

The Lost Cause

Moonlight and Magnolias

The facts of the War of the Confederates in America have been at the mercy of many temporary agents... confounded with sensational rumours, or discoloured by violent prejudices... By composing a severely just account of the War on the basis of contemporary evidence... the author aspires to place the history of the War above political misrepresentations...

Thus begins Edward A. Pollard's 1866 book, *The Lost Cause*.¹ Far from placing "the history of the War above political misrepresentations," he coined a phrase and ushered in a debate—sometimes historical, sometimes political, continually evolving, and quite contentious—that remains with us today.

The deeper one delves into the Lost Cause construct² trying to understand it, the more difficult it is to keep discussion concise. One must start with a basic reality: The Confederacy lost the war, but Southern culture survived. The Southern way of life would change, but its core themes continued, particularly racial animosity whose roots ran deep. The military struggle was over, with one-quarter of the South's white military-age males having been killed, its economy ruined, and social norms and traditions upended. But the South's struggle for political and cultural identity continued.

The Lost Cause has been analyzed extensively in recent years, generally to the negative; but while there are plenty of facts to relate, qualitative discussions are steeped in opinion both ideological and substantive. Moreover, it is as controversial a topic as there is in the pantheon of Civil

They say that history is written by the victors, but the Civil War has been the rare exception. Perhaps the need for the country to stay together made it necessary for the North to sit silently and accept the South's conception of the conflict. In any case, for most of the past 150 years, the South's version of the war and Reconstruction has held sway in our schools, our literature and, since the dawn of feature films, our movies.

Mick LaSalle, "The San Francisco Chronicle, 2015

War debates. It has been deemed a negationist myth by its detractors, but as with most myths, it traces back to kernels of truth. Its impact is determined by the extent to which people believe it and cling to it.

American history is filled with grand events and causes—sources of national or regional identity repeatedly mythologized, demythologized, and re-

mythologized. "A myth," Mark Shorer wrote, "is a large, controlling image that gives philosophical meaning to the facts of ordinary life; that is, which has organizing value for experience."³ Myths give meaning to our common existence; they tell us who we are, where we fit, and where we don't.

The Lost Cause is more than a myth, though. It originated "as a byword for the perpetuation of the Confederate ideal," and became a mindset for "justifying the Southern experience."⁴ It was a narrative introduced to explain the South's defeat and memorialize its honored dead. Over time it morphed into a



*Edward Alfred Pollard
New York: Charles B. Richardson,
Publisher - Public Domain*

political and social tool undergirding racial segregation, denying African Americans' voting rights, and promoting culturally entrenched white supremacy—mindsets that stalk us yet.

To apply "myth" to the whole, however, implies dismissal of the narrative. That is wrongheaded. The Lost Cause reflects a deep cultural heritage that was not erased—not defeated—by the Confederacy's defeat. The Lost Cause is a cultural and political rationalization of the rightness of the antebellum South's cause. To call it a myth cheapens not only its genesis but its characters and adherents. They deserve respect.

The social function of myth is to bind together social groups as wholes or, in other words, to establish a social consensus. The social function of ideology is to segregate and serve special interests within societies in the competition of debate.

Ben Halpern, "Myth' and 'Ideology' in Modern Usage," available at <http://xroads.virginia.edu/~DRBR2/halpern.html>

The Lost Cause emphasizes the heroic qualities of the Confederacy, its military, and its people while downplaying the role of slavery as the main cause of the war. This idea has been used to justify the actions of the Confederacy and its leaders, portraying them as heroic figures fighting for freedom and states' rights. Similarly, the principles of freedom and individual rights outlined in the Declaration of Independence have been used to legitimize the Confederacy and its leaders despite the fact that these

principles were not intended to justify slavery or the perpetuation of a system of oppression.

Simply put, the Lost Cause construct is a Southern interpretation of the Civil War that casts the causes, meaning, and outcome of the war in the best light for the Confederacy. It was not born of a single document formally divided into specific themes nor was it subsequently captured in some

official, all-encompassing document. The narrative developed over time, its roots going back to the closing days of the war.

The Lost Cause construct is usually broken down into a number of tenets as a way to organize its themes and, thereby, facilitate discussion and interpretation of the whole.⁵ The tenets themselves serve no other purpose. The narrative they describe, however, is hugely important as it has been a pervasive, overarching Southern explanation of the war and its outcome for some 165 years.

Collectively, these tenets reflect the Lost Cause meme. The South's sense of cultural eminence had been dented but remained. The South faced a new reality and was transformed politically and economically, even socially, to fit that reality, but it did not lose its heritage. The Lost Cause as a narrative clung to that heritage, held it together, legitimized it, and carried it forward.

Breaking It Down

1. Secession, not slavery, caused the Civil War.⁶

This Lost Cause maintains that secession triggered the Civil War, not slavery per se. True enough, but it ignores the role of slavery in the decision to secede in the first place. States' rights and regional political imbalance were important factors, but the economics of slavery and political control of that system were central to the conflict. Think of it as a wagon wheel. The wheel itself is the Civil War, the spokes are the Confederate states and states' rights, and the hub is slavery. The whole revolves around the hub and begs the question, "Would the South have seceded had slavery been illegal in all states, or if it had been legal in all?"

The rift between North and South had been growing since colonial times. Throughout that time, slavery had underlain the South's economy, political objectives, social hierarchy, and culture. (Slavery was legal and was practiced in the North for much of that time, as well.) The Southern slave-owning, agrarian-based society had different needs and objectives than the industrializing North. As time went on, the rift widened.

In his speech delivered in Union Square, New York, on "Decoration Day," May 30, 1878, Frederick Douglass called on Americans to remember the war for what it was—a struggle between an army fighting to protect slavery and a nation reluctantly transformed into a force for liberation.

The divergence became a clash of cultures, of vision of the future, of worldview, and of social structures. At its core, it was a clash of ideologies between North and South. The North's ideology was market capitalism that revolved around free labor. The South's was also market capitalism but revolved around slavery, the antithesis of free labor. The Southern plantation system was based on slavery.⁸

The continuation of slavery in the new nation resulted from a compromise at the Constitutional Convention of 1787. Without it, not all Southern states would have ratified the Constitution. Likewise, it would not have been ratified by all Southern states had it not included slaves in the count for determining representation in the House of Representatives—the 3/5th Compromise. Thus, the US Constitution was born of slavery and by enabling its continuation set the stage for what was to come.

It eventuated that slavery was the backdrop of every domestic controversy from the 1820's onward. In fact, the political relationship between North and South revolved around slavery. The Southern states wanted to assert their authority over the federal government so they could abolish federal laws they did not support, especially laws interfering with the South's right to keep slaves and to take them wherever they wished. Westward territorial expansion and the organization and admission of new states were part and parcel of the North-South rift.

In the 1850's, the newly formed Republican Party, whose members were strongly opposed to the westward expansion of slavery into new states, was gaining prominence. The election of a Republican, Abraham Lincoln, as President in 1860 sealed the deal. His victory, without a single Southern electoral vote, was a clear signal to the Southern states that they had lost all influence. Feeling excluded from the political system, several of them turned to the only alternative they believed was left to them: secession, a political decision that led directly to war.⁹

Seven Deep South states seceded immediately following Lincoln's election.¹⁰ Four more followed in the

The Constitution does not mention secession, either as a power remaining to the states or denied to them and mentions no federal government role pertaining to secession. This would put secession in the realm of the Tenth Amendment: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people." This seems sufficiently straightforward to settle the matter from a legal standpoint. It was not sufficient for President Lincoln, though. In his message to Congress on July 4, 1861, he explains in detail why he believed he had to oppose secession even with the use of force. Boiling it down, the Constitution is there to allow not only the existence but the furtherance—the survival—of the Republic, not to permit its self-destruction.

months to come. President Lincoln's determination to hold the Union together met with Southern resolve to secede and chart their own course, and war came upon us.

In short, slavery was a core feature of America, part and parcel of sectional political, economic, and societal differences. It is impossible to unravel it from secession and, in turn, from the causes of the Civil War. To argue otherwise is to underplay the impact of slavery. And while the causes of the war involved several other factors, slavery was its taproot.¹¹

2. African Americans were “faithful slaves,” loyal to their masters and the Confederate cause, and unprepared for the responsibilities of freedom.

The antebellum South was grounded in slavery: holding slaves, working slaves, buying and selling slaves—black chattel considered less than human beings by custom, by the courts, and even by the Constitution. Slaves had no citizenship rights whatsoever and would be counted as three-fifths of a person for the census that determined a state's representation in Congress.

Most enslaved people were loyal neither to their masters nor to the Confederate cause. They were forced to labor and rarely able to freely choose their allegiances. Passive resistance was common. Many actively resisted their enslavement through acts of rebellion and escape. And while some joined Confederate military forces in various capacities including as combatants (this is well documented), many more joined the Union army to secure their own freedom or otherwise fled to the presumed security of federal forces as they campaigned through the South. After the war, these formerly enslaved people were said to be unprepared for freedom, which was an argument against Reconstruction and the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments of the Constitution.¹² (On the other hand, for example, some 186,000 African Americans, many of them fresh from slavery, served in the Union Army during the Civil War.)

Our new government is founded upon exactly the opposite idea [of the equality of the masses]; its foundations are laid, its corner-stone rests, upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery subordination to the superior race is his natural and normal condition.

Alexander H. Stephens
Confederate Vice President
Cornerstone Speech, Savannah, Georgia
March 21, 1861

Here are a few questions to consider:

- If the slaves generally were faithful, why the persistent fear among whites, slave owners and otherwise, about actual and potential slave uprisings?

- Why did Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, North and South Carolina, and Virginia pass anti-literacy laws?¹³
- Why was the Underground Railway organized?¹⁴
- Why did slaves flee their owners, often in large numbers, whenever Union forces were near?

I was the conductor of the Underground Railroad for eight years, and I can say what most conductors can't say — I never ran my train off the track and I never lost a passenger.

Harriet Tubman, 1896

3. The Confederacy was defeated militarily only because of the Union's overwhelming advantages in men and resources.

This is fundamentally true. There were a few instances where the Confederacy seemed to come close to victory militarily, but even then it was not a matter of decisively defeating Union forces on the battlefield but rather using battlefield victories to erode Union morale and push Union political groups

to seek peace rather than continue the war.

Historian Gary W. Gallagher distills Jubal Early's portrayal of the war into these few sentences: Lee was a heroic soldier who led an outnumbered army of Confederate patriots against a powerful enemy. With "Stonewall" Jackson initially at his side, he faced northern generals of minimal talent who later lied in print to explain their failures. Against these men and later against Ulysses S. Grant, a clumsy butcher who understood only that vast northern resources of men and matériel must be expended freely, the Confederate commander worked his magic across a Virginia landscape that functioned as the cockpit of the war. Lee and his Army of Northern Virginia set a standard of valor and accomplishment equal to anything in the military history of the western world until finally, worn out but never defeated, they laid down their weapons at Appomattox." (Emphasis added.)

Gary W. Gallagher

Jubal A. Early, the Lost Cause, and Civil War History: A Persistent Legacy

*Frank L. Klement Lectures No. 4
Alternative View of the Sectional Conflict
Marquette University*

The Confederacy was defeated because of the Union's numerical advantage in both men and resources. Confederate Lt. General Jubal A. Early justified the Southern defeat by stating that the North "finally produced that exhaustion of our army and resources, and that accumulation of numbers on the other side which wrought our final disaster." He went on to say that the South "had been gradually worn down by combined agencies of numbers, steam-power, railroads, mechanism, and all the resources of physical science." The capacity of Southern manufacturing and its outnumbered population, among other factors, doomed it to failure from the start.¹⁵

Time was the Confederate army's enemy. Their spirit, elan, and grit would carry them farther than their numbers and kit would predict, but they had to achieve decisive battlefield victories quickly. They did not, and the longer the war went on, the stronger the Union forces became. Slugging it out toe-to-toe with Union armies simply was not a winning proposition.

4. Confederate soldiers were heroic, gallant, and saintly.

True enough, but the extent to which in the aggregate they displayed these qualities more so than their Union counterparts is questionable. That said, it is a benign issue. It was an understandable position for the Confederacy and the postbellum South to take, but nothing more than a morale boost and due recognition to the sufferings of their warriors.

5. The most heroic and saintly of all Confederates, perhaps of all Americans, was Robert E. Lee.

While he became hugely popular during the war, Lee's deification as part of the Lost Cause narrative developed afterwards. Its roots go back to the closing days of the war with many looking at Lee's farewell address to his Army of Northern Virginia on April 10, 1865, as being the seed root.¹⁶ His sainthood was religiously championed by Early.

Lee emerged as the most sanctified figure in the Lost Cause, especially after his death in 1870. He became a Southern icon, many revering him as the ultimate Christian soldier who took up arms for his state of Virginia. He was even called the second Washington. Interestingly, his reputation spread throughout the whole nation and lasted well into the twenty-first century.

Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson, second only to Lee in Lost Cause admiration, wounded by his men at Chancellorsville and subsequently dying of complications, became a martyr.¹⁷ On the other hand, James Longstreet, whom Lee referred to as his "Old War Horse," became a villain to Lee and the Lost Cause, blamed for the loss at Gettysburg, vilified for his newfound Republican affiliation and his temerity to question Lee's wartime decisions. Even Jefferson Davis became a reverential figure, seen as the personification of states' rights.¹⁸

It was appropriate that the South have its heroes, and Lee was worthy of the top slot. He had some bad traits as a commander (he could play favorites, for example, and is considered by some military historians to have been unrealistically wedded to the offensive) but nonetheless was a great general that inspired not only the loyalty of the troops under his command but of the whole nation up through and including Jefferson Davis. James Ewell Brown "Jeb" Stuart, Lee's cavalry chief, was been mythologized, as well. The North had its myths, too—President Lincoln being the leading example. Ulysses S. Grant, William Tecumseh Sherman, Frederick Douglas, Harriett Tubman, and John Brown are others.¹⁹

6. Southern women were loyal to the Confederate cause and sanctified by the sacrifice of their loved ones.



"Robert E. Lee, 1807-1870"
Engraving based on an 1865 photograph by Mathew Brady and published for the Confederate Memorial Literary Society of Richmond, Virginia, in 1906.

The idealized image of a pure, saintly, white Southern woman emerged as heroines of the home front. Southern women—wives, mothers, daughters—steadfastly supported the cause, sacrificing their men, time, and resources. So did Northern women, to be sure, but most were not faced with the same level

Hetty Cary was pretty, so pretty that one soldier believed her to be "the most beautiful woman of her day and generation...altogether the most beautiful woman I ever saw in any land." On Thursday, January 19, 1865, "Richmond's belle" walked down the aisle and married a Confederate brigadier general, John Pegram. In spite of the raging Civil War "all was bright and beautiful" at their wedding, which took place in Saint Paul's Episcopal Church. John soon returned to duty and on February 5 he received a shot above his lower rib and died almost instantly in the snow. Exactly three weeks from the date of her wedding, Hetty found herself in the same church, with the same people, the same minister, walking down the same aisle, for the funeral. "Again has St. Paul's, his own beloved church," wrote one female diarist, "receive[d] the soldier and his bride—the one coffined for a hero's grave, the other, pale and trembling, though still by his side, in widow's garb." After the ceremony, the attendees took a "slow pilgrimage" up a steep bluff to the Pegram plot in the Hollywood Cemetery. Hetty "was like a flower broken in the stalk," so heartbroken that earlier she had to be torn from the body "almost by force." John's family gathered behind the widow, just 29 years old. Three weeks a wife, Hetty would remain a widow for over 15 years.

*Civil War Widows, by Angela Esco Elder
Essential Civil War Curriculum (online)*

of hardship as their Southern counterparts being in principal combat zones and having to deal with the devastation wrought during the war and the difficulties of rebuilding their lives afterwards in a war-torn land.

In his 1881 memoir *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, Jefferson Davis wrote that he honored Confederate women's sacrifice. Approximately three million men fought in the war, on both sides, of whom it is estimated 750,000 died, leaving some 200,000 widows North and South. Historian Angela Esco Elder in her book *Love and Duty* looked

at the emotional and political relationship between Southern women and the Confederacy. "The expectations for white widowhood was one of grateful tears, positive memories, and support for the cause." (Emphasis added.) Elder argues that only with all of this would their husbands live forever. She further emphasizes that women played a significant role in helping promote the Lost Cause narrative and in "restoring Southern society after war and Reconstruction."²⁰

In the postwar era, unreconstructed Confederates championed an image of white widowhood: the young wife who selflessly transferred her monogamous love from her dead husband to the deathless cause for which he had fought. Death forced all Confederate widows to reconstruct their lives, but only some would choose to play a role in reconstructing the nation. "These women spent their new cultural capital with great shrewdness and variety." Aware of the social status gained in widowhood, they used that status on their own terms, turning mourning into a highly politicized act in the battle to confirm the Confederacy's legitimacy.

When he tells me and my Southern comrades that teaching our children that the cause for which we fought and our comrades died is all wrong, I must earnestly protest. In the name of the future manhood of the South I protest. What are we to teach them? If we cannot teach them that their fathers were right, it follows that these Southern children must be taught that they were wrong. I never will be ready to have my children taught that I was ever wrong, or that the cause of my people was unjust and unholy...

Former Maj. General (CSA) John B Gordon, head of the UCV, responding to comments by Albert D. Shaw, commander of the Grand Army of the Republic, at the 1900 Blue-Grey Reunion in Atlanta, Georgia

Elder draws several important conclusions. She demonstrated that war changed the way women in the South were looked upon, compared with the antebellum period. She suggests that emotions mattered, and war widows and widows' communities leveraged emotion to gain influence with unreconstructed Confederate leadership and Southern society. And she asserts that Southern widows made an important contribution to reshaping the nation in the aftermath of war, perhaps even more than made by some early histories and soldiers' memoirs.

The Lost Cause Grows

Following the war, former Confederates and supporters soon formed several organizations to support veterans and their families, and to advance the Lost Cause view of the war. These organizations embraced the narrative and helped enshrine it in national memory.

The spirit of secession is stronger today than ever. It is now a deeply rooted, devoutly cherished sentiment, inseparably identified with the 'lost cause,' which the half measures of the government towards the traitors have helped to cultivate and strengthen.

Frederick Douglass, 1871

The United Confederate Veterans (UCV)

The UCV was founded in 1889 and was active until the mid-1930s. It was the largest and most influential veterans organization for the Confederacy, and its membership included both officers and enlisted men



1951 Commemorative Postage Stamp

from all branches of the Confederate military. It was formed to provide support for its members and to preserve the memory of the Confederacy and its soldiers, working to create a positive image of them through veterans' reunions, memorials, fund-raising, and other activities. They also sought to shape the way in which the Civil War and its legacy was remembered and understood throughout the United States. The UCV was dissolved as the remaining veterans of the war grew older and passed away.

Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV)

The SCV is the direct heir of the UCV and is the oldest hereditary organization for male descendants of Confederate soldiers. Organized in Richmond, Virginia in 1896, the SCV continues to serve as a historical, patriotic, and non-political organization dedicated to "ensuring that a true history of the 1861-1865 period is preserved." Today, it has almost 1,000 camps (as its individual chapters are called) in almost every state and several countries "preserving the history and legacy of these heroes so that future generations can understand the motives that animated the Southern Cause." The SCV has stated that they do not support racism, discrimination, or hate, but rather seek to honor and preserve their ancestors' history and heritage.²¹



United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC)

Southern women played a large role in perpetuating the Lost Cause. They converted their wartime soldiers' aid organizations into memorial organizations to commemorate those who fell during the war. Because women were seen as inherently nonpolitical and memorializing was not seen as political, they were able to take the lead in memorializing the Southern cause. Ladies' Memorial Associations were formed across the South to dedicate Confederate cemeteries and organize Decoration Days for fallen Confederates. They collected Confederate relics and instilled veneration for the Southern cause in the younger generation through textbooks and educational outreach efforts.



The General Organization of the United Daughters of the Confederacy was formed on September 10, 1894, in Nashville, Tennessee, by Caroline Meriwether Goodlett and Anna Mitchell Davenport Raines as a national "federation of all Southern Women's Auxiliary, Memorial, and Soldiers' Aid Societies." The group was an outgrowth of Ladies' Memorial Associations and other Confederate memorial societies such as the UCV, SCV, and Confederate Southern Memorial Association.²²

The UDC became a powerful and prominent force in Civil War memory. In the first year there was one chapter with some 30 members. By the following year, there were 110 chapters. Within 10 years there were some 30,000 women in the organization.

It remains an active, robust organization to this day. Its functions include maintaining an extensive historical library of materials "relating to the period 1861-1865," benevolent activities for women, education outreach and scholarship offerings, sponsoring memorials and their subsequent upkeep, and various patriotic activities to support the nation in times of crisis. UDC avows that it "does not and will not associate with or include in its official UDC functions and events, any individual, group or organization known as unpatriotic, militant, racist or subversive to the United States of America and its Flag."²³



Mildred Lewis Rutherford

A Measuring Rod for Textbooks.

There was more to these groups' desire to rehabilitate Southern culture. They sought to control the narrative and influence public thought that was determining school curricula. This effort coalesced with the "Measuring Rod."

The UCV, SCV, and UDC promoted the Lost Cause in school textbooks. At its annual reunion in Atlanta in early October 1919, southern historian Mildred "Miss Millie" Rutherford, the UCV Secretary at the time, proposed the formation of a textbook review committee

committed to spreading the ‘truths of Confederate history’ and eschewing Northern influence in classrooms. The committee was duly formed by members of these three organizations. To this end, they would lobby textbook editors to influence the story of the Civil War in the textbooks. They opposed, for example, discussion of the South having fought to maintain slavery and southern slaveholders being cruel and unjust to slaves. In 1919, she published her pamphlet, “A Measuring Rod to Test Text Books and Reference Books in Schools, Colleges and Libraries” that would spread and perpetuate the Lost Cause interpretation of the Civil War. Rutherford followed up the next year with her 114-page “Truths of History,” which expanded the measures discussed in the pamphlet.²⁴ The UDC also published the “U.D.C. Catechism for Children” in 1904 and subsequently republished it. It provided a question-and-answer format intended for rote memorization.²⁵

The Southern Historical Society

On May 1, 1869, Confederate veterans including Braxton Bragg, Fitzhugh Lee, and, of course, Early joined with six others in New Orleans, Louisiana, to create the Southern Historical Society. Its purpose was to promote the study of Southern history and culture by preserving archival materials related to the Confederate government of the history of the Civil War. The Lost Cause was central to its mission.

An important campaign of the Civil War began in New Orleans, Louisiana, in 1869. Sporadic outbreaks of resistance had occurred since 1865, and the events in New Orleans merely gave organization and direction to Confederate resistance efforts. Like the military operations undertaken between 1861 and 1865, the dedicated white southerners who carried out the campaign were fiercely loyal to the Confederate cause. Unlike previous hostilities, this campaign, however, was bloodless, fought with pen rather than sword. On May 1, 1869, the Southern Historical Society was founded. It dedicated itself to preserving the Confederate perspective of the Civil War.

*Richard D. Starnes, “Southern Cultures,”
University of North Carolina Press
Vol. 2, Winter 1996, 177-194*



The seal of the Southern Historical Society, which is nearly identical to that of the Confederate States of America.

The Society initially began publishing a variety of editorials and reports in periodicals of the day. In January 1876, it began publishing the “Southern Historical Society Papers,” which eventually became a 52-volume collection of essays defending every aspect of the Southern war effort. The “Papers” had a nationwide circulation and remained in publication through 1959.²⁶

Another key element in controlling the narrative was through literature and the theater, and eventually

extended to radio, motion pictures, and television. Examples include:

- **“The Land We Love,”** a monthly magazine published from 1866 to 1881 that featured stories, poems, and articles portraying the Confederacy and its soldiers in a positive light while downplaying the role of slavery in the war.
- **“The Confederate War Poems”** by Henry Timrod, published in 1867, celebrated the Confederacy and its soldiers as heroic and noble, and presented the war as a struggle for independence and states’ rights.

- **The Uncle Remus stories** by Joel Chandler Harris. Published in the late 19th century, this was a collection of folktales featuring a character named Uncle Remus, an elderly African American slave who tells stories to a young white boy. The stories, which are presented in African American dialect, are primarily animal tales, such as "Brer Rabbit" and "Brer Fox." These were later made famous by Walt Disney.
- **"Gone with the Wind,"** a novel by Margaret Mitchell. Published in 1936, it tells a story of the Civil War and its aftermath from the perspective of a white plantation owner in Georgia. The novel was a bestseller when first published and was later adapted into a hugely popular film in 1939.
- **The Ku Klux Klan trilogy,** a series of novels by Thomas Dixon, Jr., published in the early 20th century. The trilogy includes *The Leopard's Spots* (1902), *The Clansman* (1905), and *The Traitor* (1907). The novels depict the Klan as a heroic organization that fights to protect white people from the perceived threat of African Americans, who are portrayed as violent and sexually depraved.

The novels were popular when first published and were later adapted into the film "**The Birth of a Nation**" (1915), directed by D. W. Griffith, which was a commercial and critical success. The film was widely praised for its technical innovations, but it was also heavily criticized for its racist content, which included the portrayal of African American men as violent, sexually predatory, and inferior to white people.

- **The Falconhurst novels,** a series of some fifteen novels by Kyle Onstott, published 1957-1988, that include *Mandingo* (1957), *The Horse Whisperer* (1958), and *Drums of Omdurman* (1961). The novels are set in the antebellum South and feature a fictional plantation called Falconhurst. They depict the lives of enslaved people and the white people who owned them and focus on the sexual relations between white men and enslaved black women. These novels were part of the genre known as "plantation fiction," which was popular in the twentieth century.

Monuments and Memorials

From the 1870s through the 1920s, Confederate memorial associations throughout the South erected more than 1,000 Confederate monuments in cemeteries, courthouse lawns, and town squares. Similar monuments commemorating Union soldiers were raised in the North (but few mentioned slavery or emancipation). These monuments and statues became a symbol of the Lost Cause narrative and helped to cement the narrative in the minds of the people who saw them.²⁷

The Lost Cause Message Transformed

The Lost Cause started as a vehicle to justify the antebellum way of life, secession, and the war. It quickly became a vehicle for defeating Reconstruction and restoring the political and social power structure in the South.

The Lost Cause held that Reconstruction was the attempted subordination of the white population by the freed African American population in the South; that Reconstruction legislators were venal, incompetent, predatory, and worse; that Reconstruction had been not only a failure, but a fiasco,

The term "Jim Crow" originated from a stereotypical portrayal of African Americans in minstrel shows in the late 19th century. The term came to be used to describe the legal segregation and discrimination enforced in many states.

because African Americans were unable to govern. It became a justification of why Jim Crow laws were needed.

These were state and local laws introduced in Southern states in the latter part of the 19th and early 20th centuries that enforced

racial segregation. Racial discrimination was not unique to the South, though. It was practiced throughout the United States during this period and continues to the present day.

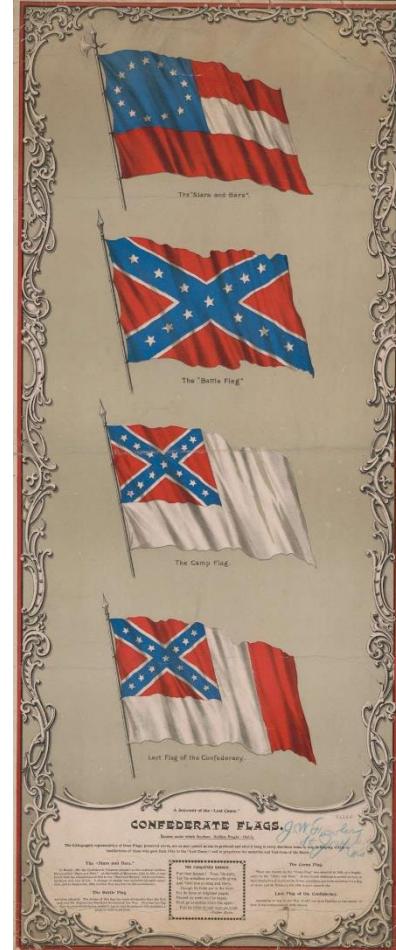
Some in the North, especially Union veterans and African Americans, were angered by glorifying the Confederate cause and slavery.

However, general public opinion had shifted towards reconciliation with the defeated South, especially after becoming disillusioned with Reconstruction. It was telling when two ex-Confederates were pallbearers at Ulysses S. Grant's funeral.²⁸ Thus, many Northerners accepted the Lost Cause narrative as a way to mend the wounds of the war and to move the country forward into the twentieth century.

Yale Professor of American History David Blight divides the Lost Cause narrative into two stages.²⁹ The first is the Diehard stage, running roughly from the end of the war to the 1890s. It was forged particularly by the people who created the Southern Historical Society papers. Arguing for vindication, they were rationalizing defeat with narratives that explained how a cause as noble, holy, and good could lose.

But the Lost Cause became not just an explanation of defeat, it became a mood, a romantic attitude toward the past. It was a set of beliefs, a set of faiths, in search of a history. Professor Blight holds that if history fails to support the cause, take what really happened and reconcile it to the beliefs. He calls this second stage Reconciliation.

In the Diehard stage the cause of secession and the ensuing Civil War were reinterpreted. The South had been left with no options but secession and then, following military invasion by the North, to fight for its rights. It rationalized its defeat as having fallen victim to overwhelming Northern industrial and manpower superiorities that prevailed despite the best efforts of a noble Confederacy.



A lithograph from 1897 states that the images "help in keeping within us recollections of those who gave their lives to the 'Lost Cause,' and to perpetuate the memories and traditions of the South."



Members of the United Daughters of the Confederacy around a Confederate monument in Lakeland, Florida, 1915.

Romanticism soon combined with portrayal of Reconstruction as yet another form of Northern punitive aggression that further eroded Southern political and civil rights. The narrative castigated the oppression, suffering, and hardship Reconstruction caused throughout the South. It undermined every aspect of Reconstruction, particularly efforts to improve the lot of freed African American slaves, which were perceived as a threat to white political power—white supremacy—in effect, a zero-sum game at the expense of the Southern white population. It viewed Reconstruction governments as corrupt and contemptible, Northerners who came South as carpetbaggers seeking to enrich themselves at the expense of Southern whites, and Southerners who helped them as traitorous scalawags.

In the Reconciliation stage, the Lost Cause was no longer just a narrative of loss or an explanation of defeat, or justifications of what they fought for or did not fight for. It had become a victory narrative—and

the victory was over Reconstruction. The South defeated the North's attempt to colonize them, conquer them, take them over. Via the Democratic Party, fueled by the Ku Klux Klan and its imitators and the uses of violence, Southern values prevailed. And it was not the South's victory alone. They believed it was the nation's victory over the terrible experiment of Reconstruction and topsy-turvy ideas like black suffrage and black equality that came with the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments and various Reconstruction-driven legislation.

By the turn of the twentieth century, the Lost Cause narrative had been co-opted by groups that used it to justify white supremacist ideologies and the perpetuation of racial oppression. This, in effect, was a third stage—Restoration. White nationalist groups co-opted Confederate symbols (particularly the Confederate battle flag) in their efforts to promote racial intolerance and their white supremacist policies and agendas. They used these symbols as they created nationalistic identities, fostered recruitment, radicalized supporters, and influenced local governments and civic organizations.

In the 1950's, public opinion began turning against the Lost Cause narrative, initially with the Civil Rights movement that gained momentum at this time and, in the early twenty-first century, with a more generalized public pushback on Confederate symbols in public facilities. This caused much public friction, particularly as it took on partisan political tones. The push to remove and relocate Confederate flags adorning municipal government buildings and university campuses and monuments and other memorials from public squares gained strength. Adherents to the Lost Cause construct actively opposed these removals, claiming that doing so was an affront not only to American history but to the ancestors

that had fought and given their lives for the Confederate cause. They espoused that what had happened prior to and during the Civil War was a fact of history, and though defeated, their cause should not be denigrated but, rather, recognized and accepted for what it was.

Closing thoughts—

Since the ratification of the Constitution in 1789, the seminal event of our history has been the Civil War. A major influence on the narrative of that history has been the Lost Cause. It has shaped public interpretation of the war to the present day.

Our independence was born of rebellion against oppressive authority. Individualism, pioneer spirit, and entrepreneurship built our nation. These values are part of our national psyche.

The Declaration of Independence is this nation's ideological foundation. We would not be who we are today without it. The first attempt at nationhood was under the Articles of Confederation. That arrangement did not suffice and was replaced by the Constitution. It would not have been ratified by all thirteen colonies had it not allowed slavery to continue. As heinous as that institution was, it was necessary to recognize it if this nation were to bind together. It eventuated that secession and the Civil War were necessary in our evolution towards "a more perfect union." The war kept the nation together, and, arguably, the Lost Cause helped move the Republic forward. In the process, it doomed Reconstruction and delayed African American civil rights for decades, but what was the alternative? A hard, conflicted peace within a nation still at war with itself.



"The Lost Cause"

Henry Mosler, 1868

Reconstruction was not only about bringing the secessionist states back into the Union and acceptance of full emancipation of all slaves and integrating them into society as equal citizens, it was about converting the Southern plantation economy that heretofore had relied on chattel labor to become one based on free labor as practiced (or at least as preached) by the North. This proved too much for the South. They simply were not ready psychologically or culturally to accept such profound changes.³⁰

They resisted. To regain full status, the states had to officially accept the Constitution and the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments, but through the courts they came to virtually neutralize the amendments' requirements as they regained political control of state governments, all but eliminated the political

rights of African Americans, achieved the withdrawal of Union troops (which they viewed as hostile occupation troops), and returned many African American workers and farmers to non-free labor status.

If the United States was to salvage itself after such a devastating period as the Civil War and its aftermath, it had to find a way to reconcile the South's failure in the war with its future with the Union. The Lost Cause construct lent itself to that. Serious injustices and a long, difficult quest to solve them remained, but it served as a narrative of continuity. As Dr. Henry Kissinger once remarked, "Forgetfulness, paradoxically, is sometimes the glue for societies that would not otherwise cohere."³¹

The Lost Cause facilitated reconciliation between the North and the South after the war—a halting step, to be sure, that left much to be resolved, but a step nonetheless. As Professor Blight put it, "A very honest sentiment that had set in all over American culture, especially in veterans' culture, at all those Blue-Grey Reunions—and the Gettysburg Blue-Grey Reunion was about to occur [in 1903]—and that is this sense of the mutuality of sacrifice among soldiers. Cure the hatreds of war by bringing the warriors together, because they have a mutuality of experience. And there was, of course, no lack of honor at Appomattox, on either side." And so it continues today.

History is what the present chooses to remember about the past.
Carl Becker, historian

Many thanks to April Harris, John Scales, and Jeffrey Ewing for their valuable guidance, advice, and editorial support. —Emil



Notes

¹ Pollard, Edward Alfred. *The Lost Cause: A New Southern History of the War of the Confederates*. New York: E. B. Treat & Co., 2nd Edition, 1867; iii. A copy is available for download at <https://tile.loc.gov/storage-services/public/gdcmassbookdig/lostcausenewsout03poll/lostcausenewsout03poll.pdf>.

² I refer to the Lost Cause as a construct. It was built—constructed—over time.

³ Mark Shorer, "The Necessity for Myth," *Myth and Mythmaking*, ed. Henry A. Murray; Beacon, 1960, 355, qtd. in "Redeemer Nation and Lost Cause Religion: Making America Great Again (For the First Time)", Bill J. Leonard, Wake Forest University School of Divinity, August 29, 2017, 2, <https://prod.wp.cdn.aws.wfu.edu/sites/223/2017/09/leonard-fall-convocation-2017-transcript.pdf>.)

⁴ Thomas L. Connelly and Barbara L. Bellows, *God and General Longstreet: The Lost Cause and the Southern Mind*, Louisiana State University Press, 1981, 2-3.

⁵ The number and wording of the tenets vary. Some discussions cite only four. Edward H. Bonekemper III, onetime editor of the *Civil War News*, lists seven in *The Myth of the Lost Cause: Why the South Fought the Civil War and Why the North Won*, Regnery History, 2015. The set of six that I cite are used by the American Battlefield Trust

(<https://www.battlefields.org/learn/articles/lost-cause-definition-and-origins>), as well as by *Encyclopedia Virginia* (<https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/lost-cause-the/>), among others.

⁶ What is in a name? Words matter.

The Civil War

A Senate debate took place on January 11, 1907, for the purpose of clarifying the official name of the war. Senator Benjamin "Pitchfork" Tillman (D, SC – governor of SC 1890-1894; Senator 1895 until his death in 1918) had presented a speech at some in which he described the war as "The War Between the States" as the official name adopted by the federal government. The name adopted was "Civil War." The debate can be found in the Congressional Record of that date, pages 929 to 933.

The War between the States

Although rarely used during the war, the term "War Between the States" became widespread afterward in the South.

The War of the Rebellion and Great Rebellion

During and immediately after the war, Northern historians often used the terms "War of the Rebellion" and "Great Rebellion." The official US war records (a 127-volume collection compiled by the US War Department from 1881 to 1901) refer to the war as the "War of Rebellion."

The War of Northern/Yankee Aggression

The name "War of Northern Aggression" has been used to indicate the Union as the belligerent party in the war. During the Jim Crow era of the 1950s, the term "War of Northern Aggression" developed under the Lost Cause narrative. This label was coined by segregationists in an effort to equate contemporary efforts to end segregation with 19th-century efforts to abolish slavery.

Since the free states and most non-Yankee groups (Germans, Dutch Americans, New York Irish and southern-leaning settlers in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois) showed opposition to waging the Civil War, other Confederate sympathizers have used the name "War of Yankee Aggression" to indicate the Civil War as a Yankee war, not a Northern war *per se*.

The War for Southern Independence and The Second American Revolution

That terminology aims to parallel usage of the American Revolutionary War. While popular on the Confederate side during the war (Stonewall Jackson, for example, regularly referred to the war as the "second war for independence"), the term lost popularity in the immediate aftermath of the Confederacy's defeat and its failure to gain independence. The term resurfaced slightly in the late 20th century when the historian Charles Beard used the term "Second American Revolution" to emphasize the changes brought on by the Union's victory. The term is still used by the SCV but with the intent to represent the Confederacy's cause positively.

Slaveholders' Rebellion

Often used by Frederick Douglass in his writings and speeches.

⁸ See, for example, "Letters from an American," Heather Cox Richardson, September 2, 2023, https://heathercoxrichardson.substack.com/p/september-2-2023?utm_source=substack&utm_medium=email. The "free labor" ideas of the North varied and were not unencumbered. For example, industrial and transportation industries were giving rise to large corporations that, in turn, were eroding aspects of "free labor," but in comparison with the antebellum and postbellum labor arrangements in the South, this generalization holds.

⁹ BY 1860, secession was coming. It was only a question of when. Lincoln's election was the trigger. Look at the fractured ballot. Lincoln wasn't even on the ballot in most southern states. The Democratic Party was split into two

tickets. The Radical Republicans were not even ten years old. War was not a given. Lincoln's election was the trigger. He did not want war, but he was not going to shy away from it if war was necessary to preserve the Union. No other presidential candidate would have resorted to war. He did not cause the war, but it did not happen without him.

¹⁰*Southern states are often grouped typically as follows: The Deep (or Lower) South was primarily agrarian and whose mainstay was plantations supported by slavery: South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas. The Upper South is the states north of the Deep South with economies less dependent on plantations and slavery: Virginia, North Carolina Tennessee, and Arkansas. Border states are a breakout of the Upper South. They were states that permitted slavery but whose economies were not dependent on it and bordered anti-slavery states. None of them supported Lincoln in the 1860 election. While there was widespread secessionist feelings, none broke from the Union. They were Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri. (See, for example, "The Border States," by Amy Murrell Taylor at <https://www.nps.gov/articles/the-border-states.htm>.) The western counties of Virginia that broke away in 1861 and formed West Virginia (admitted to the Union on June 20, 1863) are considered by some to have been a border state.*

¹¹*As described by John Scales, Brig. General, USA (Ret) and past President of the Tennessee Valley Civil War Round Table, "This is very difficult for a lot of people, but there were actually several discrete steps, all of which together culminated in war:*

- *Seven states seceded, as they felt was their right under the Constitution, primarily to protect slavery and extend it into unorganized territories.*
- *The incoming federal government refused to accept the legality of such secession and vowed to retain control of installations in these states and to collect duties and imposts. They dispatched relief fleets to two such installations (each guarding a major harbor of the nascent Confederacy).*
- *The Confederacy replied by bombarding and seizing one of the two installations (the other out of reach).*
- *The federal government riposted by calling up the militia and announcing an intent to invade and subjugate the seven states.*
- *Four more states then seceded to join the seven (and there were such efforts in three other states and a territory) because they viewed the acts of the federal government as unconstitutional and threatening to invalidate their rights under the Constitution. Plus they were slave states, and although the threat against slavery alone had not in their opinion risen to the level to cause them to secede, that perceived threat coupled with the very real threat of invasion (they bordered the seven) and the believed-to-be unconstitutional use of force against the seven combined swung them to the side of the Confederacy."*

<https://www.quora.com/Was-James-Longstreet-telling-the-truth-when-he-stated-that-the-Civil-War-was-fought-over-the-issue-of-slavery-and-not-States-Rights>.

¹² <https://www.battlefields.org/learn/articles/lost-cause-definition-and-origins>.

¹³*South Carolina passed the first law which prohibited teaching slaves to read and write, punishable by a fine of 100 pounds and six months in prison, via an amendment to its 1739 Negro Act.*

1829, Georgia: Prohibited teaching blacks to read, punished by fine and imprisonment.

1830, Louisiana, North Carolina: passes law punishing anyone teaching blacks to read with fines, imprisonment or floggings.

1832, Alabama and Virginia: Prohibited whites from teaching blacks to read or write, punished by fines and floggings.

1833, Georgia: Prohibited blacks from working in reading or writing jobs (via an employment law), and prohibited teaching blacks, punished by fines and whippings (via an anti-literacy law).

1847, Missouri: Prohibited assembling or teaching slaves to read or write.

¹⁴ It was resistance to enslavement through escape and flight—efforts of enslaved Africans and African-Americans to gain their freedom by escaping bondage. (NPS, “What is the Underground Railroad?”

(<https://www.nps.gov/subjects/undergroundrailroad/what-is-the-underground-railroad.htm>.) The “railroad” is thought to have helped as many as 70,000 individuals (though estimations vary from 40,000 to 100,000) escape from slavery in the years between 1800 and 1865. (<https://www.britannica.com/topic/fugitive-slave>.)

¹⁵ Gallagher, Gary W. “Jubal A. Early, the Lost Cause, and Civil War History: A Persistent Legacy,” Marquette University: Frank L. Klement Lectures No. 4, Alternative View of the Sectional Conflict; 19. This essay provides an outstanding profile of Early and his involvement in developing and propagating the Lost Cause construct.

¹⁶ For a transcript, see National Park Service, at <https://www.nps.gov/apco/general-order-9.htm>.

¹⁷ In idolizing Lee, Jackson, and Stuart, Virginia came to be viewed by many even to this day as the most important arena of combat in the war. The Eastern Theater, stretching from the Appalachians eastward to the Atlantic, certainly was important, but arguably the Western Theater, stretching from the Appalachians westward to the Mississippi River was even more important in terms of Union military defeat of the Confederacy..

¹⁸ Longstreet was his own worst enemy when defending his reputation. He wrote a series of newspaper and magazine articles in the 1870s and 1880s, and published his autobiography, “From Manassas to Appomattox,” in 1896. In most he displayed a jealousy of Lee’s and Stonewall Jackson’s reputations and was often critical of their actions. Defenders of Longstreet, who included former Confederate generals Daniel Harvey Hill and Lafayette McLaws, understood Longstreet’s writing to be a product of his postwar embitterment. They defended his reputation while decrying his politics. See, for example, <https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/longstreet-james-1821-1904/>. A recent biography of Longstreet marshals evidence from Longstreet’s career to show that he was a competent, innovative commander rather than an incompetent and even traitorous one. “Lieutenant General James Longstreet: Innovative Military Strategist,” F. Gregory Toreta; Havertown: Casemate Publishers, 2022.

¹⁹ Early cast Grant as the principal agent of Northern power, and many will agree. But he also described Grant as a butcher who relentlessly threw his hapless soldiers against Lee’s gallant veterans. In this, Early avoided casualty statistics, which show otherwise. Estimates vary, and certainly penetration of the numbers is warranted for a more complete appreciation. That said, one summary holds that with the Army of Northern Virginia, Lee saw his troops suffer some 209,000 casualties (killed, wounded, prisoners, and missing in action). He suffered 55,000 more casualties than the four armies commanded by Grant in three theaters—all theaters where his armies were victorious. On the positive side, Lee did impose 240,000 casualties on his foes, for a +31,000 margin. Grant, on the other hand, accomplished all he did in the West and the East while incurring some 154,000 casualties while imposing some 191,000 casualties on his opponents, thus achieving a +37,000 margin. The Butcher’s Bill: Was Grant or Lee Responsible for More Deaths in the Civil War?, Edward H. Bonekemper III, HistoryNet, <https://www.historynet.com/the-butchers-bill/>.

²⁰ A full copy of Jefferson Davis’s The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government is available at <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/19831/19831-h/19831-h.htm>. Comments about Elder’s book are drawn from the review by David Marshall for “Strategy Page,” January 14, 2023, <http://www.strategypage.com/bookreviews/2397>.

²¹ “To you, Sons of Confederate Veterans, we will commit the vindication of the cause for which we fought. To your strength will be given the defense of the Confederate soldier’s good name, the guardianship of his history, the emulation of his virtues, the perpetuation of those principles which he loved and which you love also, and those ideals which made him glorious and which you also cherish.”

*Lt. General Stephen Dill Lee, Commander General,
United Confederate Veterans,
New Orleans, Louisiana, April 25, 1906*

The Sons of Confederate Veterans, in furtherance of the Charge of Lieutenant General Stephen D. Lee, shall be strictly patriotic, historical, educational, fraternal, benevolent, non-political, non-racial and non-sectarian. The Sons of Confederate Veterans neither embraces, nor espouses acts or ideologies of racial and religious bigotry, and further, condemns the misuse of its sacred symbols and flags in the conduct of same. Each member is expected to perform his full duty as a citizen according to his own conscience and understanding.

Home page of the SCV website, <https://scv.org/>.

²² *Organized at Louisville, Kentucky on October 10, 1900, with the objective “to strive to unite in one general Confederation all Southern and Confederate Memorial Associations...” It brought together 27 Confederate memorial associations. See “Constitution and By-Laws of the Confederate Southern Memorial Association, Article II,” copy available at <https://archive.org/details/CharterConstitutionAndBy-lawsOfTheConfederatedSouthernMemorial/mode/2up>*

²³ *UDC website homepage, <https://hqudc.org/>. In fact, there have been and are Black American members of the UDC as well as the SCV.*

²⁴ *For a copy of Rutherford’s “A Measuring Rod,” see <https://ia800306.us.archive.org/32/items/measuringrodtot00ruth/measuringrodtot00ruth.pdf>. For Truths of History, see <https://archive.org/details/truthshistory00ruthrich/mode/2up>. See also “The Connection Between the United Daughters of the Confederacy and the KKK,” Atlanta History Center, December 9, 2022, <https://www.atlantahistorycenter.com/blog/the-connection-between-the-united-daughters-of-the-confederacy-and-the-kkk/>.*

On January 25, 2023, John Allen, a local historian in Huntsville, Alabama said, “I was interested to learn about Georgia’s Mildred Lewis Rutherford, who advocated the use of a “measuring rod” to determine whether school textbooks were properly giving the “true” story about the South. Alabama had such a person too. She was Marie Bankhead Owen, head of the state archives for 30 years. I don’t know if she was also guilty of this, but none of the Alabama school textbooks up to modern times had any mention of the Indian Removal Act (the Trail of Tears).”

²⁵ *Stone, Cornelia Stone, “U. D. C. Catechism for Children (1904),” Encyclopedia Virginia (December 7, 2020), <https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/u-d-c-catechism-for-children-1904/>.*

²⁶ *A full set of the Southern Historical Society papers is available for download at https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Southern_Historical_Society_Papers, and at https://archive.org/details/pub_southern-historical-society-papers. Influenced so heavily by Early, the “Papers” leaned heavily toward topics associated with Lee and the Eastern Theater. This prompted some Confederate veterans to find other forums for their writings about their experiences in the Western Theater, forums such as The Southern Bivouac (begun in Louisville in 1882) and Confederate Veteran (begun in Nashville in 1893). These never reached the audience and influence the “Papers” did. Gallagher, op. cit., 22.*

²⁷ *Some definitions:*

Monument: a statue, building, or other structure erected to commemorate a famous or notable person or event.

Memorial: something, especially a structure, established to remind people of a person or event.

Museum: a building in which objects of historical, scientific, artistic, or cultural interest are stored and exhibited.

Battlefield: historic battlefields associated with wars on American soil that shaped the growth and development of the United States.

- National Military Park (9), National Battlefield (11), National Battlefield Park (4), and National Battlefield Site (1) are four designations for the 25 battle sites preserved by the US government because of their national importance.
- Battlefields are significant in a statewide context when they are associated with an aspect of military history important to the State as a whole. Battlefields significant in a national context are those associated with a facet of military history that had an important impact on the entire nation. Take, for example, Confederate Memorial Park, Marburg, Alabama (<https://ahc.alabama.gov/properties/confederate/confederate.aspx>).
- See "Guidelines for Identifying, Evaluating, and Registering America's Historic Battlefields" at <https://www.nps.gov/subjects/nationalregister/upload/NRB40-Complete.pdf> and "State Register of Historic Places" at <http://forum.savingplaces.org/learn/fundamentals/preservation-law/state-laws/state-register>.

Privately funded: When individuals, businesses or organizations show support of a project with money through donations.

Publicly funded: When the government provides financial support for a specific project from taxpayer contributions or public funds. Public funding comes from a federal, state, or another publicly funded agency. Private funding does not entail public funds and may include both grants and gifts, depending upon the organization's mission.

²⁸ Held on August 8, 1885 in New York City, Grant's funeral procession surpassed any public demonstration in the country up until that time, with an attendance of 1.5 million people, and additional ceremonies held in other major cities around the country. The theme of unity was advanced by President Grover Cleveland when he appointed former Confederate Generals Joseph Johnston and Simon B. Buckner to join Union Generals William T. Sherman and Philip H. Sheridan as pallbearers. "Funeral of Ulysses S. Grant," National Park Service, <https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/funeral-of-ulysses-s-grant.htm>.

²⁹ Southern Symbols: Dr. David Blight January 4, 2018, (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rGeVl3n-EJY>).

³⁰ Richardson, Heather Cox. *The Death of Reconstruction: Race, Labor, and Politics in the Post-Civil War North, 1865-1901*. Harvard University Press, 2001, Chapter 1.

³¹ Kissinger, Henry. *Leadership: Six Studies in World Strategy*. Penguin Press, 2022; 83.

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