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CALL FOR PAPERS

Welcome to the fourth issue of the *AUM Historical Review*, the result of a year of excellent student contributions and cooperation. We are proud to present the following pages that showcase some of the best work produced by the students of AUM – students from the Departments of History and Fine Arts in particular. These articles present not only beautiful samples of work from some of AUM’s strongest writers, but also compelling history on subjects from women in the Civil War and World War I to our own state history.

One of the most exciting moments for the editorial board is when new submissions start rolling in. Discovering a new and powerful writer is always a joy. We therefore strongly encourage AUM students to respond with gusto to our annual “Call for Papers.” When you see those flyers in the hallways and on the bulletin boards, please consider submitting a piece of historical writing of which you are particularly proud or which has been praised by a professor; your work may be published next year!

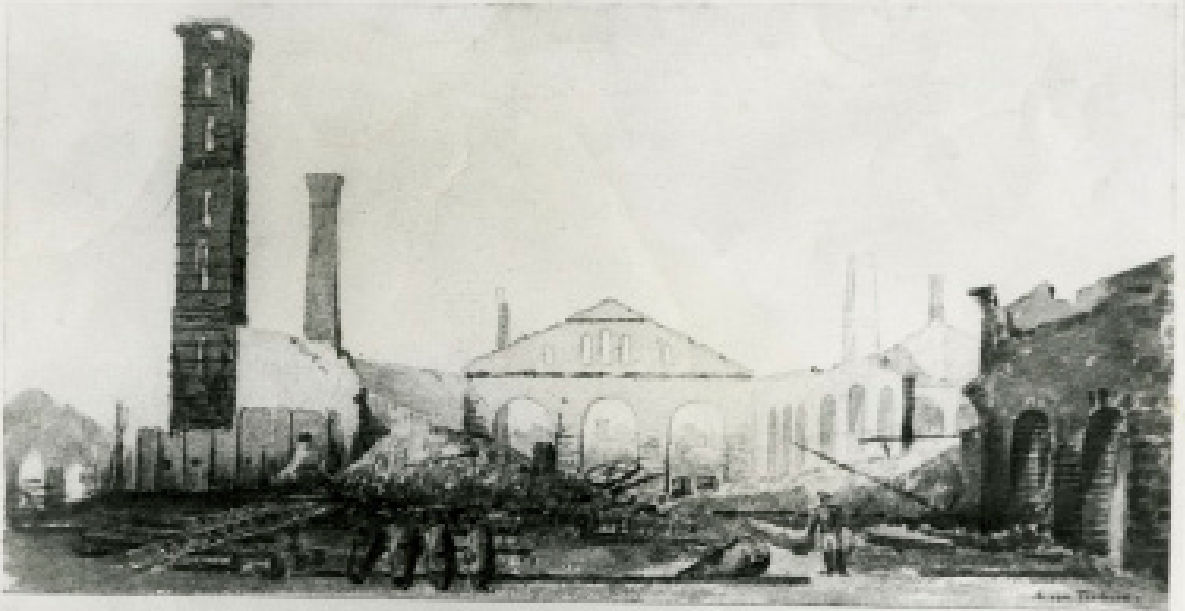
We would like to thank everyone who contributed work for consideration and especially those whose work is now in print. For your efforts and patience in editing, we thank our authors Rachel Guyette, Tyler Rice, Kimberly Leifer, and Leanne Waller-Trupp. For your artistic contributions, we thank Professor Breuna Baine and her Typography II students for another year of excellent contributions; we especially thank our cover designer Kristyn Recknagel and our internal designer Megan Stanley. Thank you also to Dean Michael Burger and the College of Arts and Sciences, and to Dr. Tim Henderson and Tracy Goodwin in the History Department, for your continued support. A big thank you to Dr. Steven Gish for sponsoring the Review and being a constant source of guidance, support, and sound advice as we work towards the completion of each and every issue.

We offer a special thanks to many outside organizations that have been a part of this work. Once again, thank you to the Alabama Department of Archives and History; we especially appreciate being able to review the new Alabama Voices Gallery. Thank you to the Alabama National Park Service, particularly those at the Tuskegee Airmen Historical Site. Thank you also to the people of Tuskegee, Alabama for helping us find the Historical Site. Of course we are grateful to the organizations that granted us permission to use their images and to our advertisers.

Last, but far from least, we thank our fellow editors Jennifer Kellum, Tyler Rice, Catherine Walden, and LaKendrick Richardson, without whom we would never have made it through the editing process. We have truly appreciated your insight and perspective on the following pieces. Thank you also to Madison Clark who secured commercial support for our journal, thus enabling us to aspire to new heights for the next issue. To these, and all of the past editorial staff who paved the way, a heartfelt thank you.

And to you -- our readers -- thank you. We hope you are enriched and enlivened by this edition of the *AUM Historical Review*.

Katie Kidd and Kelhi DePace, Editors



Ruins of C.S. Naval Pounding Selma Ala.
burnt April 3rd 1865

(Courtesy of Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama)

Selma

FROM SLEEPY TOWN TO “QUEEN CITY” OF THE CONFEDERACY

Rachel Guyette

With skin of ebony glistening in the southern sun and beads of sweat dripping from her young brow, little Mary walks innocently from the big house on the fringe of Selma, Alabama to the slave quarters after her tasks are completed in the main kitchen. Sauntering along the old dirt path, Mary finds comfort in being allowed to knead dough in the kitchen with her mother. She gazes starry-eyed at the massive, moss-covered live oak trees surrounding her, when suddenly an afternoon gust blows a newspaper from the master’s desk onto the worn trail she follows. Two years have passed since the onset of the Civil War and President Lincoln’s issue of the Emancipation Proclamation has captured newspaper headlines across North America. With the noisy factories of the Naval Yard in

sight, Mary thoughtlessly steps on the paper, not realizing that its topic is going to dramatically alter her life and situation, but at four years old, Mary’s mind has not yet grasped the meaning of freedom. The war is raging, the Union army is advancing deeper into the Confederacy, and there is a promise of freedom in its wake. As one of the main military manufacturing centers of the Confederacy, Mary’s hometown of Selma has become a Union target. Rich in black belt soil and perched alongside the Alabama River, which enabled year-round crop growth and initially attracted farmers to settle the land, the Confederacy selected Selma to produce more than foodstuffs during the American Civil War—a purpose that would eventually cause the city’s demise. In understanding its importance to the Confederacy between 1861 and 1865,

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one must examine Selma at the onset of the war and during the war, as well as the challenges it faced after the war ended. Through the course of the Civil War, Selma morphed from a sleepy town to a bustling industrial city, and in the process, it became one of the Confederacy's most important urban centers and producers of war material as the "Queen City" of the South.

Located in the heart of the South, Selma has been widely researched and written about by a variety of well-respected historians for its contributions during the Civil War. Covering its importance as an arsenal center, Ernest B. Johnston presents an excellent overview of why Selma was chosen and how the city became successful in his book *Selma, Alabama As a Center of Confederate War Production, 1860-1865*. He sheds light on Selma's geographical significance to the Confederacy, makes clear that it was originally a cotton town but quickly profited as a town of industry, and enlightens readers on the city's downfall toward the end of the war. Similarly, in *The Alabama Confederate Reader*, historian Malcolm C. McMillan clarifies Selma's role in the Confederate war effort as an ordnance center, while also explaining the changes Selma faced after the war due to its destruction by Union raiders. While historians like Johnston and McMillan highlighted Selma's importance as a war production center, others, such as Walter M. Jackson, focus more on the

devastation that the 1865 Battle of Selma caused. In *The Story of Selma*, Jackson provides detailed accounts of Selma's people trying to regain its charter after the war, listing voting records and even post-war meeting advertisements to discuss loans and resolutions. Without these researchers, much of the history of Selma would remain unknown; and without the original "historians" who documented history through sources such as letters, telegraphs, and diaries during the Civil War, historical accounts would essentially be nonexistent. Therefore, combining both primary and secondary sources, a new viewpoint will be presented in this paper: Selma as a whole before, during, and immediately after the Civil War, with a central emphasis on its industrial significance to the Confederacy.¹

The name Selma, meaning a high seat or throne, was selected from William Macpherson's "Songs of Ossian" poem and was chosen in 1820 by William Rufus King, a founder of Alabama, who chose the name well, as the land is situated on a high northern bank of the Alabama River. Just a year earlier, on March 16, 1819, King, along with a Dr. George Phillips, appeared at the Federal Land Office in the Alabama Territory to purchase 460 acres here. The river was well-known to travelers, who often referred to the area as "Moore's Bluff," after a Tennessean named Thomas Moore who built a cabin on the site in 1815. King was a member of

the Selma Land Company, which initially planned the town, both buying and selling land. Initially attracting farmers to develop the rich soil, the area rests in the heart of the Black Belt within Dallas County, which covers 976 square miles and is ideal for cultivation. Selma, as well as the rest of the Black Belt, with its large farms and strong slave labor force, never experienced the shortage of food that plagued other regions of the South. In fact, with its large concentration of slaves, Dallas was the number one cotton producing county in the state of Alabama. By 1860, it had a white population of 7,785 and three times that many slaves, producing one-fifteenth of the state's cotton crop. At this point, the county as a whole had sixty-nine small industrial establishments, employing 427 people. Selma, however, had no industrial population or plant prior to the Civil War. With its successful one-crop rural economy preferring to buy goods rather than produce them, and with the cotton trade centering at Mobile during the 1840s and 50s, there was an adequate transportation system surrounding Selma.²

The Alabama River handled most transportation, running west from Montgomery fifty miles to Selma, then turning south to Mobile, which gave Selma both southern and eastern arteries with rails stretching from Montgomery to Richmond. The Alabama and Tennessee Rivers Railroad extended 110 miles up through the coal and iron regions of

Alabama to Talladega with trains running each way on a daily basis. Although these mineral lands had not been developed beyond the most primitive stages prior to 1861, the possibilities tucked away in the northern hills of Alabama were well-known. Furthermore, in 1857, fifty steamboats ported at Mobile, ultimately making nearby Selma more well-known. One of these steamboats, for example, was a daily mail steamer that docked at Selma on its three-day route to and from Montgomery, traveling a total of 333 miles. Thus, by river, Selma connected the east and the south; on the west, a mere fifty miles of rail construction would link Selma and its eastern connections to the west beyond the Mississippi River; and on the north, historian Ernest B. Johnston sarcastically remarks, "Who wanted to go too far anyway? It was enough to reach the coal, iron, and timber of the Southern Appalachians."³

With its many geographical advantages, discerning men sought to utilize Selma's resources for the betterment of the Confederacy. With the war underway, one man in particular—Josiah Gorgas—took charge of what was thought to be impossible: arming the Confederate soldiers not just of Selma, but of the entire South. As Chief of Ordnance of the Confederate Army, Gorgas was to supply an "almost completely agrarian nation with the arms, ammunition, and industries necessary to keep its armies in the field

against a mighty industrial foe.”⁴ Although a Yankee from Pennsylvania, Gorgas was not particularly distinguished in the United States Army and had no major ties to the Northern cause. He was the only professional ordnance man available to the Confederacy, and thereby chose the job somewhat out of necessity, sent a letter of resignation from the U.S. Army to President Lincoln, and reported to Montgomery, Alabama to the newly elected President of the Confederacy, Jefferson Davis, in April 1861. Upon reaching the new Confederate capital, Richmond, that following June, Gorgas’s most pressing concern was the Confederacy’s shocking lack of military hardware. A small, disappointing inventory of old and obsolete small arms had turned up, meaning that the Confederacy would initially have to rely on importing goods because of the South’s underdeveloped manufacturing. However, the Union blockade of the Atlantic and Gulf coasts complicated the plan of importing arms. With Gorgas’s military pedigree from the United States Military Academy leading to a career which was to “contribute more

than that of any other man, with the exception of Robert E. Lee, to the success of the armies of the Confederacy”—the Southern industrial capacity increased dramatically.⁵

Shortly after the seceded Confederate States had been organized in Montgomery, the Confederate Provisional Congress

passed an Act to provide munitions for war. The Act authorized President Davis to contract for the purchase of heavy ordnance and small arms, for machinery to manufacture the arms and ammunition, for the employment of necessary agents, and for the provision of funds and materials for the establishment of powder mills. Less than a month later, on March 6, 1861, the Confederate Provisional

Congress passed another law creating the establishment and organization of the Army of the Confederate States of America. Following this initial move to supply and mobilize a Southern army, the Provisional Congress appropriated \$110,000 for the purchase of weapons and ordnance stores on March 16, 1861. Finally, the last day the Provisional Congress met in Montgomery, on May



*Josiah Gorgas, Chief of Ordnance of the Confederate Army.
(Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama)*

21, 1861, it appropriated \$4,440,000 for ordnance service. The money was used to purchase heavy ordnance, shot, and shell; sixteen field batteries; fifty thousand small arms along with five thousand pistols. With such beginnings, Gorgas was able to organize cannon foundries at Macon, Augusta, and Columbus, Georgia. He also managed to establish the Augusta Powder Works, which became the largest manufacturer of its kind in North America. Furthermore, to supply these facilities with materials, Gorgas created the Nitre and Mining Bureau, which reinforced preexisting railroads to handle such shipments. As other ordnance centers were established and money was continuously tightened, George W. Rains, superintendent of the Augusta Powder Works, was hesitant about the amount of money that could be wasted trying to grow a foundry at Selma, Alabama. Contrastingly, as author Frank E. Vandiver notes, “Gorgas’ attitude toward the Selma plant is the most confusing element in the whole fabric of his ponderings over which plant should be located where.” For awhile, Gorgas intended the Macon Armory to be the one great national work, but as enemy activity increased near Macon and the transportation problem persisted, his idea of a great national work shifted toward Selma, deep in the heart of Alabama and far from the threat of invading armies.⁶

While Gorgas was directing his attention to military measures for public

defense, certain private citizens of the Confederacy—a group of neocapitalists in Alabama—began insisting that their representatives in Congress buy the Selma Manufacturing Company for ordnance purposes. Less than three weeks after the convention in Montgomery voted the Ordinance of Secession, owners of the Selma Manufacturing Company began writing their representatives in the Provisional Confederate Congress offering to sell their property to the Confederate Government for \$40,000. One of these representatives was Colin J. McRae, who had been appointed to the Provisional Congress by Mobile politicians because of his successful business career in the area. Helping McRae find another business opportunity, J. W. Lapsley, who resided in Selma and bought 6/7th of the stock in the Shelby County Iron Manufacturing Company, telegraphed McRae and expressed how exactly the nearby Shelby Iron Company could aid in the success of a foundry at Selma: “Can furnish thirty tons pig and twenty tons wrought iron per week which can soon be increased to any required amount there are.”⁷ Lapsley recognized that the plans for a government armory depended on coal and iron contracts, and he also knew that his company could satisfy the Confederate government in regard to iron only if the Little Cahaba Iron Works, founded by William Phineas Browne, would do the same in regard to coal. With the assurance

of his coal and iron supplies from Lapsley and Browne, McRae started working on a formal contract with the Confederate government. In doing so, he received letters from men like W. M. Byrd, another resident of Selma, concerning an armory in Selma. In Byrd's letter, he discusses the possibility of establishing an armory and powder mill in Selma and informs McRae that he has researched the matter and presented a proposal to the Confederate government. Byrd insists, "Selma is the best location that I know of for the establishment of an armory and powder mill." Thus, in 1861, having decided to take a business venture at the encouragement of men like Lapsley and Byrd, McRae became a co-owner of a foundry in Selma that made ordnance and iron plates for gunboats.⁸

As additional land was purchased for the foundry and construction began, McRae asked for an advance of \$100,000 from the Confederate government so the plant could start producing materials as soon as possible. He suggested plans for creating cannons in Selma and encouraged the idea of establishing a rolling mill to form iron for covering gunboats. McRae believed it practical that at least one gunboat be constructed immediately in Selma to help protect the nearby Mobile Bay. On behalf of the advance he desired from the Confederate government, McRae argued that Selma was the logical place for shipbuilding because of the large

supply of iron materials that were to be produced there. He also made it clear that the government could expect to receive cannon, boilerplates, and plating for gunboats from his foundry. With Selma's affairs in order, McRae traveled to Richmond to sign the contract granting an advance. He dealt with Gorgas and George Minor, who presented a contract giving McRae an initial sum of \$50,000. In return, McRae's company guaranteed to produce rolled iron, cannon, mortars, and ammunition to the amount of \$300,000 in 1862, \$1,000,000 in 1863 and \$1,000,000 again in 1864. Although McRae returned to Selma from Richmond with an advance \$50,000 less than hoped for, he did manage to base the company's prices on a cost plus basis; and thus, "Selma's industry had begun."⁹

McRae's foundry joined a large number of private enterprises that were producing items like shovels, swords, and uniforms. As others realized the potential Selma held for the Confederacy, they commended McRae in his efforts toward the war. George Minor, chief of the Confederate Office of Ordnance and Hydrographs in Richmond, Virginia proudly wrote to McRae, "I am pleased to hear that you have gone to work with your usual zeal in establishing a foundry near Selma for the fabrication of guns."¹⁰ With McRae's foundry already established, Gorgas believed Selma had the potential to become the "Pittsburgh of the South." So, in 1862,

Gorgas moved the formal Federal Arsenal located at Mount Vernon near Mobile to Selma. Thus, though Selma initially profited from cotton production, by 1862, with its inaccessibility to Federal raids, its proximity to the prosperous iron and coal fields of Shelby and Bibb counties (which were linked with Selma by the Alabama and Tennessee River Railroad), its deep waterway to Mobile, and the abundance of food in the surrounding Black Belt, Selma was selected by the Confederate government to become a manufacturing center for its war machine, the responsibility for which rested with the people of Selma.¹¹

Although several years before the war, in 1854, the state of Alabama appropriated money for its first state-wide geological survey that later promised tremendous mineral wealth just north of Selma, the Civil War to most did not mean new business prospects. With cotton as the staple crop of Selma, most people pouring into the region just before the Civil War were black slaves from other Southern states. Hundreds of slaves were brought to the town daily to work the fertile land, with the average slaveholder in Dallas County owning seventeen slaves, while the average master in Montgomery only owned around ten slaves. Although slaves made up the bulk of Selma's population, there were also some free blacks residing in the area. By 1860, there were almost fifty free blacks in Selma alone, most of whom were mulatto washer-women or

artisans. Despite its large slave populace, however, within a year of war, Selma sent 600 men to the front from its already small population of 3,177 (of whom only 1,809 were white); because of the many ensuing casualties, "Selma became an emotional center of Confederate sympathy from the beginning."¹² Because of its location, however, the area remained untouched by the war until as late as May 1862, when a temporary hospital was established in Selma. This particular hospital, as well as life in Selma, was recognized and written about by a New Yorker who had been wounded, impressed into the Confederate Army, and sent to Selma in April. He made no mention of war production, but did praise the low prices in Selma (due to its location being far from the heat of war), and made note of its zealous people. Even the women of Selma, he insisted, were so patriotic that every healthy male was compelled to enlist:

A gentleman was known to be engaged for an early marriage, and hence declined to volunteer. When his betrothed, a charming girl and devoted lover, heard of his refusal, she sent by the hand of a slave, a package enclosing a note. The package contained a ladies' skirt and crinoline, and the note these terse words, 'Wear these or volunteer.' He volunteered.¹³

The women of Selma were so fervent, in fact, that they willingly took part in an unusual project for the sake of the

cause. The Confederacy faced a serious shortage of nitre, an essential element of gunpowder, and the lixiviation of the earth from places like caves under stables was the source of nitre. One of these sources was located in Selma, and in October 1863, a Selma lawyer named Jonathan Haralson took charge of recovering this commodity from every source Selma had to offer, including women. As a result, Haralson proposed an idea which he introduced in an ad in the *Selma Sentinel* that requested the ladies of Selma to “preserve all their chamber lye collected about their premises for the purpose of making Nitre.” Haralson went on to clarify that wagons would be sent around to collect the urine, and Thomas B. Wetmore was humorously inspired to write the following in response: “Jno Haralson! Jno Haralson! Could you not invent a meter, or some less immodest mode of making our salt-petre? The thing, it is so queer... That when a lady lifts her shift she shoots a bloody Yankee.”¹⁴ Surely thankful for a sense of humor, the ladies of Selma eagerly participated in Haralson’s project and helped boost the overall allegiance to the South in the process. Such zealous loyalty for the Confederate cause continued until the very end of the war and proved to be indispensable in the productive efforts of Selma’s population.¹⁵

With the help of its people, Selma was transformed into a flourishing city that the Confederate Army relied on for war materials. Selma would become

prominent in war production for the most part because it was inland, away from enemy attacks, a transportation center of a sort, and most importantly, the city to which the mineral goods of Alabama were most accessible. McRae had already reached an agreement with the Shelby County Iron Manufacturing Company through Lapsley, which greatly impressed Gorgas, who consequently appointed McRae as the Confederate iron agent for Alabama. McRae went to the state’s largest producer of iron, the Shelby Company, which had been losing money on iron in 1861 at \$37 per ton. With their losses in mind and on behalf of the Confederate government, McRae offered \$40 for all the iron the company could ship to Selma, a cash advance of \$50,000, and \$25,000 in 8% bonds, all of which the company accepted. With these funds, war materials began pouring from Selma. The largest development of manufacturing was found in the production of war materials; the largest public enterprises were the state arsenals, navy-yard, and foundry in Selma; and the government establishments alone in Selma covered fifty acres, turning out high-quality, heavy ordnance, shot and shell, rifles, muskets, pistols, swords, and caps.¹⁶

In particular, the Selma Ordnance and Naval Foundry complex included a naval foundry, shipyard, army arsenal, and gunpowder works. It was a massive production facility that consisted of more

than one hundred buildings and employed as many as ten thousand workers at its peak. The facility manufactured cannons and other military items. In order to create the cannons, pits had to be dug into the earth that were approximately seven feet in diameter, which was nearly three times the desired length for the guns. A brick and metal casing was then put down into the pit, clay was packed inside, and after awhile, moulds for the gun would be solidly supported in the clay. Though gun casting was delayed due to the unfortunate location of the foundry in Selma (directly atop of underground springs that seeped into the pits), the metal for Selma's first cannon was poured on July 21, 1864. A 7-inch Brooke rifle was made, establishing the Selma Foundry as the only site in the lower South capable of manufacturing this weapon for the Confederate States Navy. In all, Confederates manufactured more than seventy Brooke guns at Selma, many of which were shipped to Mobile while others were mounted on naval vessels. Once the Selma Foundry began producing other guns as well, it turned out a gun every five days for the Confederate Army. Many claimed "that the best cannons in America were cast at Selma," and during the last two years of the war, half of all the cannons and two-thirds of the fixed ammunition used by the Confederacy came from Selma's factories and foundries. Except for Richmond, the Selma Naval and Cannon Foundry was the only place in the

Confederacy where large siege guns could be made.¹⁷

Furthermore, with the Federal blockade of Southern ports, the Confederate States Navy became conscious of the United States' superiority in sea power and also that ships needed to be built away from vulnerable seaports. Selma was chosen for shipbuilding and in early April 1862, McRae wrote to the Secretary of the Confederate States Navy that the first class ironclads should be built at Selma for the defense of Mobile Bay. Mobile had only had two wooden gunboats protecting its ports, both of which had been launched in late 1861 with the help of McRae. He felt Selma was a logical place for shipbuilding, especially since he planned to build a rolling mill there to manufacture armor for ships. With the surrender of New Orleans having just occurred, the Confederate Congress immediately appropriated \$1,200,000 for the defense of Mobile, and in response, McRae urged Mobile shipbuilders to send plans to Richmond on his behalf in hope of contracts. Although the Confederate government moved exceptionally slowly, McRae's pleas eventually persuaded them to make some official plans. In August, the Navy Department signed private contracts to build two ironclads at Owen Bluff on the Tombigbee River. Three months later, another ironclad ship was agreed to be delivered to the Navy Department by May 1863, guaranteed to travel at a speed

of twelve miles an hour. Although the Confederate government made contracts with several of these private individuals, construction of ironclads was not limited to them. The Confederate government eventually started work in its own yards, and in Alabama, the naval hull construction was done almost exclusively at Selma. In September 1862, in the new Selma Naval Yard, construction began on the ironclad Tennessee. The vessel was 209' long and 48' wide and cost \$595,000 to complete. Captain James D. Johnston, who later commanded the Tennessee, was sent to Selma to pull the hull with two steamers down to Mobile. On February 9, 1863, all of Selma came out to watch it launch. According to Captain Johnston, "the Tennessee was shot into the swift current like an arrow, and the water had risen to such a height that she struck in her course the corner of a brick warehouse, situated on an adjoining bluff, demolishing it." After a drawn out and tedious struggle, more than a year later, the Tennessee reached Mobile in May 1864.¹⁸

With few defects, such as small engines and the occasional jamming of the port shutters, the Tennessee proved to be extremely powerful. Its armor was five inches thick and it even had a mechanism for casting jets of steam to repel intruders. The Tennessee proved its strength on August 5, 1864 in the Battle of Mobile Bay, where it bore the brunt of the fight. The two unseaworthy wooden ships that

had previously defended Mobile Bay were immediately captured, as was the Selma gunboat, leaving the Tennessee ironclad alone to fight the Union fleet. After having survived the battle for four hours, the Tennessee eventually surrendered. She matched her six guns and two hundred men against seventeen ships, 199 guns, and seven hundred men. Withstanding a constant ramming from federal ships and single-handedly fighting the enemy, the Tennessee only had eight men killed and wounded on board, compared to the Federal fleets' 222 casualties. Despite its surrender though, the stamina of the Selma-built ironclad was acknowledged across both the North and South, attracting even more attention to the "Queen City" of the Confederacy.¹⁹

As the end of the war loomed, the success of the Selma Ordnance and Naval Foundry made Selma an important target for the Union. Where Confederate men may have gone hungry for a few days, they nonetheless carried with them plenty of rounds of ammunition. To completely crush the Confederacy, the Union would need to end its production of war materials. Thus, the Battle of Selma became inevitable, but its strategic concentration deep within the Confederacy delayed its attack until the spring of 1865. It was then that Union forces, numbering seventy-five thousand men, marched into Alabama. General Nathan Bedford Forrest, considered one of the South's

greatest fighters, promptly identified the Union's objective as being the ultimate destruction of Selma. As Forrest spent his last days of the war attempting to defend Selma, Union General James H. Wilson spent his last days of the war heading to Selma—with about ten thousand mounted men—to destroy it. A series of desperate transfers were made in an attempt to keep machinery from falling into Union hands, and all of these transfers centered on Selma. Because men and machines were being sent to and from various locations in the South to avoid the enemy, the transportation system teetered on collapse. The Southern Express Company began refusing to take government freight unless charges were prepaid, but often the departments lacked necessary funds. In December 1864, negotiations were being made in order to send Selma's profitable cotton through the rail lines to gain U.S. credit for the Selma Naval Cannon Factory. Because provisions were needed that could no longer be supplied in the Confederacy, and because cotton had been run previously from Alabama, it was hoped the project would prove successful and it seemed to at first; however, the southern negotiator from Selma was denied access to cross enemy lines into Richmond, Virginia to complete the deal and the project fell through. Consequently, anticipating the lurking danger to Selma, Lieutenant General Richard Taylor ordered some of Selma's machinery be sent to

Columbus, Georgia. The main part of the foundry at Selma remained in operation until the very end, but when Wilson's troops finally captured Selma in 1865, some machinery from the arsenal was out, standing packed and ready to be shipped away to Columbus.²⁰

Early on in the war, not knowing the great significance Selma would soon hold for the Confederacy, few efforts were made to protect it from enemy attack. The port city of Mobile had been well-protected early on, as slaves from all over Alabama were impressed to complete its defenses; however, it was not until 1862 that a cannon was placed at Choctaw Bluff to guard Selma from ships coming up the Alabama River, and it was May 1863 before fortifications were being built near Selma. To build these fortifications, Brigadier General Danville Leadbetter of the Corps of Engineers, stationed in Mobile, sent Captain Charles T. Lierner to Selma to make preparations and plan defenses. The fortifications were to be constructed so that a small group of around fifteen hundred men could halt a flying cavalry raid of four to five thousand men—a force that could easily reach Selma from north Alabama in a week's time and destroy the city. The task to protect Selma was so important, in fact, that Alabama Governor John Shorter halted the impressment of slaves in all of Dallas and its neighboring counties so that all possible hands could be employed at Selma.

Though its factory employees were always armed and despite durable fortifications, there were still periodic threats of attack from the Union. The first scare was from Union Commander William T. Sherman in August 1863, who had just attacked Meridian, Mississippi across the border, causing newspapers to fill with frantic appeals urging people to prepare for attack. February 1864 brought about another scare when the enemy reached the Alabama state line, only to turn east for Vicksburg. The dreaded final threat came in March and April 1865 in the last days of the Civil War, when Bvt. Major General James H. Wilson headed south to Selma from the Tennessee River.²¹

The destruction of all manufacturing centers across Alabama and Georgia during Wilson's Raid would gain much notoriety. With Confederate resistance collapsing on every front, Wilson's main objective was Selma, the great ordnance and manufacturing center of the Confederacy, and his job was to destroy all textile mills, iron furnaces, and military establishments in his path. Wilson would prepare his men at Gravelly Springs in Lauderdale County, Alabama after the battles at Franklin and Nashville in late 1864. There he spent months drilling his cavalry, and finally, on March 22, with 13,500 men, Wilson marched southeastward. He divided the men at Elyton (which would eventually become Birmingham in 1871), Jefferson County, and sent part of them under

General John T. Croxton to Tuscaloosa, where they destroyed the university that reportedly allowed the training of Confederate soldiers. The rest of the men stayed with Wilson, who headed south through Montevallo and Shelby Springs, where they demolished the iron works. Wilson armed each of his men with a repeating rifle, called the Spencer carbine, to get the job done. He took with him three cavalry divisions and moved in three columns some miles apart to deceive the Confederates. As the Union troops were making their great march, the Confederate leaders were attempting to concentrate their discouraged and ill-equipped troops to make a final stand. Forrest clearly saw the objective of Wilson's troops and devised a plan for his generals to follow: "Jackson to smash the Union rear; Chalmers to strike the Union right flank and reinforce Forrest's escort on the front." Unfortunately for Forrest though, "an accident of the fortunes of war rescued Wilson's army from total annihilation." The Union captured a Confederate courier at Randolph, Alabama who carried with him the documents revealing the disposition of the Confederate troops and plans to defend Selma.²²

Although Forest engaged Wilson in a "delaying action" at Plantersville on his way to Selma, information regarding the maneuver was also found with the captured courier. It was clear that the

decoy force was weak and, accordingly, Wilson sprang into action and Forrest was unable to stop him. The captured plans propelled Wilson to speed up his men, reach Selma, and avoid Forrest's trap. Wilson dispatched General Edward M. McCook with a strong brigade to take care of Plantersville while he focused his efforts on reaching Selma, which he managed to find defended by twenty-five hundred cavalry plus an equal number of militia, all manning the fortifications that surrounded the city. Although Forrest's cavalry fought desperately, some of the militia were merely local citizens of Selma and immediately fled their positions. Forrest was merciless in forcing all able-bodied men into the ranks, but many who could escape fearfully fled nonetheless. Wilson, on the other hand, had troops enough to take over and command most of the roads leading into Selma and was eventually able to drive a wedge between the Confederate forces, spelling victory in the Battle of Selma. Realizing their fate, Confederate militiamen threw down their arms, desperately sought their horses and fled, betraying the land they once defended. Wilson's cavalry carried the works and captured Selma in a fight that lasted twenty-five minutes around dusk on Sunday, April 2, 1865, the same day that Richmond, the capital of the Confederacy, fell.²³

The scene was chaotic and confusing, and Forrest, at the mercy of Wilson's

Raiders, retreated shortly after with a band of men around him. Wilson stayed in Selma for one week delegating the work of the destruction of its buildings, munitions, and foundries. In the report Wilson filed from Selma on April 2, 1865, he explains that his men have already "captured 20 field guns, 2,000 prisoners, besides over 2,000 in hospitals, and a large quantity of military stores of all kinds." He goes on to clarify that the large arsenals and foundries of Selma, with their machinery, are in his possession and intact, but he "shall burn them today, with everything useful to the enemy."²⁴ Because Wilson and his troops were limited to one week to reduce the city, in many cases the whole property could not be destroyed before their departure. Nonetheless, according to Brigadier General Edward Francis Winslow with the unit, they managed to obliterate quite a bit: the Selma Arsenal, consisting of twenty-four buildings and containing an immense amount of war machinery and material; the Government Naval Foundry, consisting of five buildings that contained three engines, thirteen boilers, and twenty-nine siege guns; the Selma Iron Works, which contained five buildings with five engines and furnaces; both of the Pierces Foundries, each containing an engine as well as extensive machinery; the Nitre Works, consisting of eighteen buildings, five furnaces, and ninety banks; the Powder Mills and Magazine, which had seven buildings, six thousand rounds of artillery

ammunition, seventy thousand rounds of small arms ammunition, and fourteen thousand pounds of powder; the Selma Shovel Factory, which contained one steam engine and eight forges; and many other smaller works and factories. Furthermore, in the fortifications surrounding Selma, Union troops were able to seize one thirty-pound Parrot gun, four ten-pound guns, ten caissons, two forges, and five hundred rounds of fixed ammunitions. Clearly, although Wilson's troops remained in Selma for only a week, their task of destruction proved quite successful, and thus perished the South's last arsenal.²⁵

In their path of demolition throughout Selma, the Union troops completely plundered the city without restraint. Familiar with the ways of soldiers, Forrest had ordered that all government whiskey in Selma be destroyed, but the city was captured moments after the barrels of whiskey were rolled into the streets to be smashed. Consequently, the Union men were soon drunk, plundering men and tearing apart government buildings as well as houses. The drunken pillage was so severe, in fact, that a newspaper correspondent travelling with Wilson's army noted that "Selma was the worst-sacked town of the war," as he explains how "one woman saved her house from the plunderers by pulling out the drawers, tearing up the beds, throwing clothes all over the floor along with dishes and overturned tables, chairs, and other

things."²⁶ Notwithstanding Wilson's stringent order against plundering, the robberies and murders committed by his men in Selma were malicious. *The Galveston Daily* points out that "the ladies were insulted and ran through the streets in their nightclothes, crying for protection, but the Yankee officers gave a deaf ear to their cries."²⁷ The entire city was given up to Wilson's men, the homes sacked and the women robbed of their jewelry. Even the slaves were forced into the work of demolition or otherwise face the threat of death. It was just one day after the city was taken over that the public buildings, storehouses, three-fourths of the businesses, and 150 residences were burned to the ground. As recorded by John Hardy, a native of Selma, "About 10 o'clock Sunday night, the first house set on fire... From this house others along Broad Street took fire, and were consumed... The fire continued to rage until about Tuesday night [April 4] by which time the city was nearly destroyed."²⁸ Almost every public and private house in the city was sacked by Federal soldiers. By Friday morning, as further described by Hardy, there was little of any kind of property left in all of Selma. Before leaving the city in ashes, Wilson ordered his men to kill all of the horses and mules in Selma, in addition to having eight hundred of his own worn-out horses shot, and left the carcasses lying on the roads and dooryards where they created a stench so foul it matched the

view of the destroyed city. The victors of the city also burned twenty thousand bales of cotton on April 1st alone, going on to burn some eighty thousand bales at Montgomery shortly after. On their way out of the city, Wilson's men carried with them everything valuable and profitable in Selma, and "everything that could be was destroyed. Soft soap and syrup were poured together in the cellars. They took everything they could and destroyed the rest." For some months after April 1865, Selma was a place of wreckage and confusion.²⁹

The annihilation of Selma was complete. Not only was the city destroyed, but as *The Liberator* in Boston, Massachusetts pointed out in its paper published on April 28, 1865, "The capture of Selma gives us control of the termini of the railroads, thereby depriving the enemy of their last main thoroughfare of communication."³⁰ The main manufacturing center of the Confederacy was in tatters, and the entire Confederacy would soon reflect this. Although the city around them was torn to shreds, the spirit of the people had not yet been destroyed by the war's end. In fact, *The Daily Selma Messenger* questioned the North's victory three months after the war, in July 1865, declaring, "We warn them [the North] of their decision—Has a man conquered us because by superior strength he has overcome us?—Conquered? Will it be forgotten that there is a spirit to man

which may remain proudly defiant, even when the body has been made to succumb?"³¹ Despite the gallant audacity that remained in Selma, what was left of its greatness during the war could only be found in the ruins. Gorgas describes the scene in his diary three months after its destruction: "The aspect of Selma is desolate in the extreme—many of the best regions, comprising nearly all the business part of the town are mere rows of crumbling walls."³² The period of Selma's great industrial advance had come to a staunch halt, and because the land was ruined by Wilson's men, the minerals of Alabama would be taken elsewhere. Since railroads had been constructed all throughout the mineral country, Birmingham was eventually founded and Selma's dream of industry ended as it lapsed back to an agricultural center, once again becoming the cotton town it had been before the war.³³

In 1865, three hundred thousand bales of cotton in Alabama were worth forty-five million dollars net—a greater sum than any one crop could manage to attract. After the Civil War though, conditions for the cultivation of cotton had deteriorated. With men away at war, plantation tools were worn, most plantation mules were dead, the ditches were overgrown with weeds and brush, and there had been no shoes issued to plantation workers for years. Although the cotton industry was to be immediately restored by the joint labor

of Confederate veterans and freedmen of the South, “the laborers had not a dollar to replenish with and the master’s cotton, now stolen from him, was his sole recourse.”³⁴ Reasonable success in cotton farming failed because conditions were so harsh. Selma’s land, as well as the majority of the land throughout Alabama, reflected the absence of its men. The co-partnership could not change Alabama’s numbers: the cotton crop had fallen to 429,482 bales by 1870 from the 989,955 bales produced in 1860. No matter what the stipulation of the contract, whether the laborers were paid partly in money or partly in rations, the payment to the laborers still exceeded half the value of the cotton. No money was returned in betterments to the land, and the result was general crop failure. As time went on, “every expedient of law, to qualify the calamitous times and to inspire resolution for the future, that seemed possible, was enacted.”³⁵ New businesses were established and old corporations were granted new charters, especially in the mineral region. The plates made from Alabama iron, used on the ironclad Tennessee, astonished both the North and South. Since “the cannon cast at Selma never burst,” young men from all over North America turned toward its mineral resources. The land of the South began recommending itself because of the successes shown by the Confederate government here. As the crop lien eventually became a substitute for the

old-time credit with the banks, attracting Northern settlers to the Black Belt to plant cotton and colonies of white farmers from the hills to make cotton on shares, Alabamians finally saw a brighter future.³⁶

Settled as an agricultural town and quickly evolving into a leading manufacturing center only to find itself again back where it started in cotton-dependency, Selma saw a complete transformation between 1861 and 1865. When the war started, ninety-five percent of the people in Alabama lived on farms, and the people of Selma were no different. However, with its distance from the war and its natural resources, Selma was chosen by the Confederate government to become a manufacturing center for the Southern cause. Toward the end of the war, Selma experienced growth and prosperity like never before, but by the war’s end, the city of Selma was shattered. The war not only reached Selma just weeks before its conclusion, but it came to Selma specifically because of its importance to the Confederacy. In April 1865, Selma’s buildings reflected its people: broken. Having been destroyed both physically and emotionally through the Civil War, Selma to this day remains a place of little industry and is mostly an agricultural region, bisected by U.S. Highway 80. Little remains of Selma’s Confederate defenses and wartime industries other than a few exhibits at the Old Depot Museum and some earthworks near the Alabama River.

In as much as Selma evolved from a quiet, agriculturally-based town into the “Queen City” of the Confederacy, only to then be ripped of her newly earned title at the war’s end, one fact remains: the Confederate Army never ran short on war materials.³⁷

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*Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama.
(Courtesy of ADAH)*

Stepping Into The Past

THE ALABAMA VOICES GALLERY AT THE ALABAMA DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY

Tyler Rice

History is concerned with more than dates and facts regarding the past. It is a living and breathing entity which defines humanity. The Alabama Department of Archives and History in Montgomery, Alabama captures the essence of life in historic Alabama with the new exhibit “The Alabama Voices Gallery.” The museum allows visitors to step back in history, transporting individuals through time. “Alabama Voices” is a must see for every person in the great state of Alabama. The museum flows in chronological order, capturing history from the perspectives of the state’s first settlers up to its current residents.

The Alabama Department of Archives and History does not hold anything back when displaying the past of the twenty-second state in the Union. The beginning of the exhibit is dedicated to Alabama’s first inhabitants, the Native Americans. The gallery contains many artifacts and

models that show what life was like with the arrival of Europeans. The display of a Creek village illustrates the dynamics of a complex community. The museum offers detailed information concerning the Native American way of life, including diet, attire, and living conditions. Much information is also given regarding Native American and European interaction and a video depicts firsthand accounts of the war between the Creek Nation and the United States of America. The exhibit allows one to view the hardships the Creeks experienced before Alabama’s creation. The settlement of Alabama was no easy task. Early settlers faced tremendous hardships building Alabama. The rich soil of the state contributed to a population boom causing a major conflict with the Creeks. The sheer number of settlers would lead to the Creeks’ demise and Alabama’s statehood in 1819. “Alabama Voices” uncovers both perspectives with quotes and videos,

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allowing the viewer to vividly comprehend this portion of Alabama's past. A Creek Indian named Menawa is quoted as saying, "I am going away.... My desire is that I may never again see the face of a white man! Last evening I saw the sun set for the last time and its light shine upon the tree tops, and the land, and the water, that I am never to look upon again." The museum is filled with the voices of history that tell a story unlike any other. The Alabama Department of Archives and History did a fantastic job illustrating life for both Native Americans and early Alabamians.

The cotton boom was a major contributor to Alabama's early success and made it one of the wealthiest states in the Union. However, the crop also damaged the state's soul. By 1850, Alabama's population had risen to over 700,000, of which 300,000 were African slaves. The museum is filled with artifacts from this disturbing period of Alabama history. One artifact is a leather whipping belt used to beat slaves. Under the belt is a quote from a former slave, Amy Chapman, who described being beaten naked. As this exhibit shows, the gallery holds nothing back, revealing true accounts of those who experienced slavery. These firsthand accounts come to life in the "Alabama Voices Gallery," illuminating history through the individuals involved.

In 1861, Alabama became the fourth state to secede from the Union. Tensions between the North and the South escalated

for years over the issue of slavery. Both the North and the South knew this issue was critical for voting purposes regarding the future direction of the nation. Slavery had deep roots in Alabama and many white slave owners felt its abolition would destroy the state. "Alabama Voices" does a wonderful job expressing the state's dependence on cotton growth and the labor of slaves. The abolition of slavery to wealthy planters was equivalent to banning the internet for computer companies. The museum captures the fear of Alabama's leaders during this stage of history.

The Confederacy's defeat in the Civil War crushed Alabama. "Alabama Voices" tells the story of those involved in the Civil War and shows how it affected the generations that followed. In one display, a former slave from Selma (identified as Mr. Smith) reflects on his experience of the war:

Master's son Jim joined the Confederate soldiers and I went with him to tote his knapsack...and to look after him... We were fighting on Blue Mountain when Master Jim got killed... After I lost my master I didn't belong to nobody and the Yankees were taking everything anyhow, so they took me.

This account is illustrated with pictures of Mr. Smith on the plantation as a slave, with Jim in the Confederate Army, and Mr. Smith later in a Union Army uniform. The "Alabama Voices Gallery" demonstrates



(Kelhi DePace)

through such personal accounts that people are what is most important in the past.

The museum continues with artifacts, videos, quotes, charts, and all kinds of important information from Alabama dating from the industrial revolution up to the twentieth century. Many of these exhibits focus on past conflicts, specifically World War I and World War II. One chart reveals that of the more than 321,000 Alabamians who served in World War II, 6,200 gave their lives. Alabama's involvement in Korea, Vietnam, Desert Storm, Operation Iraqi Freedom, and Afghanistan are also highlighted in support of all who fought for this great nation. The "Alabama Voices Gallery" does an excellent job representing the men and women who proudly served. There are also amazing exhibits covering the civil rights movement, which give hope for the redemption of a tainted past. The story of the movement is told through words, images, and artifacts

which enable the visitor to walk in the shoes of those who struggled for racial equality.

One cannot grasp Alabama's rich history simply by reading a book or listening to a lecture. History is more than just dates, facts, and places to remember. To understand the past one must also know the individuals involved. The "Alabama Voices Gallery" focuses on the most important part of history – the people. One can read a speech by Martin Luther King, Jr., but to hear him say "I Have a Dream" is an entirely different experience. The museum ends with faces of today's Alabama. Our state has come a long way since slavery and segregation and with a proper understanding of the past, the future looks bright. Go visit the "Alabama Voices Gallery," but beware because the ghosts of Alabama are alive and well in this excellent exhibit.

BRITISH HISTORIANS & WORLD WAR I

DIFFERING VIEWS ON THE ROLE OF WOMEN

Leanne Waller-Trupp

Historians have long been fascinated by World War I, but in recent years, they have widened their focus and begun to investigate women's identities and culture in England during the war. Examples include: *Working-Class Culture, Women, and Britain, 1914-1921*, by Claire A. Culleton (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000); *Monstrous Regiment: The Story of the Women of the First World War* by David Mitchell (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1965); *Nice Girls and Rude Girls: Women Workers in World War I* by Deborah Thom (London: I.B. Taurus, 1998); and *Women Workers of the First World War: The British Experience* by Gail Braybon (London: Croom Helm Ltd, 1981). The common theme of these books is British women on the home front during the First World War. The authors of these

books were attracted to this topic for a variety of reasons. For instance, Mitchell's interests lie in the women's suffrage movement of the twentieth century, whereas Braybon is more interested in how men perceived women's war work and how those perceptions affected women. Culleton concentrates on the cultural and social aspects of the struggles faced by working-class women, while Thom focuses on women's working experiences and how those experiences did not truly change their lives for the better. These authors tend to agree on most aspects of this topic, especially the fact that the mythologized public representation of female workers did not match the reality, the harshness, and dangers of their war experience. They disagree, however, on how historians have

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understood those experiences.

In the first of these books, *Working-Class Culture, Women, and Britain, 1914-1921*, Claire A. Culleton covers a broad range of topics dealing with working class women in Britain during and after the First World War. Culleton's book is a history "from below" in which she focuses on British working-class women and the social and cultural consequences of their involvement in the war effort, and argues that these women transformed the cultural politics of England.¹ Culleton begins the book by stating that although historians have a propensity to group people during the war as "those who fought" and "those who waited," it is much more accurate to classify them as those who fought and those who worked, because whether one fought or worked, they all waited for the end of the war.² This classification is more precise, because, according to the 1919 Report Committee on Women in Industry, by mid-1914, over two million women were working in factories in England; by 1918, this number had increased to almost three million. Culleton focuses her book on these working-class women, their experiences, their writings, and the impact they made on their country during and after the war.

Culleton is a professor of English at Kent State University, specializing in modern and twentieth century Irish, British, and American literature and culture. In addition to *Working Class*, she

has written two other historical works on James Joyce and modernism and has co-edited two books on literary modernism. Her biography on the Kent State University website states that Culleton's work in the field of modern and twentieth-century Irish literature and culture resulted in her appointment as the General Editor for Palgrave Macmillan's book series in Irish and Irish American literature in 2004, as well as in winning several teaching awards. At Kent State University, Culleton teaches graduate seminars on Irish, British, and American modernism, Irish postcolonial literature, seminars on James Joyce and Irish literature and culture, and a required doctoral methods course.³

For her book, Culleton uses an extensive assemblage of primary sources, such as firsthand accounts written by women during the war years found in archival collections, and secondary source materials, such as oral histories that were recorded later. She also delved heavily into the Women's Work archives and the Sound Archives in the Imperial War Museum in England, the Fawcett Library at the London Guildhall University, the New York Public Library, the McFarlin Library at the University of Tulsa, Oklahoma, and other museums and universities in the United States and England.

In her book, Culleton examines two issues involving working-class women in Britain. First, she studies the impact of war on these women from social and cultural

perspectives. Second, she relates how that impact profoundly and permanently changed British politics, culture, and society. Culleton also makes careful note of the differences between upper- and middle-class women and working-class women. Whereas upper- and middle-class women could support the war effort by finding work in such paramilitary organizations as the First Aid Nursing Yeomanry, the Women's Land Army, and the Volunteer Aid Detachment, working-class women were encouraged to find industrial work in factories. Some working-class women were able to join the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps, where they performed mostly domestic work. By concentrating on working-class women and their experiences, Culleton distinguishes the different kinds of struggles these women faced from middle-class women: not only did they have to cope with gender issues but they also had to contend with class issues.

In the first few chapters of her book, Culleton describes the factory work that women did, as well as the public's often hostile reaction to their engagement in that work. She also discusses the sometimes harsh and dangerous working conditions to which women were exposed and describes the afflictions and injuries from which many suffered. Unfortunately, Culleton only briefly mentions her previous work on Irish working-class war workers, although it might have been a valuable contribution to this book. She then describes the literature

that was produced by women in the workplace, focusing on service newspapers that were written and published by women munitions workers. Initially, these newspapers were modeled after the service newspapers of soldiers in the trenches, but the women quickly began "one-upping" the male publications in terms of news, humor, artwork, and overall quality, [such that] women's factory newspapers boosted morale and strengthened civic and national pride on the home front.²⁴ Culleton goes on to briefly discuss the 1914-1915 Defense of the Realm Acts (DORA), which defined and regulated British women's public and private lives. She then discusses women's work and maternity at a time when England strived to remind women of their role as caregivers and nurturers in the home. Finally, Culleton discusses demobilization and the aftermath of the war. Here, she attempts to dispose of the usual myths that women were forced to give up their jobs and new-found freedom and independence to the returning men and were thus angry, depressed, and resentful. Instead she focuses on the "collective strength of the women's working-class after the war, on the lessons they learned from their work, on the solidarity it yielded, and on the information surrendered to them during and after the war about their right to work for pay."²⁵ The experiences and consequences of the war on working-class women had a lasting and positive influence

on future generations of women as well as on their immediate lives in numerous and unanticipated ways.

Culleton's book adds to the growing body of academic literature being produced about women in the First World War. As Culleton points out, until recently so much of the scholarly work regarding World War I has been centered on men, such as soldiers on the front lines or the contributions of male soldier-poets. Scholars have since started researching and writing about the women of the First World War and their contributions to writing, society, culture, and the reconstruction of gender in Britain. However, Culleton's book might have been much more rewarding if she had more precisely focused her research on working-class women's factory literature, rather than choosing such a broad and ambitious topic. She lists and describes a plethora of female scholarly works that outline the making and subsequent restructuring of Britain's cultural attitudes about women and work, but she does not analyze these works as much as she might have. Yet, as stated by Culleton, "the work and study of these scholars have shifted academic interest in the First World War toward questioning and examining women's participation in creating, shaping, and responding to nascent cultural attitudes, their participation in the literature of the war, in the image-making, in the allegorization of women's wartime experience, and in the forging

of a cultural consciousness."⁶ Claire A. Culleton's *Working-Class Culture, Women, and Britain, 1914-1921*, with its focus on working class women in England and the social and cultural consequences of their participation on the war effort, offers insight on many of these topics.

Culleton's intended audience includes academics and historians as well as the general reader. However, Culleton is a specialist in English and not a historian, so her attempts to provide historical and cultural analysis of the experiences of working-class women workers in Britain during the First World War, culled from the oral histories of women workers and factory newspapers, falls short at times. Although she uses numerous primary and secondary sources in her book, Culleton fails to analyze those sources fully. Had Culleton narrowed her subject, perhaps focusing on modernism within women's wartime literature, which would have been a much better fit with her background, more extensively analyzed her sources, and covered fewer aspects of working women's lives beyond their writing, her book may have been a much more significant addition to the readers' knowledge about women on the home front during World War I. An example can be found in Culleton's discussion of the class and gender issues many working-class women faced during this time, in which she provides discussions of the lives, oral history narratives, testimonies, and work-place

writings of women workers during the war, how their experiences and writings affected their class and status, how their experiences and writings affected and were affected by emerging modernist sensibilities that sought to modulate and transform their culture, their attitudes, their national literature.⁷

As an English literature specialist, Culleton has an additional interest in the modernism found in the literature of working-class British women during the war, to the possible detriment of the lofty goal of her book.

David Mitchell takes a different approach in his book, *Monstrous Regiment: The Story of Women of the First World War*. Mitchell discusses women on the home front and the various causes and movements that they were involved in during the war, such as the suffrage movement and its leaders, which he discusses in some detail. Much like the other books, Mitchell also examines women's work in factories, in the service industry, and in social welfare. Mitchell has a background in journalism and was an independent historian during his working career. Mitchell graduated from Oxford University in England, after which he worked as a newspaper journalist and later a picture editor. He became a freelance writer in 1965, concentrating his writings on the twentieth century women's suffrage movement. Among his other published works are *Women on the Warpath: The Story of*

the Women of the First World War (London: Jonathan Cape, 1966), *The Fighting Pankhursts: A Study in Tenacity* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1967), and *Queen Christabel: A Biography of Christabel Pankhurst* (London: MacDonald and Jane's Publisher Ltd., 1977). Mitchell's research notes were acquired by the London Metropolitan University Museum in the 1970s.

As a journalist and an independent historian, Mitchell had access to several sources of information. Mitchell uses a large assortment of primary and secondary sources, including books, photographs, personal letters, diaries, journals, and manuscripts written by women during the war. Like the other authors, Mitchell also amassed a large number of his sources from the Imperial War Museum Reference Library and the Fawcett Library at the London Guildhall University in England.

However, whereas Culleton and Braybon focus on working-class women during World War I, the unique aspect of Mitchell's book is that his discussion includes women from different levels of British society. He also focuses on what he calls "an immense social revolution" that was headed by "hooligans of the sex war," which eventually led to women getting the vote in 1918.⁸ To do this, Mitchell looks more at individuals and organizations rather than classes of women. Mitchell gives evidence of the nation's view of women with a 1915 quote from British Prime Minister Herbert

Asquith, “that cunning antifeminist,” when Asquith admitted the value of women in the war effort: “There are thousands of such women, but a year ago we did not know it.”⁹ As is evidenced by Thom and Braybon, this was often the prevailing opinion of men about women involved in the war effort, which is only recently being amended with a new interest in women’s history.

Mitchell divides his book into several sections, including sections on well-known people like Florence Nightingale, who was seen as a “symbol of feminine success;” a section on mother and daughter suffrage leaders Emmeline Pankhurst and Christabel Pankhurst and their efforts for women’s suffrage; a section on women from the nobility class, such as Flemish Baroness Ernest de la Grange, the “Mother of the British Army,” for the special care she took of British men on the front lines, and Lady May Bradford, who was a hospital letter writer during the war; and sections on servicewomen, factory workers, individualists, and various other areas involving women.¹⁰ Mitchell also discusses several political, suffragist, and philanthropic organizations that women established and were involved in to coordinate various efforts, such as the Women’s Social and Political Union (WSPU) and the Women’s Guild of the Empire.

One of the key strengths of Mitchell’s book is that even though women’s history

was not yet a major area of interest for most historians when the book was published, Mitchell makes an effort in breaking through that barrier by writing this and several other books about women during the First World War. Unlike the other authors, Mitchell focuses more on suffragist activities and the people involved in that movement rather than in the war itself, although he does briefly discuss women involved in the war effort and on the war front. One area of weakness is that because he organizes the book by individuals and groups rather than by chronology of events, it makes the reading jumbled and hard to follow.

Nice Girls and Rude Girls: Women Workers in World War I by Deborah Thom focuses on women’s working experiences during the war and how those experiences changed but did not truly improve their working lives. The unique aspect of this book is that Thom attempts to break through the myth that women’s war work was a heroic and patriotic adventure, showing the true reality and dangers of their work. She does this by emphasizing the relationship between women workers’ organizations and any changes they might have created at work.

Thom is a Fellow at Robinson College at Cambridge University in England, where she is director of Studies for the History and Social and Political Sciences departments. She received her graduate degree from Warwick University and later did her doctoral studies at Thames

Polytechnic in one of the old buildings of the Woolrich Arsenal, or the Royal Ordnance Factory at Woolrich, which was the largest munitions factory in England during World War I and where women worked to assist in the war effort. Thom did not publish either her Master's or her PhD thesis but when a copy of her doctoral thesis was stolen from the Library of Thames

Polytechnic, she decided to gather the articles she had written on women workers during World War I and compile them into the book *Nice Girls and Rude Girls*.¹¹

Thom uses a variety of primary and secondary sources in her book, ranging from official records, press clippings, pamphlets,

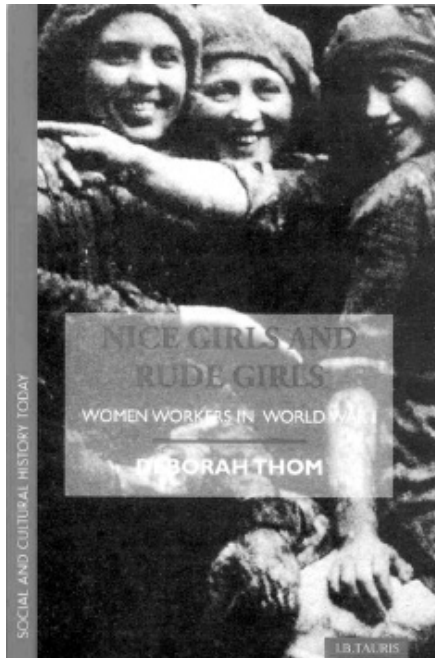
contemporary writings, photographs, and oral histories from such institutions as the Gertrude Tuckwell Collection at the Trades Union Congress Library and the Imperial War Museum's Women's Work archive. Thom notes that photographic evidence was just as important as personal accounts, because while memories fade and people forget, visual evidence or even

reenactments through bodily memory can be more reliable.¹² Interestingly, because much of Thom's graduate work centered on the Woolrich Arsenal, many of her photographs, oral histories, and other sources of information originated with the women who worked there.

As mentioned above, Thom's book is comprised of several essays she wrote

on various aspects of the women's war effort. The topics of these essays range from women involved in factory work as part of the labor market to the public representation of working women, women trade unionists and collective organizations, TNT poisoning and employment of women workers, and welfare and domesticity. Much like Braybon, Thom also discusses how the traditional gender roles of men and women - that

of men as the breadwinners performing paid work outside the home while women take care of the home and children - are called into question during wartime. She says that "woman's work is defined by her relationship to a man, who, fictionally in many cases, was doing the work she now does."¹³ Thom agrees with Braybon that patriarchy played a big role in the capitalist



society of wartime England. Thom also goes into some detail about government interest and intervention regarding women as workers. She argues that the interest was there before the war and that it was not solely the absence of male workers that caused the government to intervene in female workers' lives. These interests included birth, motherhood, and sex. This interest in their health was caused by a public outcry due to increasing political and philanthropic awareness, especially after an outbreak of TNT poisoning and other ailments resulting from war work were exposed.¹⁴ Additionally, Thom discusses the image of the working woman. Before the war, women factory workers were seen as sweaty and dirty, but during the war, that image changed. This was partly due to demands for improvements in working conditions. Because of the TNT poisoning, the health of women war workers was more closely monitored and a report was even produced for the War Cabinet Committee. Ironically, Thom notes, munitions workers were given detailed instructions on personal hygiene that "contrasts oddly" with the total lack of even the most basic instructions given to soldiers in the trenches.¹⁵ Thom attributes this interest in the health of women war workers as being comparable to the physical health of the nation.

One of the major strengths of Thom's book is that she addresses the fact that contemporary opinions about women

workers during the First World War did not reflect the reality of their lives and experiences, which is echoed in her unusual title, *Nice Girls and Rude Girls*. Until recently, this idea was generally ignored by historians and it was not until the surge of interest in women's history that the women's war effort was really addressed. The book at first seems somewhat disjointed because it consists of a series of previously published essays written by Thom. Ultimately, Thom arranges the essays to fit together in a logical and coherent order. She also provides a lengthy introduction in which she explains in detail the topics she covers in her essays.

The last book is *Women Workers in the First World War: The British Experience* by Gail Braybon. This book was originally her Master's thesis at the University of Sussex, which Braybon modified to become a monograph. Whereas *Women Workers in the First World War* is primarily about how men viewed these women, Braybon also published other titles, such as *Out of the Cage: Women's Experiences in Two World Wars* (New York: Pandora Press, 1987), which was meant to show women's own feelings and views about war and their work during the war, and an edited collection entitled *Evidence, History, and the Great War: Historians and the Impact of 1914-1918*, published in 2003 (Berghahn Books). Although Braybon never worked in an academic setting and was unable to finish her doctoral degree due to lack

of funding, she produced several works as an independent historian and was an associate editor of the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* specializing in women in the armed forces in the twentieth century. Because of this, Braybon's intended audience includes historians and general readers. Braybon died from cancer in 2008; in her obituary, written by friend and collaborator Penny Summerfield and posted in the *Women's History Review*, Braybon is referred to as "one of the pioneers of historical work on women in the First World War."¹⁶

Like Culleton, Braybon concentrates on working-class women in industry; however, Braybon also examines male attitudes toward women's work during World War I. She argues that women's war work was shaped and characterized by the attitudes and needs of male workers. In fact, male attitudes toward women's work is the main focus of the book. Braybon notes that the attitudes, prejudices, and expectations of men toward women's war work were consistent throughout and after the war. She also discusses the way those attitudes affected women.¹⁷ Braybon states that according to men, women's place was in the home, tending to husbands and children, and as such all their time and energy should be focused there. Debate about paid work, suitability of certain jobs, and their capability as workers were all influenced by this belief.¹⁸ In her book, Braybon concentrates on

three main ideas. The first of these is that "the patriarchal system coexists with the capitalist system."¹⁹ In other words, as the working class is exploited by the capitalist system, women are also exploited by men of all classes in various ways, such as in men accepting reduced compensation rather than demanding higher pay for both themselves and for women. This idea is also discussed in Thom's book, *Nice Girls and Rude Girls*. The second idea Braybon discusses concerns the view of working-class men that women were of a lower status. There was an underlying sentiment that the working-class male's status would be lowered to make it equal to that of a working-class woman, rather than the woman's status being raised to be equal to that of the man. Braybon's third idea involves the sexual division of labor and the fact that women were expected to accept less pay than men because they also spent their time performing domestic chores and because they were financially supported by men.²⁰ Each of these ideas is explained in depth and illustrated throughout the book.

Braybon calls her book "a broad study," since she uses government reports, evidence presented to wartime committees, books, trade union and trade journals, feminist journals, and newspapers as her sources.²¹ She states that all of these sources easily convey the attitudes of men toward women's war work. She uses several private and personal collections

rather than resources from some of the larger academic and institutional libraries and admits that she neglects local resources, union policies and guidelines, and information on women's suffrage because of time, financial, or accessibility constraints.²² These areas might have provided additional information but they might also have changed the scope of her work and forced it to become longer and less detailed.

One of the most important strengths of this book is that much like Thom, Braybon brings to the forefront the problems and criticisms women faced during and after the war, particularly from men. This is a topic that has not been greatly written about and Braybon's book provides a very in-depth and detailed look at an interesting issue. Conversely, a weakness may be that her lack of academic credentials could cause some readers to not take her as seriously as they would if she did have a higher degree. Similarly, because she was an independent historian, she was not granted access to as many sources as she would have liked, such as the Imperial War Museum. Another weakness might be her all but complete dismissal of work by labor historians because of what Braybon perceives as their disregard for the field of women's war work in general.

There are several areas in which the authors of these four books agree and disagree. All of these authors agree that the public representation of the female

worker did not match the reality of women's experiences as workers during the First World War. They diverge on how the experiences are understood. These authors also agree that labor historians tend to disregard the efforts of women during and after the war. However, with the surge of research on the history of women's war work, including the books presented here, that slight is beginning to be righted. These authors also tend to agree that the war experience varied for individual women or even for classes of women rather than women as a whole. Thom and Braybon discuss this fact in their books, and Mitchell provides some evidence of this as well in his book.

The strongest of these books is Braybon's *Women Workers in the First World War: The British Experience*. It is the best presented, with arguments and points organized in such a way that is easy for the general reader as well as a historian to follow and understand. In the introduction to her book, *Nice Girls and Rude Girls*, Thom calls Braybon's book, *Women's Workers in the First World War*, "the most significant body of work in English on women workers in Britain in the First World War."²³ Thom states that Braybon's work has contributed to the ideology of a shifting labor market and the various ways in which that ideology was evident in social commentary during the war. Braybon's dedication and commitment to what she saw as neglect by historians in not spending

more time researching the lives and experiences of women workers during the Great War created a much more powerful book and an important contribution to this field of study. She also charges that labor historians in particular have ignored the experiences and consequences of women in the war effort. Although Deborah Thom and Claire Culleton also believe these experiences and realities have been neglected by modern historians, they make their arguments in less effective ways.

Because so little work has been done on this subject, there is plenty of room for future research. One of the prevailing opinions about the Great War is that women enjoyed a new kind of power and freedom during and after the war. However, addressed in these books is the realization that although the war did create new opportunities for women, many of the prevailing pre-war ideas about the role of women persisted, causing very little real change to occur after the war. These myths need to be analyzed and broken, which can be done with further research and published works. If labor historians have truly ignored women's war efforts, as so charged by the authors of these books, especially Braybon, perhaps addressing this issue in the field of labor history would be another excellent idea for future research. An additional area that might be an interesting avenue for further research is the correlation between gender

inequality in pay today and during World War I in both the United Kingdom and the United States. Braybon briefly mentions this in her book; however, as her book only discusses Britain, one would need to research whether lower wages for women were a problem in the U.S. during the First World War and whether a gender pay gap exists today and is as large in England as in the U.S. Another area of research could involve the relationship between the hardships faced by working women during World War I and World War II and whether the experiences encountered during the two wars are similar or completely different.

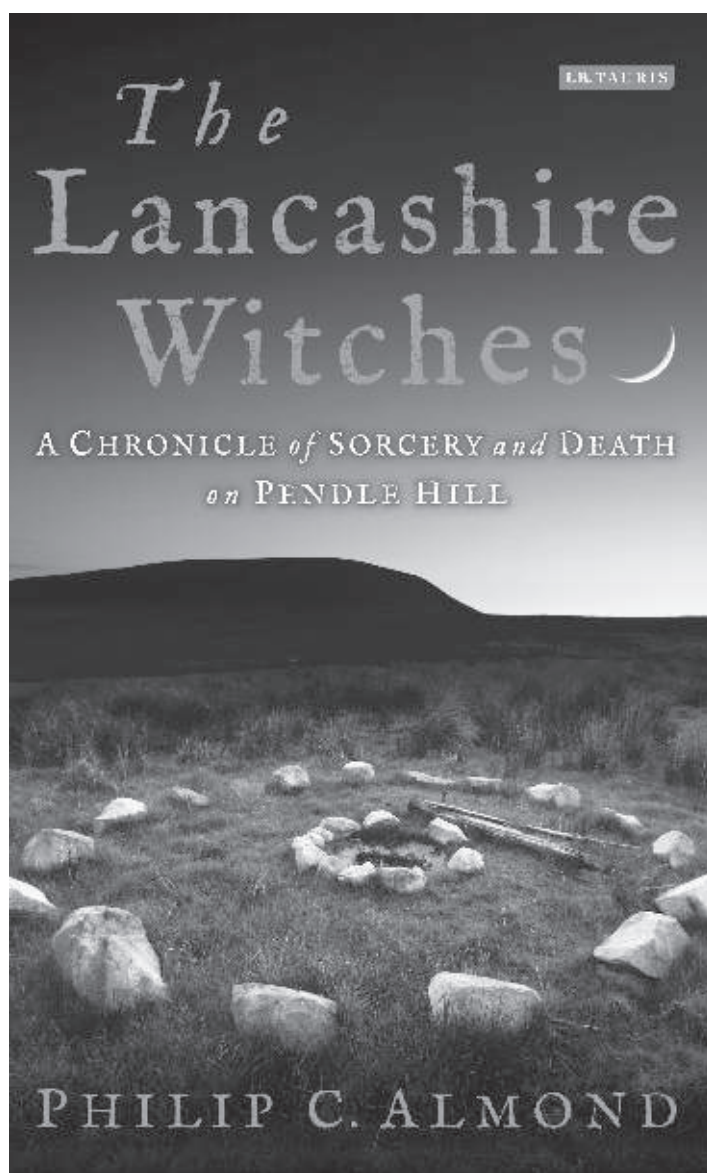
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REVIEW OF PHILIP C. ALMOND'S
The Lancashire Witches

A CHRONICLE OF SORCERY AND DEATH ON PENDLE HILL

Kimberly Leifer



The study of magic and witchcraft throughout Europe is a broad topic. There are very few complete works surviving today that document the interrogations and investigations. *The Lancashire Witches*, by Philip C. Almond, Emeritus Professor of Religion at the University of Queensland, is the analysis of one such document. He has written a number of books on religion and witchcraft during the English Enlightenment. In *The Lancashire Witches*, Almond has created a concise analysis of events based on the only remaining source, Thomas Potts' book, *The Wonderfull Discoverie of Witches in the Countie of Lancaster*, published in 1613.¹ Even four hundred years later, the story is both horrible and fascinating. Almond is clear and impartial, sparing the reader none of the details of what are perhaps the most famous witch trials in England. *The Lancashire Witches* unfolds as a story of political power, religious uncertainty, and economic strife.

At the beginning of the book, Almond provides extremely helpful lists of people and descriptions. Without them, the reader would be quickly lost, since a number of women share the same first name. The

chronology of events is an eye-opening reminder of just how quickly the actual trials unfolded compared to the length of modern trials. The book is written in chronological order, skipping back and forth from location to location in this small area of England and showing how the people in these very small towns were intertwined in the unfolding drama.

The events unfolded after an altercation between Alizon Device and John Law. Alizon was accused of making Law lame after he refused to sell her pins. According to the record, Law accepted her apology, but his son gave a statement to Roger Norwell, beginning the escalation of events that would end six months later. Almond discusses many times throughout the work how these marginalized people, living on the edge of poverty, would take any opportunity to grasp at power and respect, mainly from associating with familiars, which were feared in England.² This willingness to discuss their abilities provides Norwell with all of the information that he needed to continue the investigations. The chain of events began when Alizon incriminated her grandmother, Demdike, and concluded

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on Good Friday, April 10, 1612, at Malkin Tower, home of Demdike's daughter, Elizabeth Device.³ The majority of testimony comes from Elizabeth's nine year old daughter, Jennet Device. Her testimony caused all those present to be arrested and charged with murder or bewitching, resulting in ten executions.

Almond also discusses the case of the Samlesbury witches, three women in the nearby town of the same name who were accused by fourteen year old Grace Sowerbutts.⁴ Potts included this case in *The Wonderful Discoverie of Witches* at the request of Judge Bromley. Almond believes Bromley's intention was to showcase the innocence of these witches and highlight the nefarious nature of the Jesuit priest, Christopher Southworth.⁵ Even decades after the English Reformation, there was still great mistrust between Protestants and Catholics, and while each religion thought the other heretical, the incident in Samlesbury was unprecedented.

The accusations against the Samlesbury witches were markedly different from anything that had previously been seen in England. Grace, having accused three women of bewitching her, was guided by Southworth to give testimony that included cannibalism and shape-shifting.⁶ These activities were unheard of in England, but Almond notes that Southworth would have learned of these phenomena during his Catholic training in Europe.⁷ As the trial continued,

it became clear that these events did not happen and were meant as a pointed attack against the women. Southworth's motive was revenge; the women had converted to Protestantism and would not return to the Catholic faith.

While *The Wonderful Discoverie of Witches* is considered the primary source for these trials, Almond calls into question the recorded events. The two judges on the case, Edward Bromley and James Altham, commissioned Thomas Potts to write this work, documenting their conduct in what was seen as "the two most serious threats to the stability of the Jacobean state, witchcraft and popery."⁸ Almond points out that this work, to which Potts appended *The Arraignement and Triall of Jennet Preston, of Gisborne in Craven*, was an attempt by the two judges to quell misgivings and criticism in order to preserve their political reputations, allowing them to further their ambitions in the royal court. Potts was familiar with the book *Daemonologie* by King James I, and often mirrored the ideology of the king in his own work.

It would be easy to say that Potts documented these witch trials for political reasons, but it is not that simple. Judge Bromley and Thomas Potts were completely convinced that they were doing God's will and upholding the letter of the law, and Almond best shows this in Bromley's final judgment against the guilty.⁹ Another key person in these trials,

Roger Norwell, seemingly had no political leanings, just a strong desire to uphold the Witchcraft Act of 1604.¹⁰ Norwell's examinations and interrogations make up the bulk of information on the accused.

Almond's work is informative and compelling. He has gone to great effort to sort the details of the trials into a coherent series of events. What remains are the circumstances that brought about the persecutions, the families of those involved, and their place in society. Almond leaves us with one final thought to consider, reminiscent of the butterfly effect: what may have happened had Alizon Device not met up with John Law that day in March 1612?

NOTES

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*Augusta Jane Evans Wilson, circa 1850-1869.
(Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama)*

Confederate Heroines in Letters

AUGUSTA JANE EVANS, HER CONFEDERATE SISTERS, AND *MACARIA*

Kelhi DePace

At the outset of the Civil War, Augusta Jane Evans of Mobile, Alabama was a nationally known novelist, having garnered praise for her second novel, *Beulah* (1859).¹ During the war, Evans supported the Confederacy in almost every way a woman could. She volunteered at a hospital; she sang songs to rally the Confederate soldiers; she set aside her personal romantic interests; and she organized the women of Mobile in necessary war work.² Yet the young novelist knew that her greatest weapon was the pen and so she wrote *Macaria; or Altars of Sacrifice*, dedicated “TO THE ARMY OF THE SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY.”³ It was published in Richmond in 1864 and thereafter reprinted for the Union audience. While the novel was not a best seller, it was widely read in both the Union and the Confederacy. Through *Macaria*, Evans defended the honor of the South and contributed to an emerging Confederate national culture.

Moreover, the book’s heroines mirror the actions of Evans and other Confederate women during the Civil War. As such, she encourages her fellow Confederate “sisters” to keep working, even in the face of inevitable defeat.⁴ By dramatizing typical female wartime actions in this novel of purpose, Evans reminds white Southern women that they are as necessary to winning the war as are the Confederate soldiers and *Macaria*’s Confederate heroines in letters.⁵ Evans served the Confederate cause with genuine loyalty, and offered the Southern nation her greatest “sacrifice” in *Macaria* itself.

Macaria, like most of Evans’s novels, has autobiographical aspects to it. Augusta Jane Evans was born in the young city of Columbus, Georgia on May 8, 1835. Although her father prospered for a time, in 1839 the family lost their estate of one hundred and forty-three acres, thirty-six slaves, and all their other possessions. In

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1847, they relocated to San Antonio, Texas, where they lived until 1849. Returning east, they settled in Mobile, Alabama, not a large city at the time, but important in the slave trade nonetheless.⁶ By 1850, Evans was the eldest of eight children. The family continued to struggle financially, and Evans reflects this in her novels. At age seventeen, she began to write her first novel, *Inez: A Tale of the Alamo*. She based the descriptions of Texas on her own experiences, and the family in the story is similar to her own.⁷ *Inez*, according to one literary critic, did “not foreshadow the successful career as a novelist that came to its author.”⁸ It was published anonymously in 1855.⁹

Undeterred by *Inez*’s lack of success, Evans began a second novel, which also contained an autobiographical element. In her 1859 *Beulah*, Evans described an orphan girl’s religious and romantic journey. A work of domestic fiction, *Beulah* stands out for its philosophical passages. Evans’s spiritual journey was similar to that of her heroine: from religious doubt to skepticism, after which both women returned to their faith.¹⁰ *Beulah* sold twenty-three thousand copies by December 1860, and the proceeds of the book’s success allowed the Evans family to purchase the house they had been renting.¹¹

While the details of Evans’s life during the Civil War will be addressed later, for now, it is enough to establish Evan’s reputation before the war. *Harper’s*

Weekly, a Northern paper, declared that *Beulah* was “in the foremost rank of novels by American women. Possibly... the first of that class.”¹² Of primary interest to Southern reviewers was Evans’s literary potential. The *Mobile Daily Register* commented that “the book is more remarkable for...the promises it affords.”¹³ Similarly, *The Cosmopolitan Art Journal* declared, “we, therefore, look forward to her future with hope of further offerings upon the altar of pure, ennobling, beautiful literature.”¹⁴ With the coming war, Evans would sacrifice “further offerings upon the altar of...literature” with her Civil War novel, *Macaria*.¹⁵

While *Macaria* is Evans’s important Confederate novel, her greatest financial success was her post-war novel, *St. Elmo*. Soon after the war, Evans published the novel while raising funds for Confederate monuments; critics were reading the book by December 1866. *St. Elmo*, whose heroine is a novelist, was possibly the third most read novel of the period, ranking behind *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* and *Ben Hur*.¹⁶ A 1909 newspaper article declared that *St. Elmo* was the “most praised and best abused novel ever written.”¹⁷ Regardless of its flaws, *St. Elmo* established Evans as “the most famous and wealthiest novelist of her time.”¹⁸

Amidst national fame, Evans cared for both her ill father and her brother, Howard, who was wounded in the war. On December 2, 1868, the thirty-two year old

novelist married Lorenzo Madison Wilson; he was sixty, a widower, owner of a large Mobile estate called Ashland, and father to four children, the youngest of whom was nineteen. This marriage mirrored Evans's novels, as the heroines of *Beulah* and *St. Elmo* also marry older men. As wife, mother, and hostess at Ashland, Evans was still able to write, publishing three novels before Wilson's death in 1891: *Vashti* (1869), *Infelice* (1875), and *At the Mercy of Tiberius* (1887); and two more novels before her death: *A Speckled Bird* (1902) and *Devota* (1907).¹⁹ Augusta Jane Evans Wilson died in Mobile on May 9, 1909. The next day, the *Mobile Register* concluded a lengthy article with the words of “[a]n eminent critic,” saying, “Who has not read with rare delight the novels of Augusta Evans?”²⁰

Evans has garnered various levels of scholarly attention throughout the years. The focus of such discussions is normally placed upon *Beulah*, as the novel that truly began her career, and *St. Elmo*, as the novel that secured her stature in the literary world. Comparably little attention has been given to *Macaria*, except in recent years. While she lived, Evans was included in books on female authors. The first, Mary Forrest's *Women of the South Distinguished in Literature* (1866), did not mention *Macaria*, although the novel was a fairly recent publication. Perhaps Forrest's book was produced too soon after the Civil War to include such a pro-Confederate novel. The second, Laura C. Holloway's *The Women's*

Story: As Told by Twenty American Women (1889), devoted substantial discussion to *Macaria*, stressing Evans as a Southern author.²¹

William Perry Fidler's 1951 biography constituted the first effort to detail Evans's life, incorporating firsthand accounts from her relatives and friends. However, Fidler fails to address critical issues, such as Evans's view of slavery. In 1992, the University of Louisiana Press published scholarly editions of *Beulah*, *Macaria*, and *St. Elmo*. Rebecca Grant Sexton's *A Southern Woman of Letters: The Correspondence of Augusta Jane Evans Wilson* (2002) is a useful addition to Evans scholarship, making Evans's personal thoughts accessible, which augment her public thoughts in her novels. Brenda Ayer's biography, *The Life and Works of Augusta Jane Evans Wilson, 1835-1909* (2012), seeks to discuss Evans and her novels “in full context” because “her messages are just as relevant and potent... today;” in this work, each of Evans's novels receives an individual chapter.²² Melissa J. Homestead and Coleman Hutchison devote excellent chapters to *Macaria*. Although others have noted *Macaria's* appeal to Southern women, and Drew Gilpin Faust outlined the ideological and cultural background to *Macaria's* appeal, offering some comparative details, there has been no detailed study of how *Macaria's* heroines mirrored both Evans and other Confederate women.²³

“Macaria” refers to a woman in Greek

mythology who must physically sacrifice herself to save the city of Athens from military destruction, and Evans draws on the theme of female sacrifice in her novel. *Macaria* tells the story of two young, Southern women: the highborn Irene Huntingdon and the social-outcast Electra Grey. When the story begins, both are children, and Evans traces their lives until after the Battle of Malvern Hill in 1862, at which point they are staunch supporters of the Confederate cause. Both girls study in New York. Irene's father, Mr. Huntingdon, sends her there because of her stubborn refusal to wed her cousin, Hugh. Electra has artistic aspirations and trains with a New York artist, Mr. Clifton, who attempts to wed her several times. As both young women avoid persistent suitors, they seek to form their own destinies. In the end, they find their true calling in the service of the Confederacy. Faust adds, "Self-realization, toward which [they have]... been striving in the first two-thirds of the novel, is now defined as finding its fullest expression in self-denial."²⁴ Both women must sacrifice their loved ones, specifically Mr. Huntingdon and Russell Aubrey, Electra's cousin and the true love interest of both young women, as both men are killed at the Battle of Malvern Hill. Uncharacteristically for both American women during the 1800s and this type of novel, both Irene and Electra remain single at the end of *Macaria*.²⁵

However, so much of the novel takes

place before the Civil War that readers might be surprised when the focus shifts. While in New York, Irene longs to go back home, and her musings serve to bolster the reader's positive image of the South. The first suggestion of war is not made until Chapter XX, where Russell says he will attend "a great political meeting" because he is "most deeply interested; no true lover of his country can fail to be so at this juncture."²⁶ This allusion to sectional issues appears a little over half way through the novel. In Chapter XXI, there is further political discussion, but it is not clearly anti-Union.²⁷ Amid Irene's personal crises, the intimations of coming war grow stronger. However, *Macaria* suddenly shifts to secession in Chapter XXVII, and afterwards focuses on the war itself.

The sudden shift in *Macaria*'s focus raises an important question: when did Evans begin writing *Macaria*, before or during the Civil War? Possible answers support the claim that Evans wrote this novel with a specific purpose in mind. Fidler suggests that *Macaria* was written between June 1862 and March 1863.²⁸ While there is no reason to doubt that Evans worked on the novel during these months, writing the entirety of so dense a novel amidst her other wartime activities would have been an incredible feat. Moreover, in August 1861, Evans admitted in a letter that she was thinking more about the Confederacy "than pen, and letter."²⁹ If Evans was mentally

overwhelmed by the prospects of war, how could she write all of *Macaria* while it was raging?

The same 1861 letter provides a solution to the riddle. Evans wrote to her friend Rachel Lyons, saying, “I received a letter from Mr D [that is, J. C. Derby, New York publisher of *Beulah* and friend] a few days ago, acknowledging the receipt of my previous *MS*; and expressing himself as very much pleased with it!”³⁰ Sexton suggests that this “MS” is an early manuscript of *Macaria*.³¹ If this is true, Evans may have changed the focus of her book after the war began, rededicating it to a more specific purpose – the Confederate cause. This explains the fact that there is very little mention of sectional tensions in the first half of the book. However, even if the sudden shift to sectional, secessionist, and war themes was intentional, Evans’s purpose for *Macaria* remains clear.

West and Johnson printed *Macaria* in April 1864 in Richmond, Virginia “on crude wrapping paper.” The novel was printed much later than Evans had hoped for, as she expressed in a letter wrote to her friend Rachel Lyons in November 1863. A Northern edition was printed in New York a few months later. According to Derby, he received a copy of *Macaria* in 1863 “printed on coarse brown paper.” Although Derby arranged for the book to be published, he discovered that Michael Doolady’s firm planned to print a bootleg edition

of *Macaria*. Derby insisted that Doolady entrust him with royalties, which Derby gave to Evans after the war. This money saved the Evans family from poverty.³²

Macaria was one of the most read books in the Confederacy. Northerners also enjoyed the novel, although there is one, “perhaps apocryphal anecdote,” about Union General G. H. Thomas banning the novel and burning copies because it was “contraband and dangerous.” Due to “limited wartime editions,” it is not possible to document how many copies were sold.³³ When reading *Macaria* today it is essential to remember that when the novel was written, although the Confederacy had suffered many defeats, namely the twin defeats at Vicksburg and Gettysburg in the summer of 1863, the outcome of the Civil War was unknown.

Macaria must be understood in the context of the types of novels being written during this period. First, as a female, a southerner, and an Alabamian author, Evans was part of a very select group of writers. Second, *Macaria* can be viewed as propaganda, which has been the term used by many scholars to describe it. Third, *Macaria* has much in common with domestic literature of the 1880s. Fourth, *Macaria* is primarily a novel of purpose: that is, a creative work written with a particular message, to convince the audience to respond in a particular way.

First, Evans was part of a small but growing number of female professional

writers. Evans was one of the women who “helped ensconce Alabama even more firmly on the national map.” Although others later wrote novels about the Civil War, Evans was the only female author writing during the war. Moreover, while many women were writing letters during the war, as Evans herself did, Evans also published a novel.³⁴

Second, although *Macaria* has propagandist features, it is simplistic and misleading to label it as merely propaganda. Unfortunately, this is what many scholars have branded *Macaria*. Williams plainly states that *Macaria* “is a propaganda novel” and Entzinger describes it as “a piece of wartime propaganda.” Similarly, Massey declares, “Miss Evans emerged as the foremost feminine propagandist of the Confederacy.” Therefore, as Hutchison notes with disdain, “today *Macaria* is treated as a piece of wartime propaganda and largely ignored.”³⁵

Third, Evan’s novels, *Macaria* included, can be termed domestic, or sentimental, literature. This type of literature is concerned with women’s often idealized lives and romantic relationships; these themes were both popular and lucrative in the mid-nineteenth century. While the first nineteen chapters of *Macaria* fit into this category, Hutchison points out that in later chapters, “Evans essentially remakes the southern domestic novel—outfitting it, as it were—for war.” Therefore, it is equally as simplistic to view *Macaria* as merely

domestic literature as it is to view it as merely propagandist.³⁶

Lastly, Evans’s *Macaria* is best described as a novel of purpose, and Evans had three purposes for *Macaria*.³⁷ First, for its Northern audience, *Macaria* was pro-Confederate propaganda. Second, *Macaria* was a contribution to national Confederate culture. Third, *Macaria* encouraged Southern women to keep up the good fight by dramatizing the typical wartime actions of Confederate women, actions Evans herself had taken. In *Macaria*, Evans addresses issues specific to women, as she had in *Beulah*, but approaches them in the context of war. The purpose of *Beulah* had been to promote personal faith over skepticism in the lives of young women.³⁸ *Macaria* also addresses issues important to women; however, Evans readdressed the issues for a war context. Evans mixed the forms of Southern literature, domestic literature, and propaganda into her own novel of purpose.

Though it is only a single facet, the propagandist features of *Macaria* are undeniable. Evans sent her New York publisher Derby a copy of the novel with both monetary and propagandist aims. Therefore, the opinions of Williams, Entzinger, and Massey have merit. Moreover, Williams is correct to note that *Macaria* is “not so much anti-Union as it was pro-Confederate.” Homestead adds, “Evans attacks the North in the

strongest terms, but she also celebrates the Confederate nation and its values and portrays all elements of that nation, rich and poor, black and white, men and women, as united in support of the war effort.”³⁹ This is seen by the absence of slavery in *Macaria*. The word “slavery” is used only once, Evans preferring the more appealing euphemism “servants” for slaves.⁴⁰ In these instances, Evans portrays the slaves as devoted to their masters. However, if a positive portrayal of slavery had been Evans’s chief purpose, she could have devoted more content to the argument. Therefore, it is inadequate to merely label *Macaria* “propaganda,” as it lacks a defined pro-slavery argument and has a multi-dimensional nature.

Early in the Civil War, Confederates realized the need for a national culture.⁴¹ Hutchison argues in *Apples to Ashes: Literature, Nationalism, and the Confederate States of America* that Evans wrote *Macaria* to contribute to this need.⁴² Evans had joined the debate about “national” literature before the Confederacy was formed through four articles she wrote anonymously in Mobile’s *Daily Advertiser* in October and November of 1859. She argues that the South should ignore regional literature and contribute to national American literature.⁴³ The Civil War changed the application of the principle, but not the principle itself. As Evans became concerned with Confederate culture, she urged Confederates not

to contribute to regional culture in their creative works, but national culture. Accordingly, in *Macaria*, Evans never specifies where her heroines are from, besides the general locality of the South, a town called “W—.” Moreover, while Evans’s characters are protestant Christians, no denomination is specified. Because *Macaria*’s W— could be almost any Southern town and her characters could belong to any protestant denomination, Evans’s Southern readers could easily identify with her characters.

Yet *Macaria* is so much more than pro-Confederate propaganda or a contribution to Confederate national culture. Virtually all Southerners firmly believed that women were an essential part of the war effort. Faust explains, “Particularly in the South, where human and material resources were stretched to the utmost, the conflict demanded the mobilization of women, not for battle, but for civilian support services.” As such, *Macaria* “might justly be regarded as the most systematic elaboration, and in many ways the culmination, of the discussion that had preceded it.”⁴⁴ Evans argued that “Womanly Usefulness” was necessary.⁴⁵ Originally, women’s spirits were high, the prospect of war was viewed with excitement, and victory seemed sure. However, by 1862, if not by 1863, morale had waned.⁴⁶ As Union armies advanced on Richmond and Atlanta, it only became worse:

By the summer of 1864, the range of female opinion had narrowed, hovering somewhere between weary hopefulness and unrelenting gloom. . . . The novelty of suffering and sacrifice had long since disappeared, leaving behind a dull and steady pain often heightened by new tragedies.⁴⁷

Evans would have experienced this growing disillusionment. As a self-appointed morale booster,⁴⁸ she dramatized the actions of her Confederate sisters to encourage them with their own example. Accordingly, *Macaria* “is a patriotic appeal to Southern women to [not merely] accept the sacrifices imposed by war,”⁴⁹ but to continue accepting them.

Evans engaged in many actions during the Civil War similar to those of her Confederate sisters, and thus it is inappropriate to portray her wartime actions as more substantial than those of the other women in the Confederacy. However, she does stand apart because she dramatized these actions in *Macaria*. In comparing Evans’s life, the lives of her Confederate sisters, and the events of *Macaria*, this purpose for *Macaria* is undeniable. Evans accurately portrays Confederate women in the context of secession, as they encourage men to enlist, in their desire for female military service, through their war work of rallying the troops, supplying the military, and nursing soldiers, and as they remained romantically unattached and unmarried during the war.

Evans depicts the period of secession in her novels, and her descriptions overlap with the experiences of her Confederate sisters. Evans was a staunch secessionist. On November 15, 1860, she wrote to her friend Rachel Lyons about “the political question of the day,” saying:

It is an issue of such incalculable solemnity and importance that no true Southern *man* or *woman* can fail to be deeply interested and impressed. For this great political problem I can perceive but one solution—the unanimous cooperation of the Southern states in *secession, prompt secession*.⁵⁰

This sentiment is evident in *Macaria*. The first sentence is strikingly similar to Russell’s declaration of his interest in politics, and the last sentence is reminiscent of the description of Russell as a spokesman for “prompt, immediate state action,” namely, secession.⁵¹ Irene agrees with Russell’s position, thereby “openly confront[ing] her father’s wrath on political grounds.”⁵² Irene later explains to Electra that “I was, from the beginning, a Secessionist.”⁵³

Moreover, in the same 1860 letter, Evans explained the state of her fellow Mobilians: “The feeling here is intense; not noisy, but deep, and the faces of the people are stamped with stern, desperate resolve.”⁵⁴ Just so, in *Macaria*, Evans describes, before Lincoln was elected, “the mutter of the storm which was so soon to

sweep over the nation.”⁵⁵ Through the fact that Irene’s father disagrees with secession, Evans harkens to the fact that not all Mobilians, and not all Southerners, so easily made the choice for secession.⁵⁶ When W—’s state votes to secede, Evans writes that “W— was vociferous” and describes Irene watching “the distant but brilliant rows of lights flaming along the streets” as her townsmen and women celebrate.⁵⁷ This also parallels reality, because there were similar celebrations in Mobile.⁵⁸ Further, Evans herself was so excited about the possibility of secession that she journeyed to Montgomery and was there for the celebrations when Alabama seceded.⁵⁹

Confederate women were expected to encourage their countrymen to enlist, and Evans reflects this reality in *Macaria*. Although it is not clear how much Evans encouraged her father and brothers to enlist, they served nonetheless; her brothers Howard and Vivian were in the Third Alabama Regiment.⁶⁰ A newspaper from Troy, Alabama berated women “for not doing anything in behalf of encouraging enlistments.”⁶¹ Likewise, in *Macaria*, Irene does not explicitly prompt her father to enlist; rather, she presumed correctly upon his character that he would enlist. Mr. Huntingdon says, “[T]o-day I have come to a determination which will doubtless surprise you.” Irene responds, “No, father; I am not surprised that you have determined to do your duty.” She further explains when he questions her that

“the Confederacy ‘expects that every man will do his duty.’” Mr. Huntingdon later agrees that he “could not possibly stay at home” in the midst of war. Again, Irene states, “every man in the Confederacy who can leave his family should be in our army.”⁶²

Macaria also favorably depicts the soldiers of the Confederacy, both in describing Russell’s regiment and through a glorifying account of Russell in uniform. Irene also lauds her friend Dr. Arnold because he has decided to join Russell’s regiment, saying, “Every good surgeon in the Confederacy should hasten to the front line of our armies.” Through Irene’s words, Evans not only encourages men to enlist, but prompts her Confederate sisters to encourage men to enlist. Through her descriptions of soldiers in war as glorious in life and death, Evans served as “a literary spokeswoman for the Southern military cause.”⁶³

In *Macaria*, Evans addresses the female desire to join the military.⁶⁴ When Irene’s father enlists, Irene declares, “Oh, father! if I were only a man, that I might go with you—stand by you under all circumstances. Couldn’t you take me anyhow? Surely a daughter may follow her father, even on the battle-field?” Electra also laments that as a woman, she is unable to serve in the military.⁶⁵ However, some Confederate women did serve in the military, disguised as men, and others served as secret agents.⁶⁶ Evans includes two similar

situations in *Macaria*. The first is an account of “a young lady of Washington” who smuggled military dispatches “through womanly devotion” and by braiding the paper in her hair. Evans did not invent this story, for she conversed with Confederate General P. G. T. Beauregard to be sure that she correctly portrayed the particulars.⁶⁷

Similarly, Electra expresses her own “female ingenuity” by smuggling dispatches inside of her paintings from Havana to the United States. Chapter XXXI describes her dangerous journey from Havana to Mobile in a small ship that is fired upon by Union vessels. She assures the captain that she is not afraid of the voyage; after all, she has “a splendid brace of pistols.”⁶⁸ Evans alludes to the fact that many Confederate women learned how to handle weapons to protect themselves against Union soldiers and slave rebellions when the war began.⁶⁹ Electra expresses bravery amidst the fray, exclaiming, “I would not have missed this for any consideration.”⁷⁰ While not every Confederate woman will serve the Confederacy as the “young lady of Washington” or Electra had, Evans acknowledges and does not belittle the desire.

Although few Confederate women wore the uniform, there were alternative capacities for service, which Evans depicts in her novel. Confederate women, including Evans and her *Macaria* heroines, devoted themselves to rallying the troops through a variety of means.⁷¹ “From the

very beginning of the war a great many Alabama women recognized the need for keeping the morale of the fighting forces at the highest possible level” and women often did this by visiting encamped soldiers.⁷² However, “[t]he question of whether young, unmarried women should visit camps was debated throughout the war.”⁷³ Evans alludes to this in *Macaria* when Irene expresses a desire to visit her father should he be wounded. He responds that “The neighborhood of an army would not be a pleasant place for you.” Nonetheless, Irene does visit a camp, with her uncle as a chaperone, when Russell Aubrey is mortally wounded.⁷⁴

It was not uncommon for Confederate women to visit camps, like sisters Jennie and Constance Carry did in September 1861. They visited soldiers camped at Manassas and sang “Maryland, My Maryland.” Evans and her mother visited troops encamped at Lookout Mountain, where her brother Howard was stationed. Like the Carry sisters, she sang “Maryland, My Maryland” at the request of the soldiers to encourage them.⁷⁵

Confederate women also supplied the army in a variety of ways. In Alabama specifically, women devoted themselves to “spinning, weaving, sewing, and knitting military apparel.”⁷⁶ Moreover, wealthy women often bore the financial burden.⁷⁷ There are ample instances of such endeavors in *Macaria*, as Irene, herself a wealthy woman, engages in similar

activities. She explains how she needs “to see about giving out some sewing for [her father’s unit] the ‘Huntingdon Rifles.’” She commissions women to sew seventy-five overshirts and haversacks. Through these efforts, Irene “give[s] the soldiers everything they need” from her own pocket and helps to take care of their poor families. She also prepares hospital supplies for Dr. Arnold before he leaves, and promises to send the other things he needs. While Irene works diligently to knit gloves, she explains, “It is cold work holding a musket in the open air, such weather as it is.”⁷⁸ Evans is perhaps reflecting upon Alabama Governor A. B. Moore’s plea for private donations of winter clothing for soldiers.⁷⁹ Later, Electra and Irene work together, “tearing off and rolling bandages...[and] scrap[ing] lint from a quantity of old linen.” When Electra travels to Richmond to be a nurse, she brings more hospital supplies from the women of W—. ⁸⁰

Likewise, Evans devoted herself to supplying the military. On January 13, 1861, Evans wrote to her aunt Mrs. L. V. French that she had begun making sandbags for the ramparts at Fort Morgan. By February 2, she reported to her friend Rachel Lyons that “We ladies went to work at once, and have finished over 9,000 Bags.” She also worked on making cartridges for the cannon at Fort Morgan.⁸¹ Evans translated typical war-work that she herself had known to her character Irene, who

“constantly engaged in superintending work for the soldiers.”⁸²

The women of the Confederacy sacrificed themselves volunteering in hospitals as nurses. Early in the war, hospitals were run privately in homes and wealthy women would pay for them. Due to a lack of official training, many women were only able to serve as nurses because they had done so before.⁸³ Evans had experience as a volunteer nurse before the war and so opened a hospital near her home, called “Camp Beulah” after her second novel.⁸⁴ She wrote to Lyons concerning her volunteer work:

Oh! my darling if I could tell you of all I have witnessed, and endured since I became a hospital nurse! There has been an appalling amount of sickness among the Brigades stationed in, and around Mobile but at last it seems to be abating. Out of the 200 cases at our hospital we have lost but two men. A number of them were alarmingly ill for weeks, with typhoid fever and pneumonia, and many might have rolled away as I sat with my fingers on their fluttering pulse, stimulating them constantly with brandy, ammonia and quinine. God bless our noble army! and preserve it from the pestilence which has decimated its ranks during the past few months.⁸⁵

Not surprisingly, Evans’s Irene proves an effective nurse because of her previous experience tending to sick families in a

part of *W*— called “Factory-row.” Electra explains her own desire to be a nurse to Irene: “It is not my privilege to enter the army, and wield a sword or musket; but I am going to true womanly work—into the crowded hospitals, to watch faithfully over sick and wounded.” Irene approves of the plan, saying, “I...think it your duty.”

It has been Irene’s “long-cherished plan” to follow Electra to Richmond, for as she tells her uncle, “the men in our armies are not hired to fight our battles; and the least the women can do is to nurse them when sick or wounded.”⁸⁶

One of the most moving chapters in *Macaria* is Chapter XXXIV in which Irene nurses two dying soldiers, one, “[r]aving with delirium, a light-haired, slender boy of seventeen” and the other “an emaciated, wrinkled old man, with gray hair.”⁸⁷ In *Macaria*, her description of the young soldier is reminiscent of a letter Evans sent to General Beauregard on August 4, 1862. The boy in the novel hallucinates that Irene is his mother, calling out to her, telling her how he did his duty, and holding her

hand tightly; she reassures him and insists that he sleep. Evans similarly wrote to Beauregard:

three days ago, I was sitting beside a sick soldier, who was entirely delirious with fever;—suddenly opening his eyes, he grasped my hand, and asked eagerly—“did you say General



General P.G.T. Beauregard, C.S.A., circa 1861. (Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama)

Beauregard was on Arlington Heights?” I answered, “be quiet, and go to sleep; *he will be there soon, very soon.*”⁸⁸

Evans was not the only Confederate nurse who experienced such heartbreaking situations, and this cathartic scene acknowledges their sorrow and reminds the women yet again that their work is necessary.

While Southern women were typically married by the age of twenty,⁸⁹ Evans remained single until

she was thirty-two, and much like her heroines, her abstention was a benefit during the Civil War, allowing her to serve the Confederacy with greater dedication. In *Macaria*, Evans does not undermine the value of married women to the Confederate cause. Mrs. Baker works

on sewing haversacks and overshirts, and although she cannot work as hard as Irene can because she has a family to care for, she still declares, “no soul loves the Confederacy better than I do, or will work harder for it. I have no money to lend the government, but I give my husband and child—and two better soldiers no state can show.” However, Evans argues in *Macaria* that single women, such as herself, Irene, and Electra, are especially well-equipped to serve the Confederacy. Irene tells her uncle why she can serve as a nurse: “Mothers and wives are, in most instances, kept at home; but I have nothing to bind me here.”⁹⁰

By stressing the usefulness of unmarried women, Evans addressed a very real concern: “With each passing month, as more and more young men were killed and wounded, a quiet desperation (occasionally mounting to panic) spread among single women,” for women feared a lack of husbands.⁹¹ Irene’s refusal to marry her father’s chosen suitors had been a major theme in the story, and before he goes to war, Mr. Huntingdon expresses his concern once again: “I should feel much better satisfied if you were married.” Similarly, Dr. Arnold tells her, “You might have been married like other people, and been happier.” In Chapter XXIX Irene finally reveals her love for Russell, whom her father hates; out of devotion to her father’s wishes, she will not marry him, and she determines “to live true to my first and only love, and die Irene Huntingdon.”

The only thing that will content her in this state of singleness, besides her firm belief that she and Russell will be together in Heaven, is her usefulness to her country. She resolves, “I give my all on earth—my father and yourself—to our beloved and suffering country.”⁹² Faust puts the death of Confederate soldiers in context,

The need for military manpower was unrelenting, until by the end of the war, three-fourths of white Southern men of military age had served in the army and at least half of those soldiers had been wounded, captured, or killed, or had died of disease. This left almost every white woman in the South with a close relative injured, missing, or dead.⁹³

Although Evans did not lose a family member in the Civil War, the severe emotions that Electra and Irene display when they learn of the deaths of Mr. Huntingdon and Russell show that she understood the loss that many of her Confederate sisters suffered.⁹⁴

Evans’s empathy for the losses suffered by her sisters was not entirely abstract, for Evans did sacrifice her own love interest before the war began. Romantic relationships with Unionists “were accounted unpatriotic and . . . discouraged or prohibited altogether.”⁹⁵ Evans visited New York after the publication of *Benlah*, and there she met James Reed Spaulding, a young New York editor, who had praised her

novel. In June 1859, Spaulding visited the family in Mobile. The two became engaged; however, they never married, for their loyalties were too different. Evans declared to her aunt on November 26, 1860 that she would never marry “a Black Republican,” that is, a Northerner who supported abolition.⁹⁶ Although she clearly held Spaulding in disdain after they broke off the engagement, she must have felt a serious initial attraction to him, for they had not known each other long before they became engaged. Much like Irene and Electra then, Evans sacrificed love and marriage for the Confederacy.

Ultimately, Evans’s argument for “Womanly Usefulness” is rooted in the idea of a calling. For instance, Electra has high ambitions to be a great painter, such that she offers “Thoughts, hopes, aspirations, memories, all centered in the chosen profession” as “sacrificial offerings.”⁹⁷ She explains to her cousin Russell:

I, too, want to earn a noble reputation, which will survive long after I have been gathered to my fathers; I want to accomplish some work, looking upon which, my fellow-creatures will proclaim: ‘That woman has not lived in vain; the world is better and happier because she came and labored in it.’ I want my name carved, not on monumental marble only, but upon the living, throbbing heart of my age!—stamped indelibly on the generation in which my lot is cast.... Upon the

threshold of my career, facing the loneliness of coming years, I resign that hope with which, like a golden thread, most women embroider their future. I dedicate myself, my life, unreservedly to Art.⁹⁸

However, after Fort Sumter falls, Electra abandons her studies in Florence and risks her life to return to the South. In so doing, “her hopes and feverish aspirations... found their graves” and she resigns herself to what she calls “her future cheerless life, her lonely destiny.” After dedicating herself as a nurse until she herself becomes ill, she returns with Irene to W— and there undertakes to create “the first offering of Southern Art, upon my country’s alter.”⁹⁹ As it is likely that Evans planned *Macaria* as a different novel and changed it when the war began, here Electra does the very thing that Evans did with *Macaria* itself: rededicate her artwork as the first contribution towards a necessary Confederate national culture.

While Electra feels that she knows her calling and is able to repurpose it during the war, Irene cannot find a calling, and this plagues her existence. While studying in New York, she meets Harvey, a young minister; in Chapter XXII, he visits her in W—. Irene expresses her despair because she feels useless: “I thought once that God created every human being for some particular work—some special mission.... But, like many other useful theories, I have been compelled to part with this,

also.” She asks Harvey, “What shall I do with my life?” and he tells her, “Give it to God.” Irene’s calling is slowly revealed to her as she begins in Chapter XXIV to use her time and money to care for the ill and less fortunate. She reaffirms her fear of being useless when her father leaves for war: “But to have to stay here, useless and inactive!”¹⁰⁰ By repeating the words “useful” and “useless,” Evans acknowledged a very real concern. “‘Useless’ was a dread epithet, repeatedly directed by Confederate women against themselves as they contemplated the very clear and honored role that war offered men.”¹⁰¹ Again, when Dr. Arnold leaves, Irene declares:

I hope to do some good in the world while I live. I want to be useful—to feel that I have gladdened some hearts, strengthened some desponding spirits, carried balm to some hearth-stones, shed some happiness on the paths of those who walk near me through life.¹⁰²

She observes that “The emptiness of my former life” has awakened her to the commission from the Creator. After refusing to marry Russell, she affirms that she has “a holier, a more disinterested, unselfish ambition to serve only God, Truth, and Country.” In Richmond, she finds Harvey, who has joined a Texas regiment as their chaplain. He praises her war work: “I have prayed that you might become an instrument of good to your

fellow-creatures, and tonight I rejoice to find you, at last, an earnest coworker,” adding, “You have found your work, and learned contentment in usefulness.” At *Macaria*’s conclusion, recognizing that “numbers of Confederate women will be thrown entirely upon their own resources for maintenance” due to the number of soldiers dying in the war, Irene plans to open a School of Design for Women so that they can work and care for themselves.¹⁰³ Irene asks Electra to preside over the school, and her friend agrees.

The Civil War provides for Irene and Electra the true calling that they have desired for all of their lives. Evans summarizes, “Thus, by different, by devious thorny paths, two sorrowing women emerge upon the broad highway of Duty, and, clasping hands, pressed forward to the divinely-appointed goal—Womanly Usefulness.” At the novel’s conclusion, Irene encourages Electra that “lonely lives are not necessarily joyless; they should be, of all others, most useful.” She adds, “You and I have much to do, during these days of gloom and national trial.”¹⁰⁴ Irene is speaking to Electra in these examples, but in these final pages of *Macaria*, Evans is also directly speaking to her Confederate sisters.

Although *Macaria* begins with a grand dedication “TO THE ARMY OF THE SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY,” accompanied by eloquent praise for the sacrifices of soldiers, the concluding poem

is a direct appeal to women. Evans writes, “Rise, woman, rise! ... [To] The sanctified devotion and full work, / To which thou art elect for evermore!” She speaks specifically to her Confederate sisters, exclaiming with Irene, “—h! my lot, and that of thousands of my countrywomen, is infinitely more bitter than the fate of *Macaria*!” Likewise, as Irene prays for herself, Evans encourages her Confederate sisters to pray, “Thy will, not mine, oh, Father! Give me the strength to do my work; enable me to be faithful even to the bitter end.”¹⁰⁵ When Evans wrote *Macaria*, she was unaware that the war would have a “bitter end” for the Confederacy; but with this novel, she offered Confederate women the best encouragement she could produce.

Although *Macaria* begins as domestic literature, and ends with a bombardment of pro-Confederate propaganda, it nonetheless serves a personal purpose. Augusta Jane Evans poured her own Civil War experiences into the lives of Irene Huntingdon and Electra Grey; even more so, she poured the sacrifices of her Confederate sisters into these heroines. As such, she could have prefaced the novel with the words “Based on the true story” or “Inspired by actual events.” At the conclusion, she may have written, “Although Irene and Electra’s story ends here, your story – my Confederate sister – your story goes on; do not give up, but continue to fulfill your divine calling by

sacrificing yourself on the altar of national duty.” While *Macaria* is a work of fiction, it is nonetheless the Civil War story of the non-fictional Confederate heroines: Augusta Jane Evans and her Confederate sisters.

- 1 “Beulah,” *The Mobile Daily Register*, October 9, 1859; “Literary,” *Harper’s Weekly*, October 15, 1859.
- 2 “Mrs. Wilson in War Times,” *The Mobile Register*, May 11, 1909; Brenda Ayers, *The Life and Works of Augusta Jane Evans Wilson, 1835-1909* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2012), 81-82; William Perry Fidler, *Augusta Evans Wilson, 1835-1909: A Biography* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1951), 85-86, 89; Evans to L. V. French, January 13, 1861, in Rebecca Grant Sexton, ed., *A Southern Woman of Letters: The Correspondence of Augusta Jane Evans Wilson* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2002), 33.
- 3 Augusta Jane Evans, *Macaria; or, Altars of Sacrifice* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992), 3.
- 4 Melissa J. Homestead, *American Women Authors and Their Literary Property, 1822-1869*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 192; H. E. Sterkx, *Partners in Rebellion: Alabama Women in the Civil War* (Cranbury: Associated University Press, 1970), 194, 187; George C. Rable, *Civil Wars: Women and the National Crisis of Southern Nationalism* (Illini Books edition, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991), 206, 209, 215.
- 5 The phrase “Confederate heroines in letters” was adapted from Phillip D. Beidler’s reference to Evans as a “Confederate heroine of letters” in *First Books: The Printed Word and Cultural Formation in Early Alabama* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2012), 114.
- 6 Augusta Jane Evans Wilson, “Biographical Memoranda in Reference to Augusta Evans Wilson,” December 17, 1907, item 3; Fidler, *Augusta Evans Wilson*, 12; Ayers, *The Life and Works*, 21, 36; Mary Forrest, *Women of the South: Distinguished in Literature* (New York: Charles B. Richardson, 1866), 329; Fidler, *Augusta Evans Wilson*, 19; Forrest, *Women of the South*, 330; Ayers, *The Life and Works*, 24; Harriet E. Amos, *Cotton City: Urban Development in Antebellum Mobile* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1985), 239, 85.
- 7 Fidler, *Augusta Evans Wilson*, 38; Ayers, *The Life and Works*, 20; Fidler, *Augusta Evans Wilson*, 27.
- 8 Benjamin Buford Williams, *A Literary History of Alabama: The Nineteenth Century* (Cranbury: Associated University Press, 1997), 185.
- 9 Fidler, *Augusta Evans Wilson*, 45; Forrest, *Women of the South*, 330.
- 10 Beidler, *First Books*, 114; Fidler, *Augusta Evans Wilson*, 42, 48; Williams, *A Literary History of Alabama*, 185.
- 11 “Augusta Jane Evans,” *Cosmopolitan Art Journal* 4, no. 4 (1860), 166; Ayers, *The Life and Works*, 36.
- 12 “Literary,” *Harper’s Weekly*, October 15, 1859.
- 13 “Beulah,” *Mobile Daily Register*, October 9, 1859.
- 14 “Augusta Jane Evans,” *Cosmopolitan Art Journal* 4, no. 4 (1860), 166.
- 15 “Augusta Jane Evans,” *Cosmopolitan Art Journal* 4, no. 4 (1860), 166.
- 16 Ayers, *The Life and Works*, 226; Fidler, *Augusta Evans Wilson*, 121, 127; Frances Arant, “‘St. Elmo’ Recalled as Latest Best Sellers Swamp Book Weary Nation,” *The Birmingham News*, April 3, 1927; “South’s Most Glorified Writer,” *The Mobile Daily Item*, December 18, 1902; Louise L. Stevenson, *The Victorian Homefront: American Thought and Culture, 1860-1880* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1991), 162.
- 17 “Augusta Evans Wilson, Noted Novelist, is Dead,” *The Mobile Register* 89, no. 100, May 10, 1909. See similar comments in Frances Arant, “‘St. Elmo’ Recalled,” *The Birmingham News*.
- 18 Ayers, *The Life and Works*, 119.
- 19 Fidler, *Augusta Evans Wilson*, 146; Evans to Rachel Lyons, September 24, [1864], in *A Southern Woman of Letters*, 105; Wilson, “Biographical Memoranda in Reference to Augusta Evans Wilson,” item 17; Ayers, *The Life and Works*, 111; Fidler, *Augusta Evans Wilson*, 150-151; Wilson, “Biographical Memoranda in Reference to Augusta Evans Wilson,” item 17.
- 20 “Augusta Evans Wilson, Noted Novelist, is Dead,” *The Mobile Register* 89, no. 100, May 10, 1909.
- 21 Laura C. Holloway, ed., *The Woman’s Story: As Told by Twenty American Women* (New York: Hurst, 1889), 152.
- 22 Ayers, *The Life and Works*, 5.
- 23 Benjamin Buford Williams, *A Literary History of Alabama*, 186; Drew Gilpin Faust, “Altars of Sacrifice: Confederate Women and Narratives of War,” *The Journal of American History* 76, no. 4 (1990): 1200-1228.

- 24 Faust, "Altars of Sacrifice: Confederate Women and Narratives of War," 1219.
- 25 Jennifer Lynn Gross, "'Lonely Lives are not Necessarily Joyless': Augusta Jane Evans's *Macaria* and the Creation of a Place for Single Womanhood in the Postwar South," *American Nineteenth Century History* 2, no. 1 (2001): 34.
- 26 Augusta Jane Evans, *Macaria*, 215.
- 27 Augusta Jane Evans, *Macaria*, on page 215 of 415; 218-220.
- 28 Fidler, *Augusta Evans Wilson*, 105.
- 29 Evans to Rachel Lyons, August 20, 1861, in *A Southern Woman of Letters*, 35-36.
- 30 Evans to Rachel Lyons, August 20, 1861, in *A Southern Woman of Letters*, 35-36; Note: all italics in quotes from Evans's letters signify Evans's own underlining of these words.
- 31 Evans to Rachel Lyons, August 20, 1861, in *A Southern Woman of Letters*, 35-36, see footnote 5; Hutchison agrees, see Coleman Hutchison, *Apples and Ashes: Literature, Nationalism, and the Confederate States of America* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2012), 80.
- 32 Homestead, *American Women Authors and Their Literary Property*, 192; Fidler, *Augusta Evans Wilson*, 106; Evans to Rachel Lyons, November 21, 1863, in *A Southern Woman of Letters*, 88; Hutchison, *Apples and Ashes*, 63; Fidler, *Augusta Evans Wilson*, 123.
- 33 Hutchison, *Apples and Ashes*, 69, 63; Fidler, *Augusta Evans Wilson*, 72, 107, 114.
- 34 Amos, *Cotton City*, 93; Sterkx, *Partners In Rebellion*, 18-19; Beidler, *First Books*, 102; Mary Elizabeth Massey, *Women in the Civil War* (Bison Book Edition, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994), 185; Williams, *A Literary History of Alabama*, 170. Williams notes that Jeremiah Clemens's *Tobias Wilson* was the only other Civil War novel composed during the Civil War; Massey, *Women in the Civil War*, 175.
- 35 Williams, *A Literary History of Alabama*, 189; Entzinger, *The Belle Gone Bad* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2002), 66; Massey, *Women in the Civil War*, 184; Hutchison, *Apples and Ashes*, 64, 97.
- 36 Beidler, *First Books*, 102; Anne Goodwyn Jones, *Tomorrow is Another Day: The Woman Writer in the South, 1859-1930* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981), 51; Stevenson, *The Victorian Homefront*, 168; Williams, *A Literary History of Alabama*, 183,194; Massey, *Women in the Civil War*, 15; Hutchison, *Apples and Ashes*, 65.
- 37 Gross, "'Lonely Lives are not Necessarily Joyless,'" 33; Gross notes three purposes for Evans's novel, purposes similar, but not identical, to the purposes outlined in this paper.
- 38 Ayers, *The Life and Works*, 47, 57.
- 39 Williams, *A Literary History of Alabama*, 186; Entzinger, *The Belle Gone Bad*, 66; Massey, *Women in the Civil War*, 184; Williams, *A Literary History of Alabama*, 186; Melissa J Homestead, "The Publishing History of Augusta Jane Evans's Confederate Novel *Macaria*: Unwriting Some Lost Cause Myths," *Faculty Publications - Department of English*, Paper 73, University of Nebraska-Lincoln (2005), 685.
- 40 Evans, *Macaria*, 367; 249, 302, 305, 336, 343, 348, 364.
- 41 Stevenson, *The Victorian Homefront*, 165-166.
- 42 Hutchison, *Apples and Ashes*, 15.
- 43 Fidler, *Augusta Evans Wilson*, 70-72. Fidler argues that Evans is the author of the articles, two entitled "Northern Literature" and two "Southern Literature," and scholarship generally accepts his argument.
- 44 Faust, "Altars of Sacrifice: Confederate Women and Narratives of War," 1200; 1217. See also Sterkx, *Partners In Rebellion*, 11, 73.
- 45 Evans, *Macaria*, 380.
- 46 Rable, *Civil Wars*, 203; Sterkx, *Partners In Rebellion*, 110; Sterkx, *Partners In Rebellion*, 194, 187; Rable, *Civil Wars*, 206, 209.
- 47 Rable, *Civil Wars*, 215.
- 48 Sterkx, *Partners In Rebellion*, 195.
- 49 Williams, *A Literary History of Alabama*, 186.
- 50 Evans to Rachel Lyons, November 22, 1860, *A Southern Woman of Letters*, 15.
- 51 Evans, *Macaria*, 215, previously quoted; 300.
- 52 Evans, *Macaria*, 300.
- 53 Evans, *Macaria*, 365.

- 54 Evans to Rachel Lyons, November 22, 1860, in *A Southern Woman of Letters*, 15.
- 55 Evans, *Macaria*, 298.
- 56 Amos, *Cotton City*, 222; Sterkx, *Partners in Rebellion*, 30.
- 57 Evans, *Macaria*, 300.
- 58 Amos, *Cotton City*, 237.
- 59 Fidler, *Augusta Jane Evans Wilson*, 89.
- 60 Evans to L. V. French, January 13, 1861, *A Southern Woman of Letters*, 29; Evans to Rachel Lyons, June 26, 1861, *A Southern Woman of Letters*, 33; Fidler, 97.
- 61 Sterkx, *Partners In Rebellion*, 43.
- 62 Evans, *Macaria*, 301; 302; 204.
- 63 Evans, *Macaria*, 308, 320; 310; 338, 340; Beidler, *First Books*, 114.
- 64 Rable, *Civil Wars*, 151; Faust, "Altars of Sacrifice: Confederate Women and Narratives of War," 1200.
- 65 Evans, *Macaria*, 302; 363.
- 66 Massey, *Women in the Civil War*, 81-83.
- 67 Evans, *Macaria*, 332-333; Evans to General Beauregard, March 17, 1863, in *A Southern Woman of Letters*, 56.
- 68 Evans, *Macaria*, 346; Evans, *Macaria*, 350.
- 69 Rable, *Civil Wars*, 152.
- 70 Evans, *Macaria*, 359.
- 71 Faust, "Altars of Sacrifice: Confederate Women and Narratives of War," 1211.
- 72 Sterkx, *Partners In Rebellion*, 54.
- 73 Massey, *Women in the Civil War*, 72.
- 74 Evans, *Macaria*, 303; *Ibid.*, 399.
- 75 Massey, *Women in the Civil War*, 72; Fidler, *Augusta Jane Evans Wilson*, 99.
- 76 Sterkx, *Partners In Rebellion*, 94.
- 77 Sterkx, *Partners In Rebellion*, 103.
- 78 Evans, *Macaria*, 311; 312; 313; 315, 318; 375.
- 79 Sterkx, *Partners In Rebellion*, 98.
- 80 Evans, *Macaria*, 363; 371.
- 81 Evans to L. V. French, January 13, 1861, in *A Southern Woman of Letters*, 29; Evans to Rachel Lyons, February 2, 1861, in *A Southern Woman of Letters*, 30-31.
- 82 Evans, *Macaria*, 371.
- 83 Faust, "Altars of Sacrifice: Confederate Women and Narratives of War," 1215-1216; Rable, *Civil Wars*, 121; Sterkx, *Partners In Rebellion*, 115; Massey, *Women in the Civil War*, 48.
- 84 Fidler, *Augusta Jane Evans Wilson*, 90-91.
- 85 Evans to Rachel Lyons, January 22, 1862, in *A Southern Woman of Letters*, 39.
- 86 Evans, *Macaria*, 253; Chapter XIV throughout; 363-364; 364; 376.
- 87 Evans, *Macaria*, 382-383.
- 88 Evans to General Beauregard, August 4, 1862, in *A Southern Woman of Letters*, 43.
- 89 Entzinger, *The Belle Gone Bad*, 66.
- 90 Evans, *Macaria*, 312; 376.
- 91 Rable, *Civil Wars*, 51.
- 92 Evans, *Macaria*, 304; 310; 325; 326; 329.
- 93 Faust, "Altars of Sacrifice: Confederate Women and Narratives of War," 1206.
- 94 Evans, *Macaria*, 345, 405, 406. Irene faints when her father's body is brought home, and Electra faints when she learns of Russell's death.
- 95 Gross, "Lonely Lives are not Necessarily Joyless," 48; Sterkx, *Partners In Rebellion*, 25.
- 96 Ayers, *The Life and Works*, 81; Evans to her aunt, probably Mary Howard Jones, November 20, 1860, in *A Southern Woman of Letters*, 23.
- 97 Evans, *Macaria*, 204.
- 98 Evans, *Macaria*, 213.
- 99 Evans, *Macaria*, 347; 358; 409.
- 100 Evans, *Macaria*, 234; 237; 304.
- 101 Faust, "Altars of Sacrifice: Confederate Women and Narratives of War," 1206.
- 102 Evans, *Macaria*, 317.
- 103 Evans, *Macaria*, 317; 388; 410.
- 104 Evans, *Macaria*, 380; 412; 414.
- 105 Evans, *Macaria*, 3; 415; 329; 330.

Remember

THE AIRMEN

Katie Kidd



The Tuskegee Airmen included not only pilots but thousands of mission support personnel such as these mechanics. (Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama)

Popular history regards World War II as the cataclysm of the modern era. It was a devastating event that pulled nation after nation into a black hole of advanced warfare, massive casualties, and genocide. As with the cataclysms of nature, which are marked first by the path of destruction they carve, then by the change and renewal they usher in, it is possible to view World War II not only as a death march, but also as a vehicle of change. In the wake of its devastation we were left with numerous social, military, and economic changes, changes on both a global as well as domestic scale. Among the changes experienced in America was a fissure in the foundation of a long-standing tradition of racial inequality. In 1941, as the German Luftwaffe rained bombs down on every corner of Europe, the U.S. War Department became desperate for pilots. Since World War I, civil rights groups had offered a solution: let “colored” men fly in the U.S. military. Giving into the pressure, the War Department launched what was considered little more than an experiment designed to demonstrate whether or not African Americans were even capable of such difficult assignments as piloting

advanced aircraft or engaging in air to air combat. An African American unit was first activated in Rantoul, Illinois, and was quickly followed by a unit in Tuskegee, Alabama. So began the story of the famous Tuskegee Airmen.

Today we can experience this story through the exhibits and landmarks of the Tuskegee Airmen National Historic Site in Tuskegee, Alabama. Located on the still active Moton Field, the museum consists of two airplane hangars that have been converted into historical exhibitions as well as a collection of original buildings, rebuilt structures, and interpretive sculptures designed to reproduce the original flight school. The museum journey begins upon entering Hangar One, where visitors receive a hands-on experience in which they can handle uniforms from the period and replica engines of the P-51 Mustangs flown by the Airmen. In Hangar Two the “Tuskegee Experience” is presented in a three-dimensional, interactive timeline that takes guests along on the Airmen’s journey from selection and training, to combat, to the present day impact of the Tuskegee Airmen military experiment. This exhibit is replete with photographic reproductions

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A replica of the Duchess Arlene is suspended from the ceiling of Hangar Two. The Duchess Arlene was a P-51 Mustang flown by 1st Lt. Robert W. Williams. (Katie Kidd)

of official documents and newspaper articles, supersized photographs of the Airmen in action, interactive touchscreen videos, and a theater that screens a twenty-seven minute movie on the Airmen. The Historic Site also offers a guided tour led by a knowledgeable National Park official. The experience is short and sweet, yet informative. Information is conveyed in easily digestible tidbits with accompanying visual aids, allowing visitors to take in a wealth of knowledge without becoming overwhelmed. While museum goers spoiled by trips to major national monuments and galleries may be disappointed by the number of replica artifacts in comparison to genuine artifacts, the method of storytelling employed by the architects of this exhibit is impactful, pleasantly self-guided, and rich in data.

While the Tuskegee Airmen most assuredly represent a turning point in the progression of racial equality in America, a tour through the Tuskegee Airmen National Historic Site reveals the one-dimensional nature of such a description. To be more precise, the significance of the Tuskegee Airmen legacy is the “Double V” or “Double Victory,” a phrase spotted throughout the site’s exhibits. Double Victory was a media catch phrase that stood for victory abroad as well as victory at home. It referred to the ongoing struggle of African Americans to gain access to greater opportunities in the Armed Forces at a time when every

patriot was being called upon to fight for his country. It was a struggle to hold the War Department accountable to its policy of equal opportunity between races, a policy that was only loosely enforced and often circumvented. It was also a fight to disprove the prevailing beliefs that African Americans were intellectually and physically inferior and incapable of the lofty duty of fighter pilot. The Tuskegee Airmen were instrumental in attaining both of the victories idealized in the concept of the Double V. The Tuskegee Airmen consisted of one thousand aviators and over ten thousand military and civilian support personnel,¹ and together they paved the way for future African American service members in every branch of service and every occupation within the service. Moreover, they fought and flew as well as any patriot during the years of World War II.

NOTES

- 1 Excerpted from the Tuskegee Airmen Long-Range Interpretive Plan 2003 and the Tuskegee Airmen National Historic Site’s enabling legislation—Public Law 105-355.<http://www.nps.gov/tuai/historyculture/upload/The-Tuskegee-Airmen-Significance.pdf>

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