. Evidence of the role that daughterhood continued to play in southern society can be found in the most popular historical drama of the twentieth century—*Gone With the Wind*. Scarlett O'Hara's desire to fulfill her daughterhood motivated many more of her actions than her goal of being seen as a southern lady did. The ideology of daughterhood may have faded from public importance after World War I, but it never totally disappeared from the lexicon of southern womanhood.

Historians have written volumes on the post-Civil War reconciliation of the North and the South. While John R. Neff argues that reconciliation never truly took place because of the popularity and tenacity of the Lost Cause, many other historians describe a different scenario.

The most popular depiction of postbellum reconciliation mirrors the adage that the North won the war and the South won the peace. Briefly, reconciliation occurred when Union and Confederate veterans began emphasizing the manly experience of battle over the righteousness of their cause. Northerners and southerners also found common ground in the subjugation of African Americans and immigrants. Similar cultural attitudes helped former foes to reunite, but there were specific events that marked dramatic steps forward in terms of reconciliation. Some events, like the 1912 election of Woodrow Wilson, the first southerner elected as president since the Civil War, had little direct impact on the operation of women's patriotic-hereditary societies. Others, like the dwindling population of veterans, weighed heavier on the cause of the daughterhood societies.¹

The reconciliation of the North and the South in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was immensely important to the work of the UDC. Throughout the first twenty-five years of the UDC's history, the Daughters walked a delicate line between claiming to be unrepentant Americans while simultaneously promoting the Lost Cause as the true history of the Civil War. Claiming daughterhood played a significant part in the reason why the UDC could do this. By staking their work on fulfilling their daughterly duty to glorify their family's history, the Daughters could celebrate their family's Confederate past while honestly identifying as patriotic

¹ John R. Neff, *Honoring the Civil War Dead: Commemoration and the Problem of Reconciliation* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2005), 6–7. Also see Nina Silber, *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865–1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), Caroline E. Janney, *Remembering the Civil War: Reunion and the Limits of Reconciliation* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013); Peter S. Carmichael, *The Last Generation: Young Virginians in Peace, War, and Reunion* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005).

Americans. As the North and South got closer to full reconciliation began reconciling, the UDC's job became simultaneously easier and less necessary. It became easier because they received less resistance from northerners and Union-sympathizers. But if the South's Confederate past no longer stood in the way of North-South relations, then it was no longer necessary to celebrate the Lost Cause.

One of the reasons that the Daughters took over Confederate memorialization from the Veterans was that women could carry the Lost Cause to subsequent generations of southern. Yet as Karen L. Cox demonstrates in her history of the UDC, as the number of veterans dwindled in the early twentieth century, so too did the public's interest in Confederate memory. The Daughters' role in the benevolent care of indigent Confederate veterans and widows was only necessary as long as there were veterans and widows to support. By the First World War, the UDC had largely accomplished its goal of having the Lost Cause narrative of the war taught in southern textbooks. Although fervently passionate about the Lost Cause, the Daughters did not command the same large crowds that the Veterans did. While the majority of southerners intellectually supported the Daughters' mission, the public's lack of enthusiasm for the UDC's events prevented the organization's expansion.²

The Spanish-American War provided the most effective methods of reconciliation for sympathizers of the Lost Cause. As discussed in Chapter 3, southern men viewed the Spanish-American War as an opportunity to prove their masculinity and to redeem the Confederacy's defeat in the eyes of the nation. For all intents and purposes, southern men's willingness to enlist

² Karen L. Cox, *Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003), 157; Gaines M. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 197.

in the United States military and fight along side northerners proved the martial masculinity of Confederate sons—and a few Confederate veterans themselves. Even more than Union and Confederate veterans' mutual emphasis on battlefield exploits, southern participation in the Spanish-American War helped prove southern commitment to the nation and move the United States towards reconciliation. After the conflict ended, the UDC used the display of martial masculinity by southern soldiers and sailors to demonstrate that the former Confederacy had successfully integrated back into the Union. "The Stars and Stripes is our flag and it is the only flag to which we owe allegiance; may it forever wave over a free and united country," said William R. Hamby in his opening address to the Texas Division of the UDC at their annual convention in 1908. Victory in the Spanish-American War allowed veterans and their children to celebrate the war as a vindication of Confederate defeat, easing lingering animosities as well as the driving force behind the UDC's work.³

All three of the daughterhood patriotic-hereditary societies supported American involvement in the Spanish-American War. While this served to infuse the associations with national patriotism, it also slightly diluted each society's message. By voicing their support for the brief conflict in Cuba, the Daughters shifted the focus of their work from the memorialization of the past to the patriotism of the present. To keep the focus as much on their respective historical event as possible, these patriotic-hereditary societies connected the efforts of the past to the current conflict. At the seventh annual meeting of the DRT, Colonel W. L. Crawford addressed the Daughters and drew parallels between the Texas War of Independence and the Spanish-American War by emphasizing that Anglo-Americans fought against "the Latin race" in both

³ "Address of Welcome by General William R. Hamby," Proceedings of the Twelfth Annual Convention of the Texas Division United Daughters of the Confederacy. Held in Austin, December 3, 4, 5, 6, 1907. Albert Sidney Johnston Chapter, Hostess. (No pub. 1908), 13–14.

conflicts. Crawford also compared the sailors killed when the USS *Maine* exploded to the soldiers massacred at Goliad, Texas. He then called upon the Daughters to encourage their husbands and sons to “[vindicate]...the cruel assassination of the brave sailors of the *Maine*,” like their fathers had done to avenge those killed at the Alamo and at Goliad. The DAR viewed their support for the Spanish-American War as an extension of their work because it produced a surge of patriotism for American values that the Daughters then connected back to the Revolutionary War era. By publicizing their support for the conflict, these patriotic-hereditary societies stepped beyond the bounds of strict memorialization for the first time in their short histories.⁴

The Spanish-American War acted as a double-edged sword for the DAR, the DRT, and the UDC. While supporting the war improved the publicity of these patriotic-hereditary societies, it also diminished the impact of their memorial work. Many Americans considered the Spanish-American War the first military conflict after the Civil War, and they were anxious to celebrate American patriotism. This detracted somewhat from southerner’s enthusiasm for celebrating more sectional forms of patriotism. A biography of DRT founder Hally Bryan Perry noted that participation in the society’s events lagged after the Spanish-American War, causing dedicated members to redouble their efforts to have San Jacinto Day and Texas Independence Day celebrated across Texas. All three organizations continued to grow after 1898, but the swell of

⁴ *Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Meeting of the Daughters of the Republic of Texas, held at Dallas, Texas, April 20, 1898. Also, Charter, Constitution, and By-laws of the Association.* (Houston: Gray’s Printing Office, 1898), 4; Harbert Davenport and Craig H. Roell, “Goliad Massacre,” *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed May 31, 2016, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/qeg02>; Francesca Morgan, *Women and Patriotism in Jim Crow America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 58.

American patriotism in the wake of the Spanish-American War began to change the public position of these three patriotic-hereditary societies.⁵

Just as the increased nationalism resulting from the Spanish-American War worked to dilute the prominence of daughterhood patriotic-hereditary societies, so too did the rapid spread of the woman's club movement in the Progressive Era South. As women's clubs became more popular, the kinds of clubs that women could join also became more diverse. After the turn of the twentieth century, southern women's clubs expanded to include more progressive associations like city planning, education reform, and even woman suffrage. By 1907, each state of the former Confederacy had organized state chapters of the Federation of Women's Clubs that met annually both within the state and with the national General Federation of Women's Clubs. Local, state, and national federations of women's clubs wielded political power as special interest groups. Interestingly, the UDC chose not to join so as to retain its organizational independence. While some subjects remained more popular than others, the political implications of increasingly progressive women's clubs made the political work of the DAR, the DRT, and the UDC appear less novel. As women's political roles in public became more normalized in the South, it no longer became necessary for women to couch their purposes in the deferential language of daughterhood.

The Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) was the first northern-style woman's club to expand across the South. Founded in 1874, the WCTU was a largely grassroots organization that combined women's interests over the family and the home with their post-Civil War desire to be more involved in civil society. Temperance was often viewed as a woman's

⁵ Mary Ann Jones Harvey, "The Life of Hally Byran Perry," University of Texas [thesis], January 1958, Hally Bryan Perry Papers, Dolph Briscoe Center for the Study of American History, University of Texas at Austin Box 2F292.

issue because of the emphasis on alcohol consumption damaging the livelihood of the family and because of its deep ties to evangelical Christianity. In 1881 WCTU president Frances Willard began a campaign to bring the temperance association to the South touring the region and giving lectures. She repeated this tour in 1882 and 1883, and as a result chapters of the WCTU sprang up across the South. To appeal to southern racial sensibilities, the WCTU permitted chapters to segregate their membership based on race. The WCTU presented the first opportunity outside of the Ladies Memorial Association for women to organize around a subject that they felt passionately about. William A. Link argues that the WCTU gave women invaluable leadership skills that few would have otherwise had the opportunity to experience. Although it was popular among women, the WCTU faced skepticism from men who disagreed with the overtly political stances that Willard and her organization took, including supporting woman suffrage and Populism. Nevertheless, the WCTU gave women an entree into public organizing that they seldom had the opportunity to pursue before.⁶

The club movement proliferated in the urbanizing South, in a few short years women became more comfortable with public organizing. The initial women's clubs were often organized around intellectual and cultural pursuits, but over time the subject of the clubs became more political. The DAR, the DRT, and the UDC fit this early state of the southern woman's club movement. As southerners embraced some of the tenets of progressivism, women formed associations that addressed Progressive Era interests. This included public health, city beautification, anti-prostitution, and orphanages and kindergartens. While the popularity of women's clubs grew from word of mouth and women's interest in public organizing, sometimes an event spurred the

⁶ Joe L. Coker, *Liquor in the Land of the Lost Cause: Southern White Evangelicals and the Prohibition Movement* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2007), 200–03; 207–08; William A. Link, *Southern Crucible: The Making of An American Region Vol. II: Since 1877* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 374.

advance of the club movement. For example, the devastation of the 1900 Galveston, Texas, hurricane caused an explosion of women's philanthropic organizing. The storm decimated much of the city, killing 6,000 people and inflicting tens of millions of dollars in damages. The damage overwhelmed the city's resources, and women tapped into their existing networks to find ways to cope with sanitation and other issues. According to Elizabeth Hayes Turner, the post-hurricane organizing eventually led to more progressive civic associations like the Equal Suffrage Association. When women formed progressive clubs in the early twentieth century, they often named their societies by using the identifier 'women,' the cause that the association advocated, or a combination of both. This was a departure from the patriotic-hereditary societies that used daughter as an identifier, and it was directly linked to how the connotations of women's public organizing changed in the early twentieth century.⁷

In addition to forming local women's clubs, women created larger bodies to oversee the work of their associations. In 1890 a group of women in New York formed the General Federation of Women's Clubs (GFWC). State federations followed, with Texas being among the first of the southern states to officially form one in 1897. Twenty-two clubs served as charter members of the Texas Federation of Women's Clubs (TFWC), and in 1898 the TFWC joined the GFWC. Many of the most populous, prominent clubs in the Lone Star State joined the TFWC, with at least one notable exception. The Texas Division of the UDC refused to join, arguing that the hundreds of chapters across the state formed its own federation that did not require oversight from an outside body. Moreover, the national UDC amended its bylaws to prohibit any local chapters from "federating with other clubs." The Texas Division's refusal to join the TFWC

⁷ Link, *Southern Crucible*, 375; Elizabeth Hayes Turner, *Women, Culture, and Community: Religion and Reform in Galveston, 1880–1920* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 11, 34.

appears to be a quirk specific to that organization; many prominent members of the UDC, including Cornelia Branch Stone and Bettie Ballinger, belonged to other clubs that joined the federation. Nevertheless, the Texas UDC's refusal to join the TFWC demonstrates that the Daughters believed that the missions of these two organizations did not match up. Interest in conservative patriotic-hereditary societies began to wane in the early twentieth century as more progressive subjects gained popularity and the stigma of women's participation in civic organizing diminished.⁸

The final event to decrease the prominence of daughterhood patriotic-hereditary societies was World War I. The Great War affected patriotic-hereditary organizing because it increased American nationalism. It also changed the dynamics of patriotic organizing. Instead of women celebrating the heroic accomplishments of their ancestors in wars past, women sent their sons and daughters overseas to fight in a war unfolding before their eyes. Americans rallied around soldiers, and the daughterhood patriotic-hereditary societies participated in the war effort. After the war, however, the tone of the Daughters' work changed. Moreover, women formed new patriotic associations specific to World War I that used motherhood to identify their connection to their work. Post–World War I political circumstances also caused daughterhood patriotic-hereditary societies to change their work and subsequently fade from their turn-of-the-century prominence.

⁸ General Federation of Women's Clubs, "History and Mission," <http://www.gfwc.org/who-we-are/history-and-mission/> Accessed June 1, 2016; Stella Christian, ed., *The History of the Texas Federation of Women's Clubs* (Houston: Texas Federation of Women's Clubs, 1919), 5, 35; Dora Davenport Jones, *The History of the Julia Jackson Chapter 141, United Daughters of the Confederacy*, Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, University of Texas, Austin, Texas, 15; Cordelia Powell Odenheimer, "From the President General," *Confederate Veterans* May 1917, 230.

The DAR became intimately involved in the war effort when the United States entered World War I. It created the War Service Department dedicated specifically to the war effort and the War Relief Service Department to raise money to support French children orphaned by the war. The association also created DAR Liberty Loans and established a per capita amount that each chapter had to sell to support the war. The National Society volunteered its headquarters in Washington, DC, to the federal government to use as a temporary office building for the Department of War. Many of the DAR's members also volunteered as Red Cross nurses or raised money for the organization. Although the war shifted the kind of patriotic work that the Daughters pursued, members believed that war relief fell within the ideals of the Revolutionary generation. DAR President General Sarah Elizabeth Guernsey encouraged chapters to set aside their memorial work in favor of war relief. "Let us conserve our energies by directing them along the lines laid out for us by those who conceived the spirit of the Society," Guernsey wrote.⁹

Before the United States entered World War I, the UDC actually advocated global peace. This was a popular sentiment for women and women's organizations in the first two decades of the twentieth century. Women formed several associations devoted to their interest in peace during this time, including the National Peace Congress and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. These organizations prospered throughout the first years of World War I, but when the United States' entry into the war became inevitable in 1917, the UDC and many other

⁹ Sarah Elizabeth Guernsey, "Comments by the President General," *Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine*, January 1918, 7; "Announcement of War Relief Service Department," *Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine*, July 1917, 15; "Did you know?" Daughters of the American Revolution, <http://www.dar.org/national-society/about-dar/did-you-know> Accessed June 2, 2016; "Committed to Service: DAR and the American Red Cross," Daughters of the American Revolution, <http://www.dar.org/national-society/celebrate-125/committed-service-dar-and-american-red-cross>, accessed June 2, 2016.

organizations stopped working on behalf of peace and started supporting the war effort. Once the US severed diplomatic ties with Germany, Daughters' President-General Cordelia Powell Odenheimer pledged the services of the UDC to President Woodrow Wilson. Two months later, in her monthly column in the *Confederate Veteran*, Odenheimer told the Daughters of her attendance at a meeting of the National Council of Women where she participated on behalf of the UDC in plans for conserving food supplies and registering women to fill job vacancies left by soldiers. The UDC also raised funds to be sent directly to France to endow hospitals for wounded soldiers. She also advised members that despite the prohibition against the UDC federating with other women's clubs, members, chapters, and state divisions could work with the Red Cross, the National Council of Women, and other groups specifically engaged in patriotic service to the war effort. In advocating for such blatantly American patriotism, Odenheimer alluded to the patriotic organizing that Confederate women did during the Civil War and encouraged the Daughters to emulate their mothers. The women of the UDC recognized the war as an opportunity to demonstrate their American patriotism and to provide for the soldiers and sailors of the US military by providing the bounty of the region's vast agricultural resources.¹⁰

Following the armistice, the DAR continued to raise money to send to France to help rebuild some of the villages and towns destroyed by the war. This was but a small portion of the society's postwar work. American victory in World War I caused the DAR to ramp up their patriotic efforts at home. "While the fighting has stopped all along the firing line, there yet is

¹⁰ Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 149; Gertrude Bussey and Margaret Tims, *Women's International League for Peace and Freedom 1915-1965: A Record of Fifty Years' Work* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1965); Cordelia Powell Odenheimer, "From the President General," *Confederate Veteran* March 1917, 122; Odenheimer, "From the President General," *Confederate Veteran* May 1917, 230; Mrs. J. Norment Powell to Cordelia Powell Odenheimer, May 1, 1917, *Confederate Veteran*, May 1917, 280.

need of much work to be done, and while our work may lie along different lines, there still is much to be accomplished,” Guernsey wrote in the January issue of *Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine*. After the Great War, the DAR’s official magazine often ran articles about war-related subjects and other contemporary patriotic endeavors. The Daughters used the war to expand its work on contemporary American patriotism that began with teaching immigrants how to be good patriots. The Red Scare of the 1920s helped the DAR to move to the right of its pre–World War I position, combining patriotism with anti-communist rhetoric. It expelled members whose names appeared on the government’s blacklists and it cooperated with officials investigating the primary women’s peace organization of the postwar period, the WILPF. In *Battling Miss Bolsheviki: The Origins of Female Conservatism in the United States*, Kirsten Marie Delegard argues that the DAR was one of the leading conservative women’s organizations that dismantled the social justice reforms of the Progressive Era and “changed the landscape of American politics for the rest of the twentieth century.” Although the DAR tied such activities to the true patriotism of the Revolutionary generation, this was not the kind of memorial work it originally formed to accomplish.¹¹

¹¹ The DAR changed the name of its magazine from *American Monthly* to *Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine* in 1913. Despite the name change, new issues kept the sequential volume numbering. Sarah Elizabeth Guernsey, “Comments by the President General,” *Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine* LIII January 1919, Philadelphia: National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution; Kathryn Kish Sklar and Helen Baker, “How Did Women Peace Activists Respond to ‘Red Scare’ Attacks during the 1920s?” <http://womhist.alexanderstreet.com/wilpf/intro.htm>, Accessed June 2, 2016; Kirsten Marie Delegard, *Battling Miss Bolsheviki: The Origins of Female Conservatism in the United States* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 1.

The UDC pursued fundraising and other efforts on behalf of the war effort in the name of Confederate veterans, but their war relief work promoted reconciliation and American patriotism to the detriment of the Lost Cause. In order to raise millions of dollars in liberty bonds and tens of thousands of dollars to support French and Belgian orphans, the UDC stopped raising funds for their own memorial projects. The Daughters did not resume building monuments after the war, which had been one of the most prominent aspects of their memorial work. The participation of southern men in the war and the UDC's relief efforts solidified the South's place in the nation, and Karen L. Cox argues that the UDC largely viewed its mission of vindicating the Confederacy as accomplished by 1920. The UDC remained relevant in the South, reminding new generations of the Confederate past, but its public battle for recognition of Confederate heroism was complete.¹²

In addition to war relief work obscuring the memorial agendas of patriotic-hereditary societies, women created new organizations specific to World War I that invoked motherhood, not daughterhood. Two such organizations were the American War Mothers and the Gold Star Mothers Club, the latter being specifically for mothers whose sons or daughters died fighting in the Great War. The advent of patriotic-hereditary societies to honor such a recent conflict required a different organizing principle, and motherhood fit the circumstances. Mothers sent their sons and daughters to war, and therefore they were among the most deeply invested in the patriotic organizing for the war. In its new member information, the American War Mothers stated the society's object as "to affiliate the mothers of sons and daughters who have served or are serving, in the Armed forces of the United States or its allies [and] to keep sacred the tie that

¹² Mary B. Poppenheim, "From the President General," *Confederate Veteran*, May 1919, 190; Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 157–58.

binds together the mothers who gave us their energy for our country's honor and the world's peace..." These associations did not immediately pursue robust memorial projects, especially due to the number of members grieving over the loss of their children. Dorcas A. Hutchcraft claimed that once time healed the wounds of her loss, she believed that the American War Mothers would stand among the DAR and the UDC as great American women's societies. Associations like the American War Mothers and the Gold Star Mothers Club diversified the landscape of patriotic-hereditary organizing and with the mothers' direct ties to World War I, obscured the importance of daughterhood societies by 1920.¹³

No study of daughterhood in the late-nineteenth-century South would be complete without a discussion of Scarlett O'Hara and *Gone With the Wind*. While Varina Anne "Winnie" Davis was the quintessential Confederate daughter, popular culture remembers Scarlett as the consummate southern daughter. Margaret Mitchell's 1936 novel and David O. Selznick's 1939 blockbuster film made Scarlett a household name, and the character is remembered as much for her role as a daughter of the South as she was for standing in a barren field and claiming "[as] God as my witness, I'm never going to be hungry again." The focus on Scarlett as a daughter is both literal and figurative, with each adding to her popularity in the American literary canon. She spends much of the novel trying to achieve the good daughter ideal, although her efforts look markedly different than the good daughter of Lydia Sigourney's short stories. Mitchell wrote Scarlett not only to be the good daughter of the O'Hara family, but the good daughter of the New South. The publication of *Gone With the Wind* and the subsequent release of the film came during the Great Depression, a period in which the failings of the New South became abundantly

¹³ Scrapbook, American War Mothers, Records, 1918–1982. Mss. BC A512, Filson Historical Society, Louisville, Kentucky; Percy Sherman Page Papers, Mss A P132/4, Filson Historical Society, Louisville, Kentucky.

clear. *Gone With the Wind* resonated with readers and viewers alike who recognized much of their current struggles in the historical drama. Scarlett's daughterhood demonstrates how the ideology of daughterhood continued to influence southerners after the relative decline of daughterhood patriotic-hereditary societies.¹⁴

The eldest daughter of Gerald O'Hara and Ellen Robillard O'Hara, Katie Scarlett O'Hara desperately wanted to live up to the lofty goals of her daughterhood. Due to a combination of circumstance and temperament, Scarlett never achieved her goal. Her father was an Irish immigrant whose identity as a southern planter and slave owner was won in a few hands of poker, hardly a respectable way of attaining status. Scarlett's access to ladyhood came from her mother, whose family were longtime planters in Savannah, Georgia. Ellen Robillard was not only a lady, but she had fulfilled the ideal of the good daughter. As a young woman, Ellen fell madly in love with her cousin Philippe. When the families forbade the match and Philippe passed away suddenly, Ellen married Gerald O'Hara to make her father happy. Elizabeth Fox-Genovese referred to Ellen as one of only a handful of true ladies present in *Gone With the Wind*, and argues that Scarlett's desire to be a lady was sentimental at best. Fox-Genovese's assessment of Scarlett's attitude toward ladyhood is more or less correct, but she misses how the character's relative ambivalence to becoming a lady like her mother was deeply connected to Scarlett's desire to embody the good daughter ideal.¹⁵

¹⁴ Given the discrepancies between Mitchell's novel and Selznick's screenplay, I will base the majority of this discussion on the novel. Margaret Mitchell, *Gone With the Wind*, 75th Anniversary Ed. (New York: Pocket Books, 2011), 428.

¹⁵ Ibid., 55, 30, 45–6, 54; Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, "Scarlett O'Hara: The Southern Lady as New Woman," *American Quarterly* 33 (Autumn 1981), 400.

Mitchell describes sixteen-year-old Scarlett as “self-willed, vain and obstinate,” and refers to her as her father’s daughter. Despite their best efforts, Ellen and Mammy, the primary enslaved African American character in the novel, could not make Scarlett into a lady. Yet Scarlett desperately wanted her mother to think that she would eventually achieve ladyhood. “Scarlett always showed her best face to her mother, concealing her escapades, curbing her temper and appearing as sweet-natured as she could in Ellen’s presence,” Mitchell wrote. Scarlett continued to fall short of her mother’s ideals but she did not dwell on these failures. Instead, she continued to strive to be like her mother.¹⁶

Scarlett’s relationship with her father was different, perhaps because of their similar personalities, or because she did not idealize her father in the same way that she did her mother. The desire to fulfill the role of the good daughter for her father’s benefit did not seem to matter to Scarlett until after the death of her mother. Like the stereotypical good daughter of nineteenth century didactic literature, Scarlett assumed the position of her family’s matriarch after her mother passed away. Yet as this was the story of a New South woman, Mitchell slightly deviated from the trope of the good daughter. Instead of completely putting her own love life aside in order to care for her father and sisters, by this time in the novel Scarlett is a widow and a mother. Scarlett takes over both the management of her family and of her family’s plantation in rapid succession, making a series of seemingly ruthless decisions in order for her family to survive. When Gerald died in a horse riding accident, Scarlett continued to do the bare minimum to provide for her younger sisters. Her sense of fulfilling her role as a good daughter was connected intimately to her mother and to a lesser extent, her father, but Scarlett felt little allegiance to her helpless sisters. This was abundantly clear when Scarlett convinced Frank Kennedy, a longtime

¹⁶ Mitchell, *Gone With the Wind*, 59.

suitors of her sister Suellen, to become her second husband. Mitchell wrote Scarlett to be a new southern woman, but she retained elements of the old ideal of the good daughter in spite of the other changes to women's gender roles that she employed.¹⁷

As Fox-Genovese argues, Scarlett was a new woman of the New South, not a southern lady. She embraced many of the tenets of the New South creed, more so than some of the other characters around her. Seeing little economic opportunity on the family's plantation, Scarlett joined the thousands of southerners that migrated to the region's burgeoning urban centers. Once there, she looked for economic opportunity at every turn. She put politics aside in favor of prosperity, and she made decisions that contradicted her husband's opinions. Yet even as Scarlett built her lumber mill empire and found her way into the upper echelons of New South society, she continually harkened back to what her mother would have thought about her circumstances. Despite the quintessential southern belle becoming a new woman, she remained tied to her role as daughter.

Scarlett toiled on her family's plantation, Tara, for some time after the war before she found a way to pull herself out of the postwar poverty that she despised. Upon marrying Kennedy, she returned to Atlanta, Georgia, where she had spent part of the war. Postwar Atlanta was not the city that she had fled as General William Tecumseh Sherman's troops marched into town. Scarlett recognized that the city was on a cusp of a construction boom and pushed her husband into the lumber mill business to capitalize on the urbanization taking place in the South. More than simply encouraging Kennedy to open and then to expand his lumber mill business, Scarlett actually ran the mills with minimal input from her husband and from Ashley Wilkes, the Kennedys' business partner. New women frequently worked in order to provide for themselves

¹⁷ Ibid., 612.

and their families, but they often chose occupations that were gendered female, with teaching being the most popular choice. Scarlett's behavior in her position as manager of the mill scandalized her friends, family, and acquaintances, but she did not care. Her questionable choices included dropping the price of her lumber in order to force a competitor to go out of business and hiring convicts and African Americans in order to save on labor costs. Scarlett knew that her choices were not ladylike, but she did not care what others thought of her. At least once, she paused to think about the impression that her behavior would have made on her late mother. She knew that her mother would not approve of her tactics and would remind her in hushed tones about the concepts southern of honor and duty. "Momentarily, Scarlett cringed as she pictured the look on her mother's face," Mitchell wrote.¹⁸ Scarlett was not concerned that her behavior did not fit the ideal of the southern lady, but that her actions would have caused her mother to despair.

While Scarlett actively tried to ignore what she believed would have been her mother's disapproval when it came to her business exploits, she expressed genuine regret for her actions after Kennedy died. In one of *Gone With the Wind's* more memorable storylines, Scarlett tried to travel unaccompanied to one of her lumber mills through a dangerous section of town. Two men, one white and one black, attacked her and was rescued by one of her father's former slaves, a man known as Big Sam. Upon hearing the news of his wife's attack, Kennedy took Scarlett to her sister-in-law Melanie Wilkes's home so that he and Ashley Wilkes could attend a 'political meeting.' The meeting was actually a Ku Klux Klan raid to "wipe out" the area where Scarlett was attacked. In the process of the Klan's terrorism, Kennedy was shot through the head and killed. Although Scarlett freely admitted that she married Kennedy for money and not for love,

¹⁸ Ibid., 662.

his death shook her to her core. Shortly after Kennedy's death, Rhett Butler visited Scarlett. Slightly intoxicated, Scarlett admitted to Butler that her mother had raised her better than her behavior indicated. "Oh Rhett," she cried, "for the first time I'm glad she's dead, so she can't see me. She didn't raise me to be mean." Scarlett's concern over her mother's approval struck a deeper chord than anything else.¹⁹

In the final scene of *Gone With the Wind*, Butler leaves Scarlett after she realized too late that she did in fact love him after years of taking him for granted. Heartbroken, she wondered to herself what she would do without him. "I'll—why, I'll go home to Tara tomorrow," she thinks. The more she thinks about going to Tara, the better she feels, especially when she realizes that Mammy would be there to console her. Scarlett's desire to return to her family home in her time of need, as she did during the Civil War, demonstrates how she falls back on her daughterhood when difficult circumstances arise. Although both Ellen and Gerald were long deceased by the end of the story, Scarlett remains a daughter in search of the comfort and security of her family. Fox-Genovese argues that Scarlett's behavior, including to some extent her dependency on her mother, demonstrates an immaturity that Mitchell uses to comment on women's social roles. Viewed through the lens of Scarlett's perpetual daughterhood, the character's immaturity could be interpreted as a consequence of always feeling deferential to her parents and never quite becoming the lady she was meant to be.²⁰

Gone With the Wind debuted in the midst of the Great Depression, and people across the United States empathized with the depiction of such a tumultuous period in the nation's history. Literary scholar Amanda Adams argues that the efforts on the part of the Southern Agrarians to

¹⁹ Ibid., 798, 827.

²⁰ Ibid., 1036; Fox-Genovese, "Scarlett O'Hara: The Southern Lady as New Woman," 403–04.

redefine the regional character of the New South and the economic hardships of the Great Depression contributed to the story's popularity. Adams's examination of *Gone With the Wind* in the context of the Agrarians shows that Mitchell did not intend for her novel to be a moonlight-and-magnolia romance but an explanation of the "true" South that the Agrarians were also depicting. In this way, Fox-Genovese's assessment that Scarlett was a new woman of the New South is spot on. Using the conventional literary metaphor, Scarlett is a daughter of the New South. She rejected the plantation lifestyle for an urban, capitalist-driven life in Atlanta. She also flouted gender conventions by running a typically male-oriented business with minimal input from her male partners. Some scholars point to the publication of *Gone With the Wind* and William Faulkner's *Absalom! Absalom!* in 1936 as evidence that there was an effort to refight the Civil War in the 1930s. In light of the questions about the New South highlighted by the Agrarians and the assessment by the Franklin Delano Roosevelt administration that the South was "the Nation's No. 1 economic problem," though, it seems that southerners were really trying to refight the battles of Reconstruction and Redemption.²¹

The truism that historical and memorial productions tell us as much about their own time as they do the period being described certainly applies with *Gone With the Wind*. Scarlett's daughterhood falls into this category. The declining popularity and influence of the DAR, the DRT, and the UDC did not mean that the ideology of daughterhood had lost its appeal or its

²¹ Amanda Adams, "'Painfully Southern': *Gone With the Wind*, the Agrarians, and the Battle for the New South," *The Southern Literary Journal* 40 (Fall 2007) 58, 63; Fox-Genovese, "Scarlett O'Hara: The Southern Lady as New Woman," 403; James W. Mathews, "The Civil War of 1936: *Gone with the Wind* and *Absalom!*" *The Georgia Review* 21 (Winter 1967), 462–69; US National Emergency Council, "Report on Economic Conditions of the South" (Internet Archive)(Washington, DC: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1938), 1, <https://archive.org/details/reportoneconomic00nati>, accessed May 26, 2016.

power over women's lives, but that circumstances shifted to make daughterhood less visible. The depiction of Scarlett's daughterhood, which is more pronounced in the novel than in the movie, demonstrates that the ideology of daughterhood remained an important part of southern women's lives in the 1930s. Mitchell understood the concept well enough to incorporate it into her prose, and readers accepted it as an accurate reflection of a woman's life. Scarlett's daughterhood serves as a reminder to readers and viewers alike that no matter what the circumstances of a woman's life, she was a daughter first and foremost, and her daughterhood informed her behavior long after she left her parent's household

CONCLUSION

This project examines how the men and women in the post–Civil War South used the ideology of daughterhood to influence patriotic and hereditary memorialization. Rather than understanding the term daughter as a strictly biological identity, or as designating a political or philosophical inheritance, I argue that there was a system of ideals associated with what it meant to be a daughter. In a highly patriarchal society such as the mid-nineteenth century South, the ideology of daughterhood was a familiar device used by parents to control the behavior of their daughters. The Civil War and Reconstruction altered the ways in which southerners invoked daughterhood. Rather than using it to enforce traditional notions of respectability, the ideology of daughterhood became infused with memories of the war. Southerners emphasized the biological aspects of a woman’s familial role as a daughter to connect her to her family’s Confederate past and promote the Lost Cause for future generations. Veterans encouraged this by using and honoring a very specific kind of Confederate daughter in their memorial celebrations. Sons did not participate in Confederate memorialization in this same manner because of the construction of sonhood and manhood in the late-nineteenth-century South. Daughters took the new status that veterans attributed to them and formed their own patriotic-hereditary associations in the 1890s. The most popular of these societies, the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR), the Daughters of the Republic of Texas (DRT), and the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC), used the ideology of daughterhood to carry out very public, political work at a time when the women’s club movement had yet to fully blossomed in the South. Under the banner of daughterhood, the DAR, the DRT, and the UDC embarked upon expressly political agendas that would not have been supported by conservative southerners had it not been for the use of the

ideology daughterhood. Ultimately, the ideology of daughterhood became a tool that women used to engage in civil society in ways that would not have been possible with their womanhood alone.

The ideology of daughterhood is a set of culturally constructed rules for how a woman should behave in relation to her position in the family hierarchy. It requires a woman to act in a manner that is approved by her parents and other family members. Daughterhood also uses women to connect generations through her ability to literally and figuratively reproduce the family. Often parents employed the ideology of daughterhood to control the public behavior of their female offspring and ensure that she did not dishonor the family's reputation. It could be invoked to require sentimental labor of a daughter that was not expected of a son, such as the care of elderly and infirm parents and siblings. The ideology of daughterhood connected a woman to her parents for her entire life. Regardless of the other identities that women inhabited, including motherhood, a woman never lost her status as a daughter. This was due to the dependent role that women played in the patriarchal family. Fathers provided daughters with their livelihoods, and in return daughters were devoted to their fathers. Such devotion was difficult to break after a woman married and left her father's household. Given the expectation that daughters would care for their parents and produce the next generation of the family, the ties between a daughter and her parents remained strong throughout her life.

The ideology of daughterhood described in this project is different than the way that historians and nineteenth century contemporaries generally thought about daughters. The way that scholars tend to use the term daughter, as a synonym for adolescence or as a political or philosophical inheritance, gives the daughter very little agency. In the inheritance notion of what it meant to be a daughter, women were born into a world where the action has already been done

for them. Their lives were directly impacted by the ideas or the events that came before them. This construction largely points to a generational difference between those who participated in a political experience (often men) and their offspring who ostensibly benefitted from it. The ideology of daughterhood informed the way that women, particularly young women, acted. It helps to explain more fully the relations of power in the patriarchal family structure, and it describes a more complete picture of the influences on women's lives. It also complements the scholarship on mother-daughter and father-daughter relationships. Instead of viewing daughters as they related to only one of their parents, the ideology of daughterhood examines a young woman in relation to the patriarchal family.

The literary equivalent of a woman who fulfilled the dictates of daughterhood was known as the good daughter. This ideal was popular in women's fiction in the nineteenth century, especially in didactic short stories and in novels. In fiction, as in real life, the good daughter ideal was not limited to southern daughters. She was instead a figure that American daughters should aspire to. One of the best examples of the good daughter ideal in American literature was Louisa May Alcott's *Little Women*. Published in two parts in 1868 and 1869, Alcott's story follows the March sisters—Meg, Jo, Beth, and Amy—as they navigated the transition from girlhood to womanhood during and after the Civil War. Although the narrative focuses on the girls' entree into womanhood, many of the March girls' experiences deal directly with their daughterhood. One example of the Marches' daughterhood comes at the beginning of the novel, when the girls, reluctant at first, scale back their Christmas gifts and donate their Christmas breakfast to a poor immigrant family at the behest of their mother. While this comes across as Marmee teaching her daughters the importance of middle-class charity and womanly selflessness, the girls' willingness to alter their Christmas plans is done largely to please their mother and fulfill their

daughterhood.¹ As she was a prominent character in the stories and novels of the period, the good daughter reinforced the teachings of parents across the United States.

As an ideology, the importance and applications of daughterhood adapts to fit the historical circumstances. This project examines how the ideology of daughterhood was used by men and women in the post–Civil War South to engage in patriotic memorialization. Daughterhood was always important to the lives of young women, but in the post–Civil War era that importance took on a different tone and usage. This came from the emasculation wrought by the war. The war did not live up to Confederate men’s expectations—instead of a quick skirmish in which they would soundly defeat Union forces, the conflict turned into a four-year slugfest. The experience of going to war strained men’s ability to live up to their manhood, which in the South was predicated on the notion of honor. Men were supposed to protect and provide for women, in exchange for which women would run the household and remain subordinate to their fathers and husbands. The extent to which the Civil War brought violence and poverty to the South all but eliminated men’s ability to protect or provide for women. Even if the Confederacy paid soldiers’ meager wages on time, inflation and a slow mail system made it next to impossible for families to survive. In order to make ends meet, women kept family farms afloat and engaged in more paid labor than ever before. Men and women alike were aware of the failings of Confederate manhood and worried about what it meant for the future.

Defeat furthered the emasculation; many Confederate men returned home as mere images of their former selves. Physically and psychologically damaged, many soldiers came home to only to realize that their lives would be radically different. The emancipation of enslaved African Americans and the abolition of slavery altered the head of household status for slaveholding

¹ Louisa May Alcott, *Little Women* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 1–7, 15–21.

men. Head of household was the status from which men derived their social and political power, and the removal of enslaved African Americans from the southern household threatened to undermine men's status. Seeking to reclaim their antebellum status and begin to rebuild their manhood, Confederate veterans turned to the dependents that remained firmly ensconced in their household: women and children. Men and women made the household the most important social organizing unit in an effort to return the head of household position to its antebellum power. The power of the head of household came from exercising political and social rights for a man's dependents. In order to ensure that women in particular acted as their husbands' dependents, southerners reified traditional gender roles for women. This was particularly important for the generation of daughters of Confederate veterans. Men felt that the women of the Confederate generation had transgressed the traditional boundaries of womanhood. Even though this was done out of wartime necessity, the expansion of women's work during the war tainted their femininity. If veterans could instill in the next generation of southern women conservative gender roles then they could ostensibly recapture their antebellum manhood.

Confederate memorialization efforts began shortly after the end of the war when women took an interest in the proper burial of the Confederate dead. Known as Ladies Memorial Associations (LMAs), these women's societies initially focused on creating cemeteries and honoring the fallen soldiers. There was a reason that the LMAs could do this kind of memorial work: mourning was gendered female. Whereas men honoring the Confederate dead could have been viewed as treasonous by the occupying Union army, women were a different. Assumed to be apolitical by their nature, women's memorial work appeared to be purely sentimental and therefore it did not threaten the postwar peace. Men participated in the work of the LMAs, often as the physical labor force for burying the dead, but also as advisors and as speakers at public events. The

widespread efforts of Confederate veterans to memorialize the war on their own terms came later than the LMAs. The death of General Robert E. Lee in 1870 caused some veterans to engage in memorialization, but the popular movement known as the Lost Cause did not begin in earnest until the 1880s. When veterans memorialized the Confederacy, they often included Confederate daughters in their celebrations as a justification of their manhood.

Despite feeling confident enough in their social positions to publicly commemorate the Confederacy, veterans still felt that they needed to legitimize their manhood. One way that they did this was by emphasizing their masculinity, a new manly gender ideal that emphasized physicality and martial ability. It was through the idea of martial masculinity that Confederate veterans found they could celebrate their glory on the battlefield without dwelling on their ultimate defeat. But veterans took the need to justify their manhood further by using young women as symbols of literal and figurative male virility at Lost Cause events. The presence of daughters was highly stylized in order to best support their purpose—attractive young women wearing virginal white dresses accompanied Confederate veterans to demonstrate their belief in the righteousness of the Lost Cause. Not just any daughter would do, however. Veterans specifically sought out women who were born during or after the war or had been young children during the conflict because the womanhood of younger women was not tainted by the difficulties of the war. Age alone did not make for an ideal Confederate daughter; veterans also wanted single, attractive women to participate in ceremonies because these qualities fulfilled the ideal of the good daughter. Unmarried women did not have to split their allegiance between their husbands and their fathers, therefore single daughters could portray a devotion to their fathers and the veterans that married women not. And of course, a celebrated Confederate daughter needed to have a father who fought valiantly for the Confederacy. All of these factors were

important to whether veterans invited a Confederate daughter to participate in their celebrations—and not having one could mean that the daughter of a famous Confederate was not selected. The daughters of General Robert E. Lee and the eldest daughter of Confederate president Jefferson Davis failed to meet all of the criteria of Confederate daughterhood and veterans passed over them in favor of daughters that did meet their specifications.

Young women participated in veteran-led Confederate memorialization as symbols of male virility because the ideology of daughterhood held that daughters needed to support their families publicly. This was true even of daughters who may not have felt that they had a true stake in the Lost Cause. For example, the youngest daughter of Confederate president Jefferson Davis, Varina Anne “Winnie” Davis, participated in Lost Cause celebrations from the time they began in the late 1880s up until her death in 1899. She did this in spite of the fact that she preferred spending time in the Northeast, made a living by writing for newspapers, and embodied many more traits of the new woman than of the southern lady. Without personal writings to explain why she continued appearing at reunions and other events even after her father’s death in 1889, one can infer that Winnie felt the need to fulfill her daughterly duty to the cause that her father championed for the last thirty years of his life.

Veterans chose to use daughters in their celebrations because it enhanced the appearance of their manhood, but veterans really wanted their sons to take up the mantle of Confederate memorialization. In general, Confederate sons were not especially interested in commemorating their father’s military exploits. The reason for this was twofold: the ideology of sonhood and the ongoing changes that took place in the construction of manhood in the late nineteenth century. Like daughterhood, sonhood influenced the behavior of men vis a vis their parents. But unlike daughters, sons were not taught to be dependent on their families. On the contrary, sons were

expected to leave their father's household and serve as head of their own household. While this certainly did not sever connections between adult sons and their families, parents raised sons to be independent and did not expect the same level of filial deterrence from sons that they did from daughters.

By the time that the Lost Cause was in full effect in the late 1880s and 1890s, masculinity was the primary measure of male gender roles. Unlike manhood, which was understood as an inherent characteristic of men, masculinity required physical demonstration. Although the emphasis on martial exercises in the construction of masculinity helped veterans to celebrate their wartime accomplishments, it had the opposite effect on the next generation of southern men. Confederate sons worried about what celebrating the defining manly event of their father's lives would do to their masculinity. Moreover, some men had trouble celebrating the manliness of the veterans when, thirty years after the war, many of the veterans were old and infirm. Most of all, Confederate sons did not want to celebrate the Lost Cause because they wanted their own opportunity to prove their masculinity. Such an opportunity came with the Spanish-American War, and southerners of both the Confederate generation and the next generation viewed the conflict as a way to redeem the South's defeat in the Civil War. Although there was not widespread support from Confederate sons to memorialize the Lost Cause, in 1896 the United Sons of Confederate Veterans became the formal memorial organization for the next generation of men. The USCV's growth in its initial years mimicked that of the UDC, but the membership was not nearly as robust.

Encouraged by the reception of the Lost Cause and interested in playing a more active role, women formed the United Daughters of the Confederacy in 1894. But the UDC was far from the only patriotic-hereditary society formed by women in the 1890s. The DAR and the DRT were

founded just before the UDC in 1891 and 1890, respectively. Patriotic-hereditary societies were popular among middle- and upper-class women's clubs in the turn of the century in the South. The most prominent of these associations used daughter as their connection to their respective historic event. Women identified their organizations like this because they understood that invoking daughterhood would help their cause gain respectability in the South. The woman's club movement gained popularity in the last twenty years of the nineteenth century, but southerners in particular remained weary of women's clubs transgressing the boundaries of traditional womanhood. By identifying their patriotic-hereditary societies with daughterhood, women intimated that these organizations would not breach the boundaries of womanhood.

Members took the daughter aspect of these societies very seriously, crafting eligibility clauses in the organizations' constitutions that required direct descent from a patriot. Proving decent from a patriot of the event provided the association with a form of legitimacy that they needed in order publicly perform the kind of memorial work that the women wanted to pursue. If the members were in fact the daughters of Revolutionary, Texan, and Confederate patriots, it substantiated the claim that their work was not political but instead pursued in honor of family honor. In many respects, the eligibility clause was the most important element of the constitutions of the DAR, the DRT, and the UDC. The members of the DAR emphasized the importance of their constitution's eligibility clause to the society's ability to memorialize Revolutionary War Patriots to the point that when members disagreed over the clause's construction, many women left the DAR. The schism occurred over the question of whether the society should allow members to join who were indirect descendants of Patriots, or restrict eligibility to direct descendants. The question of collateral eligibility arose when founding DAR member Mary Desha suggested it in order to allow the descendants of men who died without

direct descendants such as George Washington and James Madison to join the society. Despite the prestige that having Washington and Madison's ancestors would bring to the DAR, Flora Adams Darling led a fight against expanding the qualifications for members. Those who left argued that permitting indirect descendants to join the DAR would change the nature of the society from a group of Patriot's daughters to a group of patriotic women. Members believed that changing who could join the society would alter the DAR's ability to pursue memorial work. When it became clear that the DAR's Executive Committee would not overturn the collateral eligibility clause, Darling left the organization to form the Daughters of the Revolution, a New York-based patriotic-hereditary society with strict, lineal membership requirements. Although the DRT and the UDC did not split over issues of their eligibility clauses, issues arose which demonstrated that who qualified for membership mattered for the kind of work that patriotic-hereditary societies wanted to do.

The membership requirements mattered so much to the women who joined these three patriotic-hereditary societies because they wanted to work in public without social rebuke. The woman's club movement had made it somewhat acceptable for some forms of women's charitable work in civil society, but other more explicitly political movements, such as suffrage, were still largely frowned upon. Memorialization walked a fine line between the private sphere that women were thought to naturally inhabit and the political sphere of men. Playing with the same idea, the DAR, the DRT, and the UDC used their daughterhood to claim their organization's apolitical status. Rather than women interested in working in public, the Daughters were fulfilling their daughterhood by preserving and promoting the patriotic history of their ancestors. This allowed the daughterhood patriotic-hereditary societies to pursue memorial work without the question of impropriety. Under the guise of daughterhood, however, the DAR,

the DRT, and the UDC performed politically charged work in education and memorialization, and also engaged with formal politics in new ways. The DRT lobbied the Texas legislature for appropriations bills in order to purchase important landmarks, include the San Jacinto battlefield and the Alamo Mission property. The UDC adeptly influenced the narrative of the Civil War in textbooks that were used in southern schools. The DAR taught immigrants and immigrants' children how to be Americans so that these populations would assimilate and not dilute the country's patriotism. These actions were all political, but because these patriotic-hereditary societies claimed only to act in fulfillment of their daughterhood, southerners did not question their work.

In the post-Civil War South, men and women used the ideology of daughterhood at different times for different purposes. Yet in each instance, southerners accepted that daughterhood was a reality of women's lives that caused them to behave in certain ways. Men used daughterhood to publicly support the idea of veteran's masculinity, and daughters participated in Lost Cause ceremonies because they needed to demonstrate their loyalty and subordination to their fathers. When women used daughterhood to identify and justify their interest in public memorial work, conservative southerners accepted the DAR, the DRT, and the UDC as a public portrayal of the ideology of daughterhood, not as progressive women's clubs with politically motivated agendas. The appeal of daughter patriotic-hereditary societies faded in the midst of World War I when the nature of patriotic organizing changed. But the DAR, the DRT, and the UDC remained active because the ideology of daughterhood compelled women to bridge the generational divide between their ancestors and their own children. By using daughterhood in these ways, men and women believed that they could keep traditional gender roles intact during a period of tumultuous social change in the South.

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