"The War Comes Home:" Recurring Themes in Contemporary Studies of the Southern Home Front During the American Civil War

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The American Civil War brought the battlefield to the Southern home front in a series of altercations between civilians and Northern invaders. In examining recent studies of the Southern home front during the war, this paper recounts the arguments of eight Civil War scholars. While these studies examine a variety of topics, their monographs share three overarching themes: civilian-centred conflict throughout the South, responses to Union presence, and the construction of the Lost Cause mythology. Regarding civilian-centred conflicts, historians have argued that civilians on the Southern home front encountered friction from fellow civilians and from military forces throughout the Civil War. Historians Jonathan Dean Sarris, Daniel Sutherland, and LeeAnn Whites found the civilian population assaulting and verbally harassing one another, their loyalties and livelihoods their main points of contention. These studies demonstrate that the conflicts did not split the opposing factions neatly into strictly Unionist and Confederate camps.[1]

Historians Stephen V. Ash, Scott Reynolds Nelson and Carol Sheriff, and Yael A. Sternhell looked to physically violent conflicts between military personnel and the civilian populations of the South.[2] These attacks targeted both civilian bodies and their property, while Frank, Sarris, and Sutherland noticed different ways in which the military antagonised civilians. According to them, both the Union and Confederate militaries violated the privacy and autonomy of civilians, whether they forced themselves into previously private spaces or forced men into service. Sutherland took

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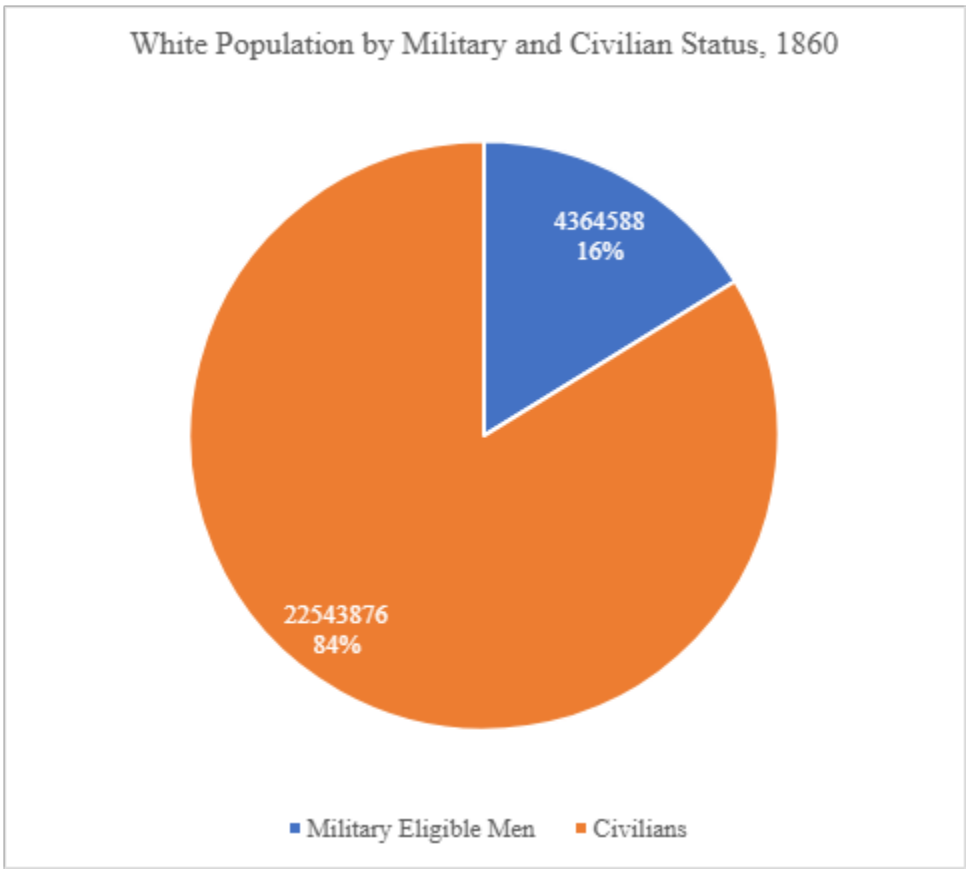
[1] Jonathan Dean Sarris, *A Separate Civil War: Communities in Conflict in the Mountain South* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2006); Daniel Sutherland, *Seasons of War: The Ordeal of a Confederate Community, 1861-1865* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana University Press, 1995); LeeAnn Whites, *The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender: Augusta, Georgia, 1860-1890* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995).

[2] Stephen V. Ash, *When the Yankees Came: Conflict and Chaos in the Occupied South, 1861-1865* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995); Scott Reynolds Nelson and Carol Sheriff, *A People at War: Civilians and Soldiers in America's Civil War, 1854-1877* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007); Yael A. Sternhell, *Routes of War: The World of Movement in the Confederate South* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015).

his monograph further with his inclusion of emancipation as a point of conflict between the Union military and Southern slaveholders.

Concerning responses to Union presence, scholars have argued that the Southern home front did not express unanimous hostility toward Union occupation, but rather Southern civilians varied in their loyalties to the Confederacy. Thus, civilians either welcomed and accepted the Union or they resisted Federal occupation in their vicinities. Ash and Sutherland explored the roles of guerrilla warfare and the hostility of the Southern civilians toward the Union army. Likewise, Frank found that women also engaged in acts of resistance against Northern invaders. Whites, Nelson and Sheriff, and Sternhell discussed the less direct act of resistance found in Southerners selling their valuables and relocating slaves to keep supplies out of Union hands. Sarris and Sutherland depart from resistance and instead focus on Southern assistance of the Union occupying forces, pointing to refugees who sought work in Union camps, while others have argued that the abuses suffered by the Southern home front during the war not only hardened Southerners' hearts but also led to the creation of the Lost Cause mythology to avenge themselves and their losses. Sternhell, Ash, Frank, Sutherland, Nelson, and Sheriff set the stage for the Lost Cause's birth when they describe the condition of the postwar South and the resentments that lingered among the civilian population. Sarris and Whites took on the task of exploring women's roles in the establishment and spread of the Lost Cause due to their experiences during the war. Taken together, these themes demonstrate the fractured state of the Confederacy as it struggled to wage a war against the United States and its efforts to keep itself together after losing. They demonstrate the various responses Southerners had upon entering the war and its consequences after they lost. When postwar Southerners failed to accept their changing society, they redefined their cause for war and rewrote history.

Figure 1. White Population by Military and Civilian Status, 1860



Source: Michael R. Haines, "White population, by sex and age: 1790-1990." Table Aa287-364 in Historical Statistics of the United States, Earliest Times to the Present: Millennial Edition, edited by Susan B. Carter, Scott Sigmund Gartner, Michael R. Haines, Alan L. Olmstead, Richard Sutch, and Gavin Wright. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.; The percentage of Military Eligible Men was calculated by separating the men who fell within the age range of 18-40 years old, while the civilian percentage was calculated by adding together the men who were not 18-40 years old and all the women, since women could not join the military yet. I acquired the military age range using the Confederate Conscription Act of April 1862 in Sarris's monograph. For that information, see Sarris, *A Separate Civil War,* 67.

Figure 1 above depicts the White population of the United States in 1860, one year before the secession of the South and the beginning of the Civil War. Even so, knowing that this population will split in 1861, I have taken to speaking about the data as a combination of Federal and Confederate populations. While the number of men eligible to join the military between both the United States and the Confederacy before the start of the war exceeded four million, the remainder of the population appears to dwarf that number, leaving about 22.5 million people to reside in the home fronts of both nations (Fig. 1). With a domestic population that enormous during

a time of great turmoil, historians found several instances of altercations centering civilians in one manner or another.

As Sarris argues in *A Separate Civil War: Communities in Conflict in the Mountain South,* Southern civilians in Georgia either harboured pro-Confederate sentiments or anti-Confederate sentiments—notably not Union sentiments.[3] Sarris's distinction between Unionists and anti-Confederates boiled down to Georgians' willingness to embrace anti-slavery, which many Southerners did not do.[4] Local anti-Confederate factions within Northern Georgian communities spread conflict through Appalachia by robbing their pro-Confederate neighbours. Also known as Tories, these anti-Confederate dissenters executed Tory raids in late 1862 and stole from their own communities in the same manner impressment officers had stolen from them.[5] Tories, largely motivated by revenge against Confederate impressment policies that harmed them, frequently targeted their pro-secessionist neighbours and soldiers' families in these raids.[6] In response, some pro-Confederate citizens formed mobs to force anti-Confederates (although they viewed them as Unionists in correspondence) to pledge their allegiance to the Confederacy.[7] With these instances of assault and retaliation, Sarris depicted a cycle of violence fostered by increasingly polarised loyalties.

On the other hand, Daniel Sutherland presented conflict through verbal harassment in *Seasons of War: The Ordeal of a Confederate Community, 1861-1865.* According to Sutherland, Unionists and anti-Confederates in Culpeper, Virginia had to dissent in secrecy out of fear of Confederate retribution in 1861.[8] One James B. Kirk, a wealthy slaveowner who opposed

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[3] Sarris, *A Separate Civil War,* 76.
[4] Sarris, *A Separate Civil War,* 79.
[5] Sarris, *A Separate Civil War,* 86.
[6] Sarris, *A Separate Civil War,* 87.
[7] Sarris, *A Separate Civil War,* 88.
[8] Sutherland, *Seasons of War*, 54.

secession, knew that public opposition could mean economic and social ruin if his pro-secession neighbors knew about his stance regarding Virginia joining the Confederacy.[9] Another man, William Soutter, earned the ire of his neighbors by dodging Confederate conscription twice and deserting the army upon a third conscription in 1864.[10] For this behavior, one of his neighbors threatened to shoot him while others threatened to hang him.[11] The rising tensions within Culpeper made speaking against the Confederacy a dangerous game.

Sutherland's decision to include verbal harassment as conflict in his monograph presented the grim reality of areas in the South where anti-Confederate sentiment did not receive enough backing to spur anti-Confederates into public action. Loyalties, though still divided in Culpeper, did not split the community to the point of rampant assault as Sarris observed in his studies of northern Georgia. Similarly, Whites depicts conflict through verbal harassment in *The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender: Augusta, Georgia, 1860-1890.* She highlights how White women in Georgia condemned merchants as early as 1861. Because men marched off to war, women no longer had financial providers at home and poverty struck families like the plague[12]. However, White women attributed their suffering not to their men's negligence of them when they went off to battle, but to merchants who made profits off of them.[13] These women denounced the merchants—especially those that raised the costs of foodstuffs—for staying home and profiting off of the domestic population.[14] When accused of withholding goods in May of 1861, Josiah Sibley, an Augusta merchant, arduously defended himself and suggested citizens redistribute the resources they had so those in need could receive the help they required.[15] By presenting conflict as these exchanges

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[9] Sutherland, *Seasons of War,* 54.
[10] Sutherland, *Seasons of War,* 354.
[11] Sutherland, *Seasons of War,* 354.
[12] Whites, *The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender,* 65.
[13] Whites, *The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender,* 66.
[14] Whites, *The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender,* 67.
[15] Whites, *The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender,* 69.

of verbal harassment between women and merchants, Whites included White women in the Civil War narrative and the non-violent forms of conflict they faced at home. Whether civilian factions grouped to attack one another, as in the cases of Tory raids and Confederate mobs in northern Georgia, or women and merchants exchanged harsh dialogues over the cost of goods at home, historians identified a plethora of conflicts between civilians plaguing the South.

In Stephen V. Ash's *When the Yankees Came: Conflict and Chaos in the Occupied South, 1861-1865,* Ash discussed the Union's treatment of Southerners after 1862 and presented instances of physical violence. According to Ash, the Union army employed violence against civilians and private property. In one instance in 1865, Union soldiers burnt down the house of a man who merely insulted the troops.[16] Regarding captured pro-Confederate guerrillas, the Union did not shy away from using them as examples for rebellious citizens and publicly executed them.[17] While marching through the South, Union troops stole from the people they encountered, raiding their homes for supplies and for pleasure alike.[18] Encounters with Northern troops in the occupied South from 1862 until the end of the war in 1865 often reaffirmed the South's belief that Northerners lacked humanity.[19] Ash's presentation of the Union army's use of physical violence against Southern civilians in his monograph highlighted the intensity of the Union army's Southern domestic policy to force Southern civilians into submitting to Northern authority.[20]

Similarly, Scott Reynolds Nelson and Carol Sheriff looked to raids and vengeance as physically violent conflicts in their monograph, *A People at War: Civilians and Soldiers in America's Civil War, 1854-1877.* Starting in June 1862, the Union army in the West of the Old

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[16] Ash, *When the Yankees Came,* 58.
[17] Ash, *When the Yankees Came,* 64.
[18] Ash, *When the Yankees Came,* 55.
[19] Ash, *When the Yankees Came,* 69.
[20] Ash, *When the Yankees Came,* 57.

Dominion increasingly dedicated its operations to raiding civilian homes.[21] Memphis, Tennessee, once captured, served as a base of operations.[22] From there, the Union carried out raiding missions that sometimes involved the destruction of plantations along the Mississippi River.[23] Additionally, Northern troops engaged in physical acts of vengeance against Southerners in the later years of the war. Federals destroyed civilian property by setting fire to buildings, and some went as far as to sexually assault and murder civilians.[24] In describing the violence employed by the Union army during Southern occupation, Nelson and Sheriff illustrated the brutality civilians faced even when far away from battlefields.

Yael A. Sternhell also found instances of physical violence in the form of raids, however, she observed how Confederate soldiers targeted their own civilians. In the spring of 1862, Confederate soldiers raided homes along the Rappahannock River for supplies.[25] That same year witnessed Hood's Texas Brigade's rise to infamy for their violent behavior among civilian populations.[26] These men killed livestock and stole weapons from Southern citizens, even when those citizens complied with their demands, like in the case of one old woman who lent a skillet to troops who wanted to cook their food and still had a gun taken from her.[27] Sternhell's portrayal of violence inflicted upon civilians by their own military forces provided another perspective of the Southern home front that challenged the idea of a unified front.

Lisa Tendrich Frank, on the other hand, focuses on the violations of privacy Union soldiers inflicted on Southern women. She argues that women received special attention from Union troops because Sherman viewed women as enemies and took measures to curb their zeal in aiding the

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[21] Nelson and Sheriff, *A People at War*, 94.
[22] Nelson and Sheriff, *A People at War*, 94.
[23] Nelson and Sheriff, *A People at War*, 95.
[24] Nelson and Sheriff, *A People at War*, 262.
[25] Sternhell, *Routes of War,* 66.
[26] Sternhell, *Routes of War*, 67.
[27] Sternhell, *Routes of War*, 67.

Confederacy.[28] Pointing to "Field Orders, No. 67" in 1864, Frank presents the eviction of women from their homes in Atlanta as one of Sherman's attacks on the female Confederate population.[29] More direct attacks on the Southern population by Union soldiers included their invasions of women's private spaces and the destruction of luxury items (like pianos) in their homes.[30] Frank's emphasis on the violation of women's homes—their private spaces—reflected that the Union's treatment of Confederate women used a gendered approach in their war strategies in the South.

Likewise, Jonathan Dean Sarris focused on conflict in the form of violations of both privacy and autonomy in his studies of northern Georgia; however, he diverted from the typical narrative of the Union antagonising the Southern civilian population and expanded on how the Confederacy provoked their own civilians. According to Sarris, the Confederacy violated communities through its wartime policies of conscription and impressment. The Conscription Act of April 1862 forced men into the Confederate army against their will.[31] Citizens of Northern Georgia considered the act to be an invasion and infringement on autonomy.[32] Later in 1863, the Confederacy enacted impressment and tax-in-kind policies that allowed Confederate soldiers to take supplies from civilians at a time when citizens struggled to get by themselves.[33] The Confederacy's actions strained the relationships they had with their citizens and caused the citizens to question the legitimacy of their government's attacks on them.[34] Sarris depicted the violation of autonomy through conscription and the violation of privacy through Confederate soldiers entering homes to take supplies from them. His portrayals of conflict here served to illustrate that tensions

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[28] Lisa Tendrich Frank, *The Civilian War: Confederate Women and Union Soldiers during Sherman's March* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2015), 52.

[29] Frank, *The Civilian War,* 48.

[30] Frank, *The Civilian War,* 63.

[31] Sarris, *A Separate Civil War,* 67.

[32] Sarris, *A Separate Civil War,* 73.

[33] Sarris, *A Separate Civil War,* 74.

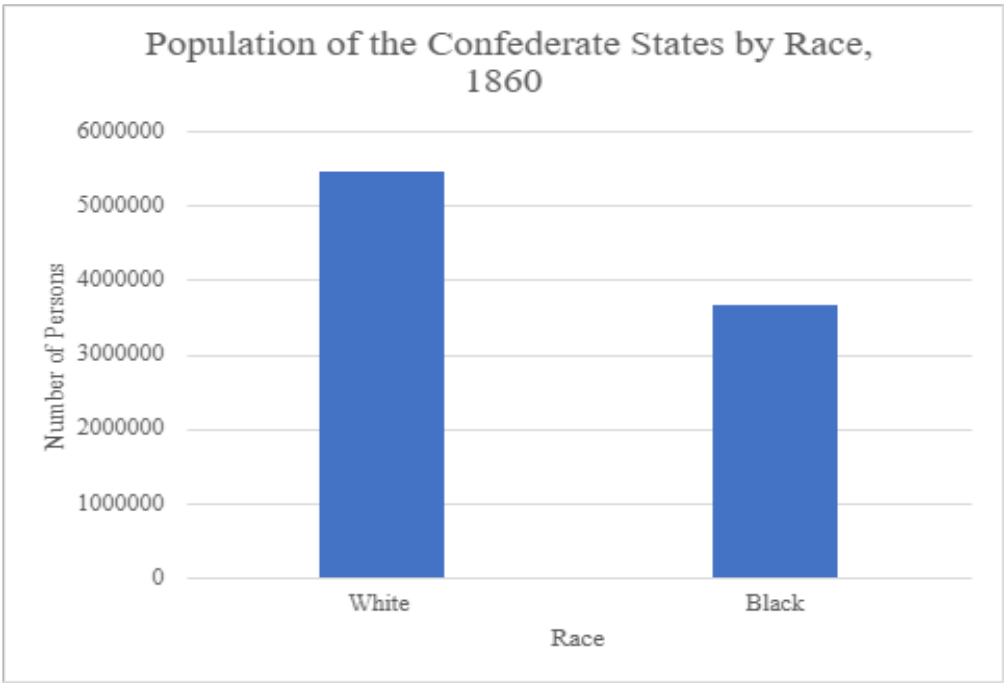
[34] Sarris, *A Separate Civil War,* 75.

existed between Confederate citizens and their own military forces—not just between Southern civilians and Union troops. Sarris broadened the scope of conflict to include Southern soldiers against the very people they defended.

As for Sutherland, he also depicted violations of autonomy. His observations, though, returned to the transgressions committed by the Union against commonfolk and how they specifically targeted slaveowners. In May 1862, as Union Major D. Porter Stowell retreated after a skirmish with Confederate forces in Culpeper, Union soldiers took civilian hostages to ensure a safe retreat.[35] Once the Union captured Culpeper later that year in July under General John B. Hatch, General Pope enforced harsh treatment of citizens.[36] He sanctioned the enforcement of pro-Union behavior in Culpeper.[37] This entailed the banishment of pro-Confederate men who rejected Union loyalty oaths and forcing the population to assist the army by fixing supply lines and telegraphs that had been damaged.[38] Sutherland's presentation of conflict as violations of autonomy rings similar to Ash's use of physical violence in his depiction of conflict. Both historians used different forms of conflict to establish how the Union forced Southern civilians into submitting.[39]

Figure 2. Population of the Confederate States by Race, 1860

[35] Sutherland, *Seasons of War,* 109.
[36] Sutherland, *Seasons of War*, 115, 120.
[37] Sutherland, *Seasons of War,* 119.
[38] Sutherland, *Seasons of War,* 119.
[39] Sutherland, *Seasons of War,* 115, 120.



Source: Roger L. Ransom, "Population of the slave states, by state, race, and slave status: 1860-1870." Table Eh1-7 in Historical Statistics of the United States, Earliest Times to the Present: Millennial Edition, edited by Susan B. Carter, Scott Sigmund Gartner, Michael R. Haines, Alan L. Olmstead, Richard Sutch, and Gavin Wright. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Federal soldiers took advantage of the fear White Southerners had of the Black population regardless of slave status.[40] Culpeper residents debated whether having slaves could be worth the tension that came with thousands of them living among Whites and the possible slave revolts they could incite.[41] In Culpeper alone, slaves comprised over half of the population.[42] Looking at Figure 2, the total Black population fell a few million persons short that of the White population in the Confederacy. With such a high number of Black people who White Southerners considered dangerous and in need of White subjugation, the actions of Northern invaders surely did not go over well with slaveholders.

Thus, Sutherland also presented emancipation as a form of conflict. While the Union presence alone presented an opportunity for slaves to run away, Federals directly targeted

[40] Ash, *When the Yankees Came,* 156-157.
[41] Sutherland, *Seasons of War,* 13.
[42] Sutherland, *Seasons of War,* 5.

slaveholders and took revenge against slaveholding Virginians by emancipating slaves and encouraging them to take flight in 1862.[43] Some emboldened slave women went as far as to slap their mistresses before they fled, taking with them personal items that belonged to their mistresses as well.[44] Union soldiers did not always act as saints toward the Black population, though, as they also terrorised and harmed them.[45] In this case, Sutherland presented the Union's active role in emancipating slaves as conflict because Northern soldiers did it to take revenge against the people they perceived as the reason for the war's outbreak rather than out of moral obligations.

The millions of civilians left to fend for themselves on the home front created ample opportunity for internal conflict and victimization by outsider or military forces. Neighbours turned against neighbours, and both Union and Confederate armies took advantage of and abused the civilians they came across in the South. The historians presented here highlighted the diversity of conflict in the South and presented the nuances behind what spurred different people to engage in conflicts. Civilians generally either resisted occupation or assisted the occupiers. How they did this varied; while many turned to violence using guerrilla warfare to resist, others supported the war effort through aid societies or by keeping resources out of Union hands. Those who assisted Union occupation often worked for the Union or followed them when Federal forces left the towns they occupied.

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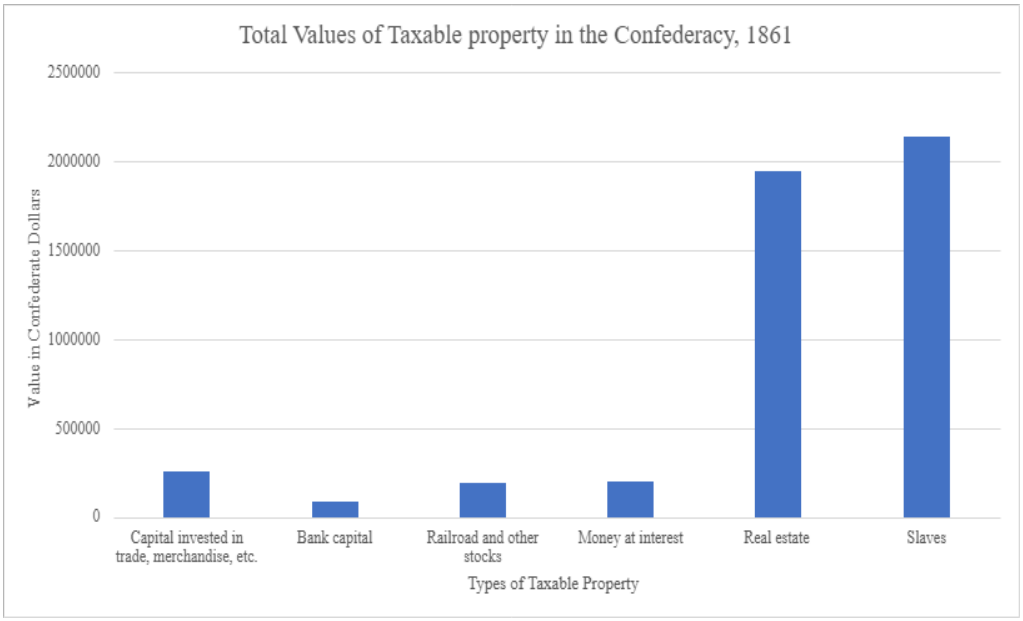
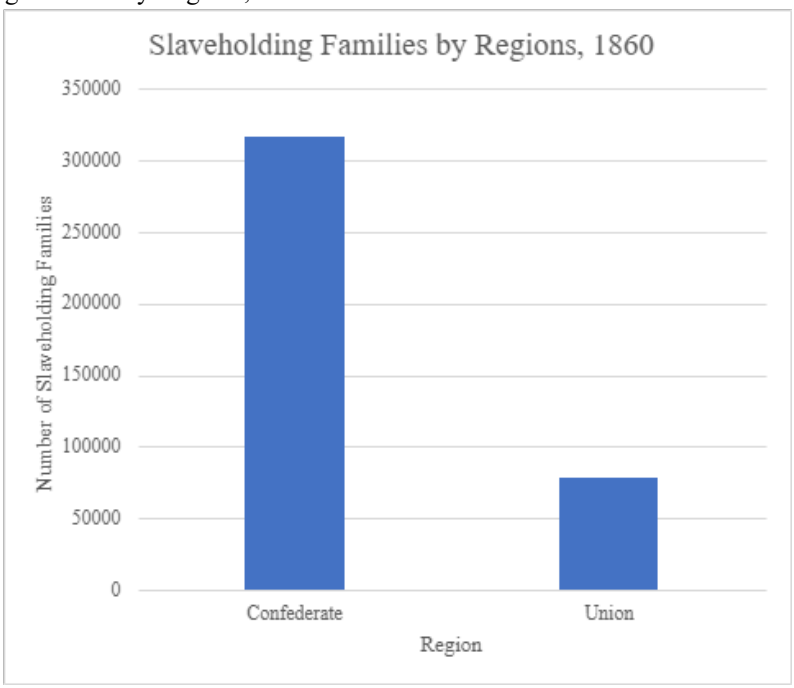
[43] Sutherland, *Seasons of War,* 125.
[44] Sutherland, *Seasons of War,* 126.
[45] Sutherland, *Seasons of War,* 126.

Figure 3. Total Values of Taxable Property in the Confederacy, 1861



Source: Roger L. Ransom, "Taxable property in the Confederacy, by state: 1861." Table Eh50-58 in Historical Statistics of the United States, Earliest Times to the Present: Millennial Edition, edited by Susan B. Carter, Scott Sigmund Gartner, Michael R. Haines, Alan L. Olmstead, Richard Sutch, and Gavin Wright. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Figure 4. Slaveholding Families by Regions, 1860



Source: Susan B. Carter, "Slaveholding families, by state: 1790-1860." Table Bb167-195 in Historical Statistics of the United States, Earliest Times to the Present: Millennial Edition, edited by Susan B. Carter, Scott Sigmund Gartner, Michael R. Haines, Alan L. Olmstead, Richard Sutch, and Gavin Wright. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

In 1860, a year before the start of the Civil War, slaves accounted for much of the wealth in the South (Fig. 3). Their value exceeded that of any other taxable property in the South, and as seen in Figure 4, the Confederate states held significantly more slaveholding families than Union states. Wealthy White Southerners, then, had substantially more to lose economically if the North imposed emancipation. In addition to the economic threat, with the invasion of Union forces, the South's social order suffered; plain folk stopped depending on paternalistic aristocrats, turned to the Union army for aid, and physically attacked those same aristocrats at the behest of Union encouragement.[46]

Furthermore, as Sutherland observed, the Federals realized Southern fears when they took revenge against slaveholding Virginians by emancipating slaves and encouraging them to take flight.[47] Stephen V. Ash notes that White Southerners believed that the Black population as a whole posed a threat; thus they needed to dominate and control them.[48] The fact that the Union army marched into the South as a so-called "annihilator of slavery" after 1863 and worsened the fears of Southerners by allowing former slaves to join the Union military added to the terror felt by Confederate citizens.[49] Facing the destruction of their social order and the eradication of their economy, what could Southerners do in the presence of Northern invaders?

One response to the Union presence, as observed by Ash, Frank, Sutherland, Whites, Nelson and Sheriff, and Sternhell, saw Southerners rejecting Federal control. Southerners retaliated and resisted Union occupation through guerrilla warfare, organized support for the Confederate war effort, and by individuals keeping resources out of Union hands. Ash identifies the South's use of guerrilla warfare to resist Union occupation in late 1862 through to the end of

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[46] Ash, *When the Yankees Came,* 177, 191.
[47] Sutherland, *Seasons of War,* 125.
[48] Ash, *When the Yankees Came,* 156-157.
[49] Ash, *When the Yankees Came,* 152, 158.

the war. Southerners believed they could defend their homes from invaders by participating in nontraditional warfare, so they became guerrillas.[50] Their bold actions also served to uphold the Southern principle of honor that Southern citizens had long revered.[51] Even though violence had been a part of Southern culture to establish one's honour, guerrilla warfare uniquely rose to the occasion to fulfil the process of "ennoblement" and as a means to fight against Northern invaders whose trespassing came across as a dishonour to Southerners.[52] Additionally, because these heroic guerrillas had the support of their communities, Ash asserted they did not act independently and fell back on their sympathetic neighbors for assistance.[53] Their neighbors, whose support expanded guerrilla warfare from a combatant-only venture into a communal effort, provided them with shelter and supplies, which aggravated Union occupiers.[54]

In agreement with Ash's findings, Sutherland also noticed that some citizens took to guerrilla warfare to fight back against the Federals post-1862.[55] He examines cases of guerrillas who sabotaged the Union's supply shipments by derailing trains and disrupted their communication by cutting telegraph wires.[56] One Federal wrote to his wife in 1862 that a guerrilla shot a Union man who had been bathing.[57] Culpeper, Virginia experienced alternating periods of Union and Confederate occupation. When Union forces reclaimed Culpeper in 1863, devout rebel citizens returned to interrupting Union supply lines and waging surprise guerrilla attacks on unsuspecting soldiers.[58] Both Ash and Sutherland identified guerrilla warfare as acts of civilian resistance and presented organised militant bands of civilians who defended their homes not by

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[50] Ash, *When the Yankees Came,* 47.
[51] Ash, *When the Yankees Came,* 41, 47.
[52] Ash, *When the Yankees Came,* 47.
[53] Ash, *When the Yankees Came,* 64, 65.
[54] Ash, *When the Yankees Came,* 65.
[55] Sutherland, *Seasons of War,* 118.
[56] Sutherland, *Seasons of War,* 118.
[57] Sutherland, *Seasons of War,* 128.
[58] Sutherland, *Seasons of War,* 287.

joining the military, but by ensuring the consistent defence of their communities. Thus, even when under occupation, some Southern towns continued to wage war against Union troops.

Alternatively, Frank found resistance in organised support for the Confederate war effort. She claimed that the Union's presence in Georgia and the Carolinas caused Southern women to rally support for the Confederacy. To carry out their support of their nation, women stepped outside of their homes and took up supply work. Southern White women expanded their roles as women to start their own female aid societies in 1861 that provided Confederate soldiers with necessities such as medical supplies.[59] Their largest project, the Columbia Bazaar in 1864, also constituted as their most successful fundraising project; threatened by the approach of Sherman's army, Southern women's desire for the fundraiser to succeed faced a deadline.[60] Women in North Carolina collected funds from across the entire Confederacy and residents through expensive auctions and the sale of luxury goods.[61] The success of their fundraiser in the face of Sherman's rapidly approaching army supported Frank's claim that Sherman's March did not intimidate women into submission but rather incentivised them to keep supporting the Confederacy. Frank's emphasis on women's organised support for the Confederate war effort as acts of resistance, once again, includes women in the Civil War narrative and illustrates how Southern White women responded to the threat of an incoming Northern invasion.

LeeAnn Whites observes a different method of resistance than the ones discussed by Ash, Sutherland, and Frank. Whites looked to individual acts of resistance and notes how citizens around Augusta, Georgia reacted to Sherman's March through their state. According to her, when Sherman led his destructive campaign through Georgia in 1864, many residents evacuated their

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[59] Frank, *The Civilian War,* 79, 81.
[60] Frank, *The Civilian War,* 92, 94.
[61] Frank, *The Civilian War,* 93.

homes before the Union army arrived at their doorsteps.[62] Men away from home advised their wives to sell all their valuables to avoid them getting into Yankee hands as a final act of resistance as seen with one Confederate General J.R. Simms in July 1864.[63] Many of these people poured into Augusta as refugees that same year.[64] Whites's decision to present individual acts of resistance through the selling of personal items to keep resources from Northern troops not only served to present the severity of the Union presence, but she also expanded resistance to include the mobility of the population. Other historians often focused on settled populations and how they reacted from their homes, but Whites showcased resistance through the sacrifices of the displaced.

Nelson and Sheriff also discuss mobility as a form of resistance, focusing on the plight of planters in their monograph. When under the threat of the Union army entering and taking control of their towns, some planters moved deeper into the Southern interior, while others relocated to nearby urban centers to be under the protection of the Confederate army.[65] They often moved away for fear of slaves running into Union lines.[66] Justifying their fears, the Union's Second Confiscation Act of 1862 made it lawful for officers to employ male slaves since the act considered them as contraband.[67] Nelson and Sheriff's representation of Southerners keeping resources out of Union hands depicts resistance in planters' attempts to preserve slavery. By moving their slaves away from Union lines, Southern slaveholders kept them out of Union control and out of federal work camps, limiting the number of working hands in Northern control.

Sternhell built upon these observations when she examines the same phenomenon in her work. Once more, Southern citizens attempted to move their slaves away from the path of Union

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[62] Whites, *The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender,* 96.
[63] Whites, *The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender,* 97.
[64] Whites, *The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender,* 96.
[65] Nelson and Sheriff, *A People at War*, 265.
[66] Nelson and Sheriff, *A People at War*, 265.
[67] Nelson and Sheriff, *A People at War*, 80.

armies to prevent Federals from seizing them; however, Sternhell remarked upon the violence slaveholders used to achieve this.[68] Some slaveholders set fire to slave quarters and destroyed their supplies during their evacuations.[69] Others killed their slaves.[70] In early December of 1861, the commander of the U.S.S. *Pawnee* arrived on Hutchinson Island and discovered the bodies of slaves who had been shot while attempting to escape their masters.[71] Sternhell disclosed that as the war progressed and emancipation spread with the Union army, the murder of slaves revealed some insight into slaveholders' values, showing that they much preferred a dead slave over a freed one.

Overall, Southerners expressed opposition to Northern invaders by acting hostile toward them, but nonviolent acts of resistance also proliferated among the Southern domestic population. Citizens turned to guerrilla warfare when they could, while Southern White women showed their rejection of Union control by continuing their patriotic efforts to aid the Confederacy. Those in the path of Sherman's march sometimes left their homes and sold their belongings to ensure that they would not aid the Union. Historians simultaneously depicted the broad range of the Southern domestic population and their efforts to resist the encroaching Union army in any way they could manage. However, the South did not rebuke Union occupation altogether. Some Southerners welcomed and even assisted nearby Union occupational forces as observed by Sarris and Sutherland, who agree that there were anti-Confederate Southerners directly working for the Union.

Sarris demonstrates assistance from anti-Confederate Georgians who had fled to Union-occupied Tennessee after the Union successfully entered northern Georgia through the mountains by the end of 1863.[72] These anti-Confederate refugees, as Sarris described them, included high-

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[68] Sternhell, *Routes of War*, 99, 103.
[69] Sternhell, *Routes of War*, 103.
[70] Sternhell, *Routes of War*, 103.
[71] Sternhell, *Routes of War*, 103.
[72] Sarris, *A Separate Civil War,* 102.

profile community members among more common folks, all of them pursuing opportunities the Union's proximity presented. For Solomon Stansbury, an elite citizen of northern Geogia, leaving his home state meant he could avoid the Confederate draft as he had been doing since 1862.[73] Instead, in 1863, Stansbury joined the Union army, and in 1864 he joined forces with Union officer William A. Twiggs in an effort to execute a Union recruitment plot in Georgia.[74]

Common folks left Georgia in pursuit of other self-serving opportunities that the Union presented. For runaway slaves who fled to Tennessee, they left northern Georgia to attain freedom.[75] In 1864, runaway slaves could and did join the Union army, many entering the armed forces through Knoxville's 1st U.S. Coloured Heavy Artillery.[76] Other refugees sought the Union for economic relief.[77] Both White and Black refugees served the Union in a multitude of jobs— working as railroad employees, wagon drivers, or handling chopped wood— and Union officials actively sought out Georgian refugees to recruit into the army in 1864.[78] Sarris contended that Georgian refugees in Tennessee did not work under the Union because of Unionist sentiments, but because of the economic security and steady work federal employment provided.[79]

Sutherland's findings appear to agree with Sarris's argument. He, too, notes that free Black people in Culpeper worked with the Union, not necessarily because of loyalty to the United States, but because they held anti-Confederate sentiments.[80] Culpeper had forced its Black population into caring for injured Confederate soldiers while Confederate soldiers seized crops from them.[81] In August 1862, as General Pope retreated from Culpeper, many slaves joined the Union army;

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[73] Sarris, *A Separate Civil War,* 108.
[74] Sarris, *A Separate Civil War*, 108, 129.
[75] Sarris, *A Separate Civil War,* 104.
[76] Sarris, *A Separate Civil War,* 104.
[77] Sarris, *A Separate Civil War,* 106.
[78] Sarris, *A Separate Civil War,* 104.
[79] Sarris, *A Separate Civil War,* 106.
[80] Sutherland, *Seasons of War,* 128.
[81] Sutherland, *Seasons of War,* 128.

Federal officers had hired these people to work Union jobs while Pope occupied the county.[82] When the Union army returned in 1863 and reclaimed the county from Confederates, even more slaves joined the Union.[83] By the time of their return, the Northern war effort had also become entangled with emancipation.[84]

Both Sarris and Sutherland present assistance of Southern civilians for the Union through their Federal employment, but they made important distinctions in their presentations. Though they did choose to leave their homes to join the Union, they did it to serve their own interests and not out of Unionist loyalties. These interests, though, did seem to carry anti- Confederate sentiments at times. While resistance to the Union certainly existed in the occupied South, anti-Confederate and Unionist supporters also existed and aided the Federals when they could. Where loyal Confederates waged guerrilla warfare and treated soldiers with great hostility, anti-Confederates and Unionists provided services to the Union and collaborated with them, even if they did only assist the Northerners for self-serving reasons. The Southern domestic population, as the historians discussed here have demonstrated, did not operate as an anti-Union monolith.

Sternhell focuses on the sentiments of Southerners under Union occupation and the post-war realities for slaveholders and women. She notes that across the South, Union occupation met with several differing responses; some towns gradually accepted the North's presence and eventually became Unionist, while others never surrendered their Confederate loyalties.[85] As a result of the latter, Sternhell argues, Union occupation did not convince White Southerners to abandon their pre-war attitudes regarding the treatment of Black people.[86] According to Sternhell,

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[82] Sutherland, *Seasons of War,* 175.
[83] Sutherland, *Seasons of War,* 271.
[84] Sutherland, *Seasons of War,* 271.
[85] Sternhell, *Routes of War*, 182.
[86] Sternhell, *Routes of War*, 173.

the end of the war opened slaveholders' eyes to the truth of their slaves' loyalties to them.[87] The departure of even family favorite slaves in 1865 and beyond often left slaveholders shocked and confused, unable to understand why their supposedly loyal slaves no longer wanted to remain with them.[88] In some cases, slaveholders became angry and violent when faced with their slaves leaving them.[89] The master of Betsey Lexley in June of 1865 caught up to her after she left the plantation with her two children and beat her before forcibly taking them all back.[90] Evidently, former slaveowners refused to accept that they no longer wielded power and authority over the people they had once held in bondage.

Ash also observes that Confederate Southerners did not find themselves moved by the Union victory and retained their perception of Black people after the war ended. Ash claimed White Southerners continued to believe freedmen needed to be subjugated or controlled for them to live among White people.[91] In Louisiana in 1865, a plantation overseer reportedly whipped the Black employees in his charge and threatened them with his revolver, claiming it had been within his rights to do so.[92] Through Ash's depiction of the South's treatment of freedmen after the war, one can see that White Southerners did not want to relinquish the racial superiority they'd enjoyed in antebellum years.

Frank found similar sentiments to both Ash and Sternhell's writings in her study and claimed that Southerners remained committed to their beliefs and held grudges against the Union. The Columbia Bazaar held in South Carolina in 1864 represented the South's commitment to slavery late into the war.[93] Items up for auction sold at extremely high prices because of supply

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[87] Sternhell, *Routes of War*, 171.
[88] Sternhell, *Routes of War*, 171.
[89] Sternhell, *Routes of War*, 172.
[90] Sternhell, *Routes of War*, 172.
[91] Ash, *When the Yankees Came,* 233.
[92] Ash, *When the Yankees Came,* 233.
[93] Frank, *The Civilian War,* 94.

shortages the war had caused.[94] Reflecting Southerners' intransigent position on African Americans, one man remarked he could purchase a slave with the money needed to buy an expensive doll up for auction.[95] His comment epitomized the failure of Sherman's March to wrench Southerners from their commitment to slavery as far into the war as 1864.[96]

As for White women, Sternhell pointed out that many had become refugees living in and around Richmond by 1865. At the time of Jefferson Davis's escape from the Confederate capital in 1865, Richmond had become a place of refuge for runaways and displaced persons.[97] Although refugees came from a wide stock of Southerners, a noticeable percentage came from the planter elite who sought refuge from the Union army, and of those elite, White women made up a considerable amount.[98] These refugee women expressed feeling lonely and resentful after going on the run from Union forces in their personal writings.[99] Although this mass mobilization of White women undermined the gendered social order by moving women out of the safety of their homes without male protection, Sternhell claimed that gender roles returned in full force not long after the war.[100] Nothing could erase the uprooting of White women from memory, however, as it became a crucial period in Southern history.[101]

According to Frank, the South also refused to accept defeat after the war due to the grudges that Southern women held. One North Carolinian woman's journal from 1865 revealed women believed Southerners had made too many sacrifices and had lost too much for reconciliation with the enemy to occur.[102] Furthermore, women became embittered by Sherman's deliberate assault

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[94] Frank, *The Civilian War,* 94.
[95] Frank, *The Civilian War,* 94.
[96] Frank, *The Civilian War*, 94.
[97] Sternhell, *Routes of War*, 183.
[98] Sternhell, *Routes of War*, 145, 146.
[99] Sternhell, *Routes of War*, 147.
[100] Sternhell, *Routes of War*, 153.
[101] Sternhell, *Routes of War*, 145.
[102] Frank, *The Civilian War,* 138.

on their homes and the invasion of their private spaces.[103] Above all, women resented the fact that rather than being protected during war, Sherman purposely targeted them in the hopes of forcing them to surrender.[104] Because they felt violated by the conduct of the Union army during the war, Southern women refused to accept defeat, rejected reconciliation, and strengthened their patriotism for the Confederacy. These hard feelings and resentment became foundational to women's participation in spreading the Lost Cause.

Ash contended that tensions remained on the home front after the war. Unionists continued to live in fear in some regions of the South.[105] In July of 1865, people expressed concerns over secessionist sympathies that remained in the South.[106] Former Confederate soldiers returning home after the war also posed real threats for Unionists in the aftermath of the war.[107] These sentiments should come as no surprise when one considers the state the Union left the South in. The Union had burned Fredericksburg down, and the town remained in disrepair well into the summer of 1865.[108] At the same time, civilians in Chancellorsville and Spotsylvania struggled to grow crops and profit off of their battle-ruined fields.[109] The damage caused by the Union and the lingering bitterness of Southerners created the perfect backdrop for the spread of the Lost Cause.

Nelson and Sheriff provided a depiction of the post-war South as more resigned to the end but no less aggrieved. Civilians met the end of the war with mixed reactions, some of them relieved and others disappointed that the Confederate army accepted defeat.[110] Those who felt relief also felt that they had sacrificed more than enough over the course of four years.[111] Some Southerners

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[103] Frank, *The Civilian War,* 146.
[104] Frank, *The Civilian War,* 146.
[105] Ash, *When the Yankees Came,* 232.
[106] Ash, *When the Yankees Came,* 232.
[107] Ash, *When the Yankees Came,* 232.
[108] Ash, *When the Yankees Came,* 230.
[109] Ash, *When the Yankees Came,* 230.
[110] Nelson and Sheriff, *A People at War*, 284, 285.
[111] Nelson and Sheriff, *A People at War*, 285.

had also realized that their lives had already changed beyond repair by 1865. They most felt this regarding slavery. Emancipation had dealt the final blow to the peculiar institution, but it slowly came undone throughout the war as seen with slaves running to Union lines and gradually refusing orders from their masters.[112]

The heaviest hit on the people of the home front, however, had been the loss of lives. In Guildford county in North Carolina alone, Nelson and Sheriff found that Company B of the Twenty-Seventh North Carolina lost 62 percent of their men during the war.[113] Many soldiers did not return home, and women who had been left behind by these soldiers turned to community institutions (such as their local church) for aid.[114] In the wake of these losses, be it the loss of farmland, property, or men, Southerners could not let go of the past. As a result, Southern Democrats promised to restore the South to its previous glory as early after the war as the election of 1872.[115]

Sutherland, however, highlights a more passive community in Culpeper by the end of the war. He notes that in March of 1865, people did not have time for idle chatter or gossip about the war anymore.[116] They had to tend to their fields and plant crops to prepare for the coming of spring.[117] By 1865, the people of Culpeper had grown war-weary and appeared ready to move on from the war.[118] Even so, Sutherland described a Confederate Memorial Day celebration in Culpeper planned by none other than the United Daughters of the Confederacy in May 1911.[119]

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[112] Nelson and Sheriff, *A People at War*, 279, 280.
[113] Nelson and Sheriff, *A People at War*, 297.
[114] Nelson and Sheriff, *A People at War*, 298.
[115] Nelson and Sheriff, *A People at War*, 308.
[116] Sutherland, *Seasons of War,* 375.
[117] Sutherland, *Seasons of War,* 375.
[118] Sutherland, *Seasons of War,* 382.
[119] Sutherland, *Seasons of War,* 376-377.

Though Culpeper seemed willing to throw in the towel for the sake of peace in 1865, by 1911 they had clearly welcomed the Lost Cause.

Despite the Union's efforts to lure Southerners back into Federal submission, they failed to convince Confederates to give up their secessionist beliefs. In attempting to forcibly get Southerners to submit to the Union cause, Northern troops caused more harm and radicalized Southerners. Sternhell and Frank recognized that Union actions created resentment among the White female populations of the South whether these women left their homes to avoid Federal control or remained home and suffered under Northern occupation. Sternhell and Ash observe the failure of the Union to change Southerners' thoughts and behavior regarding slaves and freedmen. Southerners continued to look down upon Black people and mistreat them. The desolation of some regions in the South by the Union left resentment in the ruins of towns like Fredericksburg. Nelson and Sheriff pointed out that the losses civilians endured grew to be too much, the death of an overwhelming percentage of their men among the greatest losses they suffered. Even in areas like Culpeper that Sutherland described as war-weary and ready to move on, they, too, did not surrender their Confederate loyalties. These lingering resentments and Confederate sympathies in the aftermath of the Civil War created an environment ideal for the proliferation of the Lost Cause mythology.

Sarris and Whites explore the connection between women and the Lost Cause in their monographs, owing much of the spread to women's organizations such as the United Daughters of the Confederacy and their work in honoring the Confederate dead. Sarris argues that Confederates in northern Georgia sought to enshrine their own version of the war in memory. Their version mythologized both Southern men and women for their noble yet doomed cause, referring

to the struggles of soldiers and civilians alike.[120] Where men fought as soldiers in the military, women fought on the home front in whatever way they could. As depicted by Frank and Whites, this included rallying supplies for the Confederate war effort and selling their belongings to avoid them falling into Union hands.[121] These actions occurred even in the face of an incoming Union invasion, such as Sherman's men marching to the Columbia Bazaar (in which case the Union army only further spurred women into action).[122]

Sarris stated that by 1871, Georgia had established the North Georgia Agricultural College, and in 1905, the state founded its own chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC).[123] These groups championed the belief that the South came together as one nation to fight in support of a righteous cause that tragically could not triumph over their aggressors.[124] Although the state's UDC chapter in Dahlonega faced harsh criticism for gathering a decade after the founding of the national UDC, women in Georgia declared their unwavering faith in the Confederacy through their decorations of Confederate graves.[125] While it had taken women in Georgia about 10 years to found their own UDC chapter, they had done their own Confederate commemorations by honoring the Confederate dead.

Whites also detailed how Southern women used the dead to establish the Lost Cause. According to Whites, Southern White women in Georgia used the Confederate dead to rebuild Southern masculinity and rewrote the cause of the war as early as 1866. Southern women did this by isolating the Confederate dead from any political cause.[126] Slavery as the war cause vanished, and solely the preservation of masculinity remained. In accordance with the death toll Nelson and

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[120] Sarris, *A Separate Civil War*, 160.
[121] Frank, *The Civilian War*, 79, 81.; Whites, *The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender*, 97.
[122] Frank, *The Civilian War*, 94.
[123] Sarris, *A Separate Civil War,* 160, 163.
[124] Sarris, *A Separate Civil War,* 160.
[125] Sarris, *A Separate Civil War,* 163.
[126] Whites, *The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender,* 180.

Sheriff shared in their monograph, Whites relayed that during the war, women had lost many male kin.[127] Accepting the emasculation of the Confederate defeat meant that those men died in vain.[128] Southern White men who had fought to defend their masculinities returned home in defeat in 1865, but they could save face by reclaiming their roles as defenders of the home and protectors of women and children.[129] By claiming that the Confederate dead had fought and died to defend their women and children, too, their war cause shifted to align with the postwar role of Southern men.[130] It also ameliorated the loss of male kin felt by those who had remained on the home front. This new war cause succeeded in taking attention away from the South's battles and ultimate failure to defend slavery.[131]

Even as the 19th century bled into the 20th century, Whites asserted that Southern White women retained their war-time vitriol for the Yankees and acted upon it.[132] One woman, Anna Montgomery, turned down an invitation to attend her cousin's wedding years after the war because the ceremony required a United States flag to fly atop the site.[133] With hard feelings still present, Georgian White women banded together to create the Ladies' Memorial Association (though originally known as the Ladies' Hospital and Relief Association in 1866) to honor the reformed war cause, which in turn kept the Lost Cause alive.[134] The Ladies' Memorial Association went on to inspire future organizations, like the Confederate Survivors Association, that further divorced the war from slavery. The Confederate Survivors Association then hosted celebrations that left out Southern White men's failures to protect women and children during the war and their subjugation

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[127] Whites, *The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender*, 148.
[128] Whites, *The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender*, 148.
[129] Whites, *The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender,* 142.
[130] Whites, *The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender,* 181.
[131] Whites, *The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender,* 181.
[132] Whites, *The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender*, 149.
[133] Whites, *The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender*, 149.
[134] Whites, *The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender*, 186.

of Black people.[135] Furthermore, both the Ladies' Memorial Association and the Confederate Survivors Association eventually turned their attentions to the next generation of Southerners and recruited children into their groups.[136] Whites made sure to note that girls tended to outnumber the boys in their enlistments, likely taking after their female kin, showing even from a young age, the spread of the Lost Cause hinged upon female labor.[137]

Sternhell and Ash portrayed the South as unrelenting in their commitment to their past at the end of the war, citing the mistreatment of Black people and their refusal to give up on slavery until forced to. Frank pointed out how women held grudges for the grievances they'd endured at the hands of abusive Yankees like General Sherman and his men. Nelson and Sheriff and Ash depicted the material and human losses of Southerners that explained some of their lasting resentments toward Unionists and Union forces. These circumstances seemed ideal for the proliferation of Lost Cause mythology, but Sutherland's depiction of a weary Culpeper painted a different picture. When coupled with Sarris's and Whites's studies of women's critical roles in the spread of Lost Cause mythology through their organizations and reverence of the Confederate dead, then Culpeper's adoption of the Lost Cause through their own chapter of the UDC makes more sense. Women put their resentments to work through their upkeeping of the Lost Cause and redefined the war to vindicate themselves and avenge their wartime grievances.

Civil War historians in the last 30 years have identified various forms of civilian-centered conflicts throughout the South. Sarris, Sutherland, and Whites portray instances of civilians attacking one another through physical and verbal means. Ash, Nelson and Sheriff, Sternhell, Frank, Sutherland, and Sarris highlight military actions taken against the domestic population.

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[135] Whites, *The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender*, 213.
[136] Whites, *The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender*, 205.
[137] Whites, *The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender*, 205.

These same historians also examine Southern citizens' responses to the Union's presence in their studies. Ash and Sutherland focused their studies on guerrilla warfare, while Frank looked to organized support of the Confederate war effort in a women-centered approach to civilian responses to occupation. Whites, Nelson and Sheriff, and Sternhell depict the responses of displaced people and how they sold their belongings to limit what Yankees could use when they invaded, while Sarris and Sutherland examine how civilians who supported the Union, regardless of race, assisted the Union by working under them (if only to benefit themselves).

Finally, Sternhell, Ash, and Frank depict the postwar South as resentful and unable to accept the changes the end of the war intended for the former Confederacy. White Southerners clung on to White supremacy, and Southern White women in Georgia and the Carolinas could not let go of their hatred for Northerners after Sherman purposely attacked them in his march to the sea. Nelson and Sheriff portrayed the South as a mixed bag that ultimately chose to avenge itself through politics after the loss of a significant portion of their men during the war. While Sutherland painted Culpeper as a passive town ready to move on, he included a Confederate Memorial Day celebration to show that even they accepted the Lost Cause by 1911. Sarris and Whites explained such a phenomenon by exploring how women used the Confederate dead to redefine the Southern war cause and spread the Lost Cause mythos.

The writings of these historians presented the South in its myriads of conflicts and reactions to Union occupation, showcasing the division and diversity of Southern society throughout the war. The importance of their writings lies in this multifaceted portrayal of the South. This image of a fractured home front revealed a stark inconsistency against the legacy perception of a unified Confederate domestic home front employed by supporters of the Lost Cause mythos that lingers to this day—a mythos that grew its roots in the resentment and conflict fostered during the Civil

War and then diligently spread by the efforts of Southern White women during and long after the war.