

# SEEPING SENTIMENT: Lost Cause Ideology During the Spanish-American War

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*In 1898, the Spanish-American War was the first major conflict for the United States in the wake of its Civil War; as America called upon troops from the former Confederate states to the war effort, the Spanish-American War also represented a critical moment of reconciliation for a bitterly divided nation. This reconciliation, however, did not come without compromise.*

*Proponents of the Lost Cause ideology—a series of ideals utilized to promote Southern benevolence post-American Civil War—used American patriotism and the war effort as a vessel, spreading the ideology into Northern states as Union veterans protested. This paper utilizes student-run university newspapers from the North and South to show a geographic gap in Civil War memorialization among students, but also as evidence to demonstrate the generational gap between Union veterans and university students in the North concerning the Lost Cause. This generational gap between veterans and students was wholly absent in the South during the Spanish American war period. The spread of Lost Cause ideology shown through the writing of university students serves as a window into the ideals of the Northerners and Southerners who would shape the politics of the twentieth century.*

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On May 31, 1898, the student writers of the *Harvard Crimson* declared that “the memory of those fallen and yet to fall in the present war will be as dear as that of our past heroes. If we keep to our declared policy of war only for the liberation of Cuba, then they will have an enduring place in history.” One day prior to the Battle of San Juan Hill, the most infamous battle of the Spanish-American War, the students continued, “if, in the end, we pervert these ends, and are inspired by the lust of conquest, they will be remembered only as men of valor. Only wars of high aims leave behind imperishable names of greatness. *The fate of the dead hero is in the hands of those who survive him.*”<sup>1</sup> It is clear, then, that the Harvard students were conscious of their duty to the memory of their peers. The dead hero’s fate does lie greatly in the hands of those who survive him, just as the histories of nations have been in the hands of those who have written them. Still, these students failed to apply this understanding to the remembrance of the American Civil War whose fallen heroes they neglected.

While the *Harvard Crimson* abandoned the memory of their region’s veterans of the Civil War over the year of 1898, universities of the South, equipped with Lost Cause ideology, preserved and defended the honor of their Confederate veterans in a manner “entirely compatible with sectional reconciliation,” which refers to the cultural and social reunification of the Northern and Southern regions of the United

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<sup>1</sup> “Memorial Day Services,” *The Harvard Crimson*, May 31, 1898.

States following the Civil War.<sup>2</sup> This is especially relevant to the analysis of ideas seeping from the South into the North within the younger generations of 1898 in direct opposition to the pleas of Union veterans. Through the spread of Lost Cause ideology, Southerners solidified the importance of Confederate memorialization across generations. People of previous Confederate states maintained the offensive in the battle of Civil War memory, while university students in the North were indifferent to the preservation of the memory of Union veterans during the Spanish-American War period. Proponents of the Lost Cause in the South, namely the students at The University of Alabama and Sewanee: The University of the South, utilized this moment to contextualize their admiration for the Confederacy along the lines of loyalty to the United States. This provides a point of comparison between the North and South to examine the impact of a generational gap concerning reconciliatory sentiment and Civil War memory in terms of the implications and effectiveness of Lost Cause mythology. The year of 1898, then, provides a valuable point of study to explore the generational gap concerning Civil War veterans' and the students' perception of the past and then-current wars.

The field of Civil War memory has been thoroughly explored within the past few decades. There is discussion of the moment of reconciliation, and among many of the field's historians, the Spanish-American War is seen at the very least as a significant marker in the path toward reconciliation between the North and South.<sup>3</sup> As a catalyst for this reconciliation, the abandonment of Reconstruction and the acceptance of the South's racial policies helped to cool tensions among White Americans. David Blight, a historian of Civil War memory, has asserted that "the sectional reunion after so horrible a civil war was a political triumph by the late nineteenth century, but it could not have been achieved without the re-subjugation of many of those people whom the war had freed from centuries of bondage."<sup>4</sup> Blight considered the Spanish-American War to be a moment of reconciliation due to the North's acceptance of the South's Lost Cause tenets. To be clear, the terms North and South as used here refer to groups that held the systematic power to shape social and cultural dynamics, namely the demographic of affluent, White male attendees of the universities discussed in this paper. This article also leans heavily on Barbara Gannon's work in "They Call Themselves Veterans': Civil War and Spanish War Veterans and the Complexities of Veteranhood," which provides an extensive analysis of reconciliatory feelings among Union veterans, namely among members of the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR), who often perceived Spanish-American War veterans as undeserving of the title of 'veteran.'<sup>5</sup> Gannon provided a context for generational analysis between the Civil War and Spanish-American War veterans and their dispute over veteranhood and membership of veterans' associations as she illustrated that "the GAR's exclusion of Spanish War veterans from GAR membership

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<sup>2</sup> Robert Cook, "A Quarrel Forgotten? Toward a Clearer Understanding of Sectional Reconciliation," *Journal of the Civil War Era* 6:3 (September 2016): 416, JSTOR.

<sup>3</sup> David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 2001), 347, 352-53; Cook, "A Quarrel Forgotten?," 427-29; Gaines M. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865-1913* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 145; O'Leary, *To Die For: The Paradox of American Patriotism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 146.

<sup>4</sup> Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 400.

<sup>5</sup> Barbara A. Gannon, "They Call Themselves Veterans': Civil War and Spanish War Veterans and the Complexities of Veteranhood," *Journal of the Civil War Era* 5, no. 4 (December 2015): 532, JSTOR.

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and rituals indicates that veteranhood—veterans’ shared identity—did not cross generations and wartime experiences.”<sup>6</sup> The current scholarship lacks a focus on the generational gap beyond veterans’ groups and the Lost Cause’s span beyond regional borders, and this helps to set the stage for a more extensive analysis of Civil War memory across generations and renders sentiment during the Spanish-American War as a valuable point of comparison. Additionally, Gannon’s work in *The Won Cause* provides insight for the intellectual battle for Civil War memory among veterans and civilians; while her work does assert a generational gap in Civil War memory in the North, it does not provide an in-depth analysis of sentiment among those analyzed in this paper.<sup>7</sup> This essay extends the research of Civil War memorialization and sectional reconciliation by exploring a new bank of primary sources and the specific outlooks of college-aged students during the Spanish-American War—whose ideas, influenced by Lost Cause ideology, represent the demographic of those who would hold the power to shape the policies of the United States for decades to follow.

This article employs the student-run university newspapers from Harvard University, Sewanee: The University of the South, The University of Alabama, and Yale University to illuminate the generational gap between Union veterans and service-aged university students in the North, which did not exist between Confederate veterans and service-aged Southerners. As these newspapers were written and edited by students themselves, they reflect firsthand the beliefs and ideals of the young men who fought in the Spanish-American War, America’s first major conflict since the Civil War. Insight into the difference between North and South provides greater context for sectional reconciliation and the phenomenon of difference in Civil War memory and commemoration between the North and South, as well as Spanish-American War rhetoric. These universities were chosen due to their Civil War involvement, support for the Spanish-American War, and prominence in their perspective regions. Additionally, primary sources concerning Union veterans and the GAR as well as Confederate veterans provide context for sentiment among Civil War veterans. This context is significant because it helps to shed light on which groups played a significant role in sectional reconciliation, how the Lost Cause played a part in this reconciliation and memorialization, and how the South managed to win the intellectual battle of Civil War memory for nearly a century following the Civil War. Utilizing the content of the four student-run university newspapers from the North and South throughout the Spanish-American War over the year of 1898, this article compares the difference in mentions of the two wars, analyzes the use of Lost Cause ideology, and evaluates the attitudes surrounding sectional reconciliation to provide a generational and geographic analysis.

The main tenets of the Lost Cause ideology surround the idea that the Civil War and secession were never about slavery. Rather, they were concerned with preserving states’ rights and upholding the Constitution. As defenders of the Constitution, Confederates were patriotic and noble Americans according to this framework. Secondly, the Lost Cause describes slavery as a benevolent institution for loyal and contented enslaved people, not as an atrocity. Thirdly, it illustrates Confederate soldiers as “among the greatest soldiers in history, and they were only defeated due to the Union’s superior manpower and resources.”<sup>8</sup> The conclusion

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<sup>6</sup> Gannon, ““They Call Themselves Veterans,”” 529.

<sup>7</sup> Barbara Gannon, *The Won Cause: The Black and White Comradeship in the Grand Army of the Republic* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2011), 8.

<sup>8</sup> Adam Dombay, *The False Cause: Fraud, Fabrication, and White Supremacy in Confederate Memory* (Charlottesville: University of Charlottesville Press, 2020), 6.

meant to be drawn from these tenets is that “instead of being remembered as traitors, Confederates should be recalled as heroic defenders of American principles.”<sup>9</sup> Edward A. Pollard introduced this pseudohistorical narrative within a year of the Civil War’s end in *The Lost Cause: A New Southern History of the War of the Confederates*, and it was “embraced by many, if not most, White Southerners in the century after the Civil War.”<sup>10</sup> While the Union won the Civil War, the “Lost Cause ... won the battle for Civil War memory much of the twentieth century.”<sup>11</sup>

Spanning from April to December of 1898, the Spanish-American War seemingly brought the country together hardly thirty years following the end of the Civil War, and nearly twenty since the bitterness of Reconstruction. United States intervention in the Cuban War of Independence resulted in a war with Spain following the explosion of the *U.S.S. Maine*, as ‘Remember the Maine’ became a rallying cry among Americans in both the North and South to enter the war. The Spanish-American War is considered one of the possible historical markers of sectional reconciliation following the Civil War. Through the examination of student-run university newspapers in the North and South during the Spanish-American War, it is possible to provide a framework for questions surrounding Civil War memorialization and the effectiveness of the Lost Cause and its part in the moment of sectional reconciliation.

The comparison of memorialization and remembrance of the Civil War by each of these universities necessitates a synopsis of their involvement and experiences during the war. Arguably, the Southern universities had a much more intimate experience, as the war, along with its destruction and fighting, came to each of their campuses. The University of Alabama, home to the *Crimson White*, is its state’s oldest public university. The institution served as a military base for the Confederacy and suffered tremendous destruction by Union troops. Though the destruction was limited to the annihilation of buildings and materials with potential for use in the war, 1,500 men were sent into Tuscaloosa. “Their mission was to ‘destroy the bridge, factories, mills, university (military school), and whatever else may benefit the Rebel cause,’” and in the end, “only four buildings survived the destruction.”<sup>12</sup> President of the University, Landon C. Garland, noted in a letter to his father, “the University buildings are all burned. Nothing was saved but the private residence of the officers. The most valuable part of my library ... was consumed.”<sup>13</sup> Several monuments were erected, grounds were honored, and traditions were put in place at The University of Alabama to commemorate both the destruction during the war as well as Confederate veterans. Similarly, Sewanee: The University of the South witnessed a skirmish during the war, which one Confederate soldier labeled a “rite sharp little fight.”<sup>14</sup> While the destruction at the Sewanee campus seems to be generally exaggerated, the Union troops supposedly attempted, and succeeded, to destroy the cornerstone. On September 17, 1898, the paper mentioned that “after the Civil War ... the cornerstone

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<sup>9</sup> Adam Dombey, *The False Cause*, 6.

<sup>10</sup> Dombey, *The False Cause*, 6.

<sup>11</sup> Barbara Gannon, *The Won Cause*, 187.

<sup>12</sup> J.B. Sellers, *History of University of Alabama, Vol. 1: 1818-1902* (University of Alabama, 1953), 281-92; John S. Sledge, *These Rugged Days: Alabama in the Civil War* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2017), 153.

<sup>13</sup> Letter, L.C. Garland to his father, May 30, 1865. Joint University Library, Vanderbilt University.

<sup>14</sup> Richard Tillinghast, “Sewanee and the Civil War,” *Southwest Review*, Vol. 99, No. 3 (Southern Methodist University: 2014): 342, JSTOR.

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which had been laid with such ceremony, in 1860, was shattered, and its fragments carried far away.”<sup>15</sup>

Northern universities gave much to the Civil War effort, as well. Many Yale University and Harvard University students volunteered for the Union Army, as George Anson Bruce mentioned in *The Twentieth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry* that “the unit was officered largely by young men fresh from Harvard University ... for this reason it was popularly known as the Harvard regiment.”<sup>16</sup> The participation of these universities, though, seems to be more complex than that of the Southern universities in the war, which was almost entirely on the behalf of the Confederacy. The students of Yale, for example, fought for both the North and South, and approximately twenty-two percent served in the war.<sup>17</sup> While it is difficult to say that there were no Southern university students who served in the Union army, no notable number of students have been noted as doing so. This difference between the participation of Northern and Southern universities can be attributed to Southern youth having been regularly sent North to prestigious schools such as Yale University or Harvard University, while Northern students were not as often sent south for university. The poem later inscribed on the Yale Civil War memorial, “The Blue and the Gray” written by 1849 alumnus Francis Miles Finch, illustrates the prevalence of Confederate soldiers in the Northern university, in addition to reconciliatory sentiment following the war:

No more shall the war-cry sever,  
Or the winding rivers be red:  
They banish our anger forever  
When they laurel the graves of our dead!  
Under the sod and the dew,  
Waiting the Judgment Day: -  
Love and tears for the Blue;  
Tears and love for the Gray.<sup>18</sup>

While these universities did not suffer the physical damage as the universities did below the Mason-Dixon line, they dedicated their efforts to the Union cause, and suffered tremendous loss among student body.

Veterans of the Civil War felt strongly about the memorialization and remembrance of their sacrifices, and as the veterans of the Union were aware of the spread of Lost Cause mythology, they attempted to combat it. Union veterans held a “strong commitment to a sectional narrative of the Civil War that was fundamentally at odds with most, if not all, of the central tenets of the Lost Cause.”<sup>19</sup> Additionally, Union veterans refused “to accept any notion that Confederate efforts to destroy the nation were as laudable as their efforts to save it.”<sup>20</sup> Much to their dismay, Theodore Roosevelt, in an article from January of 1900, a month after the Spanish-American War’s end, noted, “we are all glad that the Union was restored, and are one in our loyalty to it; and hand in hand with this general recognition ... that the man from the

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<sup>15</sup> *Sewanee Purple*, September 17, 1898.

<sup>16</sup> George A. Bruce, *The Twentieth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, 1861-1865* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company: 1906), 7, Hathitrust.

<sup>17</sup> Amy Athey McDonald, “Yale Collections Capture the Memories, Music, and Mayhem of the Civil War,” *Yale News*, (April 8, 2015).

<sup>18</sup> *Yale Memorials*, (New Haven, Connecticut: 1963), 45-47, EliScholar.; Francis Miles Finch “The Blue and the Gray,” *The Atlantic Monthly* (September 1867).

<sup>19</sup> Cook, “A Quarrel Forgotten?,” 422.

<sup>20</sup> Gannon, ““They Call Themselves Veterans,”” 532.

North and the man from the South each was loyal to his highest ideal of duty when he drew sword or shouldered rifle to fight to the death for what he believed to be right.”<sup>21</sup> The aims of Southerners and Confederate veterans were effective in pushing sectional reconciliation within their own terms, as in December of 1898, President McKinley asserted that “sectional feeling no longer holds back the love we bear each other ... found in the gallant loyalty to the Union and flag so conspicuously shown in the year just passed.”<sup>22</sup> This speech in Atlanta confirmed the efforts toward and popular support for sectional reconciliation among both Northerners and Southerners. While this sentiment saw heightened popularity across the nation during the Spanish-American War and in light of the United States’ victory, this was not shared among many Union veterans who “rejected any sense of equality in the importance of the causes or of the sacrifices that they had demanded.”<sup>23</sup> To these men, “the idea of reconciliation implied mutual sacrifice, to be made by both aggrieved parties, who admit their sins and agree to attempt to put the past behind them,” and it was an unimaginable compromise.<sup>24</sup> As members of a separate generation, lacking personal memories of the Civil War and the phenomenon of Lost Cause mythology in the South, students were “able to view the Confederate military as an honored part of the American military experience. They did not share the GAR members’ understanding that Confederate courage served a cause intent on destroying the American Union.”<sup>25</sup>

Following the Civil War’s end, universities worked toward regaining normalcy, and for the schools in the South, this time was marked by Reconstruction and reintegration back into the Union. Over the few decades following the Civil War up until the turn of the century, Sewanee: The University of the South and The University of Alabama worked toward reconciliation. As stated in the *Sewanee Purple* on April 9, 1898,

When the history comes to be truly written, it will be found that ... before the echoes of the war had ceased, and when the bitterness of strife was still fresh in the minds and hearts of the people, this institution alone, by the voice and actions of its first vice-chancellor, called men from their animosities and resentments and bade them to seek and foster together, the arts of peace. Certainly, Sewanee has done its work, and that a great one, in bringing men of the two sections into the right relations with each other.<sup>26</sup>

The reminiscence of Sewanee’s first vice-chancellor conveys a push in reconciliatory sentiment during April of 1898, just before the declaration of war, although the university was founded upon the principle of providing a Southern university free from Northern influence, as one of its founders asserted it would “materially aid the South to resist and repel a fanatical domination which seeks to rule over us,” illustrating a stark contrast in sectional rhetoric from around the time of the

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<sup>21</sup> Theodore Roosevelt, *The Strenuous Life; Essays and Addresses*. New York, Century Co., 1900, Bartleby.

<sup>22</sup> Grace E. Hale, *Making Whiteness: The Culture of Segregation in the South, 1890-1940*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1998), 67-68.; United Confederate Veterans: Charles Broadway Rouss Camp, No. 1191, *Report on the Re-burial of the Confederate Dead in Arlington Cemetery*, (Washington, DC: Judd & Detweiler, 1901), 10-11, Internet Archive.

<sup>23</sup> Gannon, “‘They Call Themselves Veterans,’” 532.

<sup>24</sup> Benjamin G. Cloyd, *Haunted by Atrocity: Civil War Prisons in American Memory* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2010), 110.

<sup>25</sup> Gannon, *The Won Cause*, 182.

<sup>26</sup> *Sewanee Purple*, April 9, 1898, <https://dspace.sewanee.edu/handle/11005/16453>.

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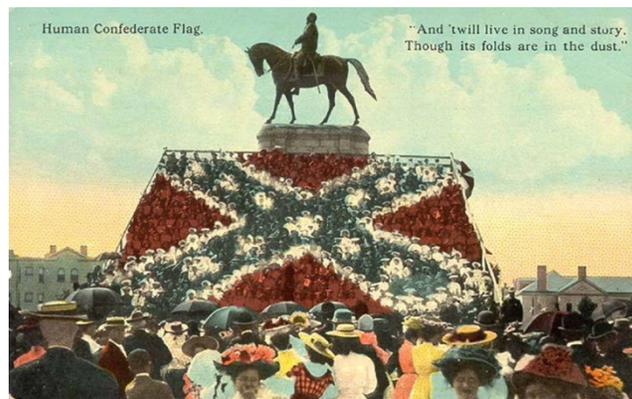
Civil War to the Spanish-American War.<sup>27</sup>

The remembrance of the Civil War and its inclusion in these university newspapers varies greatly by region. While there is a nearly constant mention of the Confederacy, its soldiers, and the Civil War in the *Sewanee Purple* and *Crimson White*, the *Harvard Crimson* and *Daily Yale* seldom reference the war, and even less its veterans and their sacrifices. Within the *Harvard Crimson*, the only mentions of the Civil War over the year of 1898 were during the month of May, in which the university hosted a “course of eight lectures on Soldier’s and Sailor’s Life.”<sup>28</sup> Among these lecturers, three were Union veterans, and they spoke on the topics of Army life, Navy life, and the medical care for soldiers during the Civil War. Outside of the explanation of these lectures, there was no other mention throughout the year. Union veterans regularly implored United States citizens to teach of their sacrifices, to preserve their memory, and solidify the meaning of their cause.<sup>29</sup> The lack of acknowledgement, especially in comparison to the volume of memorialization by Southern universities while Union veterans plead for recognition, points to a disconnect among these generations in the North that did not exist in the South as the battle for Lost Cause memory of the Civil War transcended generations.

The explanation of this phenomenon could be the constant position of Southerners on the offensive of the battle over Civil War memory. Groups such as the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) worked tirelessly to instill the values of the Lost Cause into the younger generations of the South through after-school programs, public school textbook requirements, and publications of Civil War history along the lines of Lost Cause tenets. In an 1897 edition of the *Confederate Veteran*, there was discussion of discontinuing the use of the song ‘Dixie,’ to which one Southern woman replied:

We as Southern people, glory in this ‘tendency to keep alive the sentiment of the lost cause.’ Why not: Have we anything of which to be ashamed? True, defeat was ours, but it was brought about not through any lack of bravery, gallantry, or patriotism for what we believe to be right because of its being guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States. The record of Confederate soldiers is without a parallel in history, and, as time goes on, instead of being classed as traitors, their many gallant deeds and loyal hearts will be appreciated for their true worth, and their names go down in history as heroes true to every trust.

She continued to elaborate that “it is not that we love the ‘Star-Spangled



Huestis Pratt Cook, *Human Confederate Flag*, ca. 1907, Richmond, Virginia. VCU Commons.

<sup>27</sup> Steven Dayle, *Carry Me Back: The Domestic Slave Trade in American Life*, (Oxford University Press: 2013), 205-207.

<sup>28</sup> “Soldier’s and Sailor’s Life: Eight Lectures to be Delivered Before the University,” *Harvard Crimson*, May 10, 1898.

<sup>29</sup> Benjamin C. Cloyd, *Haunted by Atrocity: Civil War Prisons in American Memory* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2010), 92-93.

Banner' less, but 'Dixie' will always be absolutely sacred to Southern hearts ... around 'Dixie' twine our fondest memories and dearest associations."<sup>30</sup> Her admiration and ardent vindication for the Confederate cause and tenets of the Lost Cause mirror the efforts by various other organizations for Confederate memorialization.

While the *Harvard Crimson* made very few mentions of the war, the *Daily Yale* made only three mentions of the Civil War or its veterans. The first, on January 18, 1898, the paper included an announcement for the Freshman Union debate, whose topic was, "Resolved, that the Civil War was necessary for the abolition of slavery."<sup>31</sup> Of the three mentions of the war, one concerns the meaning of the war and its necessity for the war's most significant outcome. To many Union veterans, though, this would not shy from their own interpretation, as they saw the meaning of the war as the fortification of the Union of the United States; "Northern veterans accepted reunion with former Confederates because it validated their efforts to preserve the Union," but in contrast to the views of university students, "they rejected any sense of equality in the importance of the causes or of the sacrifices that they had demanded."<sup>32</sup>

The next mention was not until December 3, 1898, included in a short history of the Yale Chapter of Phi Beta Kappa for its 122nd anniversary. Its mention of the Civil War, though, was only in reference to how it disrupted the meetings of the society: "at the time of the Civil War, although the annual orations and poems were continued, the private meetings had wholly disappeared, so that in 1871 the last thread of tradition seemed to be broken."<sup>33</sup> Again, there is not a recollection of the war's veterans, their sacrifice, or valor, but rather a note concerning the society's attendance. The third and final mention of the Civil War did not concern the Union, but instead the Confederacy. In an announcement on December 15, 1898, for the eleventh annual meeting of the American Economic Association, it mentioned that "among the important papers to be read," there would be "one by Professor J. C. Schwab on 'Prices in the Confederate States during the War.'"<sup>34</sup> Of these three examples from the *Daily Yale* over the year of 1898, they neglect to include acknowledgement and appreciation for the sacrifices of Union veterans. In his war memoir written in 1896, Ezra Ripple pleaded with his fellow Americans, "if you appreciate the sacrifice, teach your boys and girls their duty in preserving to posterity this Union for which their lives were so freely given."<sup>35</sup> Rather than practice any sort of responsibility in the preservation of their memory, the *Daily Yale*, along with the *Harvard Crimson*, took no initiative in doing so. The intensity surrounding Civil War memorialization was weaker in the North, especially during the height of the UDC organization from 1894 to 1914. While Union veterans did plead for recognition and acknowledgement of their sacrifices, groups outside of these veterans do not seem to have been nearly as active in the North as in the South. This, possibly in part because the South arguably had much more to prove, could provide an explanation as to why Northern university students were not concerned with the preservation of the memory of Union veterans.

One of the most interesting announcements within the *Daily Yale* over the year of 1898 was the announcement of a lecture by an infamous Lost Cause proponent

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<sup>30</sup> "Time to Call Off 'Dixie,'" *Confederate Veteran*, 1897, 113-14.

<sup>31</sup> *Daily Yale*, January 18, 1898, Yale Daily News Historical Archive.

<sup>32</sup> Gannon, "'They Call Themselves Veterans,'" 532.

<sup>33</sup> *Daily Yale* December 3, 1898, Yale Daily News Historical Archive.

<sup>34</sup> *Daily Yale*, December 15, 1898, Yale Daily News Historical Archive.

<sup>35</sup> Ezra Ripple, *Dancing Along the Deadline: The Andersonville Memoir of a Prisoner of the Confederacy* (Novato, California: Presidio Press, 1996), 1-6.

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and Southern writer. While this example is not explicitly a mention of the Civil War, the *Daily Yale* announced, “one of the best lectures of the season is to be given at College St. Hall this evening at 8 o’clock. The lecturer, Thomas Nelson Page ... is best known through his negro dialect stories and essays on the South, which have been published at intervals during the past ten years.”<sup>36</sup> Thomas Nelson Page received an invitation as a renowned author, yet he was a proponent of the Lost Cause narrative and a Southern writer endorsed by the UDC. Blight provides a valuable contextualization for this lecture, as he noted the opinion of Mildred Rutherford, the historian general for the UDC, that “no library should be without ... all of Thomas Nelson Page’s books.” This aligns with the UDC’s “constant appeals for ‘truthful history,’ Lost Cause ideology, especially the notions that slavery really did not cause the war and that Reconstruction was ... vicious oppression.”<sup>37</sup> In welcoming Page to campus, the Yale students not only neglected to signify appreciation for Union veterans and their cause, but cheerfully invited a strong proponent of the Lost Cause to speak before the student body. Soon after this invitation, Yale University offered Page an honorary degree in 1901—a man who was the “foremost champion of the Lost Cause” to his generation.<sup>38</sup> In the battle for Civil War memory, this provides an example of how the South remained victorious for nearly a century following the war.

Throughout the year of 1898, the *Sewanee Purple* and *Crimson White* made numerous mentions of the Civil War, Confederate veterans, and the sacrifices they made in accordance with Lost Cause ideology. On April 9, 1898, the *Sewanee Purple* included the following addition after the announcement of a lively debate concerning current events:

Better a thousand times give vent to genuine though mistaken conviction and expression to righteous though misdirected sympathy and enthusiasm than to let the deadening influence of nonchalance or the sordid sentiment of self-interest stifle the ennobling impulses of the soul, the unselfish love of humanity, honor and patriotism.<sup>39</sup>

While this excerpt might initially seem appropriate within the context of political advocacy and the discussion of foreign relations, the idea of “righteous misdirected sympathy” as a better alternative to “deadenning influence of nonchalance” illustrates the lingering stubbornness over the cause of the Civil War and nobility of Confederate veterans throughout the South. Additionally, included on the same day, the paper announced the death of a Bishop who was a “Chaplain in the Confederate army ... and the second founder of the University.” The paper noted, “there are two classes of people who must deplore his loss and reverence his memory with special and profound tenderness and affection, and they are the Confederate veterans and the alumni of The University of the South.”<sup>40</sup> The paper later throughout the year mentions the sons of Confederate veterans and the specific attribute of many as Confederate veterans or previous Confederate commanders. The *Sewanee Purple* attributed the success of the university to Confederate veterans and demonstrated a strong pride in the South and its cause in the Civil War.

Even more so, the *Crimson White* demonstrated its appreciation for the Confederate cause. On February 16, 1898, a lecture was announced to be given by “a

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<sup>36</sup> *Daily Yale*, May 18, 1898, Yale Daily News Historical Archive.

<sup>37</sup> Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 282.

<sup>38</sup> Michael Flusche, “Thomas Nelson Page: The Quandary of a Literary Gentleman.” *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 84, no. 4 (1976): 464-85, JSTOR.

<sup>39</sup> *Sewanee Purple*, April 9, 1898.

<sup>40</sup> *Sewanee Purple*, April 9, 1898.

brilliant son of Alabama,” in which he spoke of the causes of the Civil War; he claimed that “this great struggle should not be considered so much as the outcropping of the antagonism between the Puritan and the Cavalier as it is customary to consider it.”<sup>41</sup> This mention conveys the Lost Cause imagery of the Cavalier Confederate soldier and Southern gentlemen, and in comparison, imagery of the Puritan Union soldier. Soon after on March 4, there was a meeting of the state association of the UDC. On May 5, there was an announcement for the Freshman Exhibition of public speakers, and the topics consisted of Perpetuity of the Union, The Death of Stonewall Jackson, The New South, and The Confederate Dead. Additionally, on this day, there was an announcement of a Confederate Memorial, and it stated, “as usual the corps of cadets formed in battalion and marched to the cemetery last Tuesday afternoon to do honor to the Confederate dead.”<sup>42</sup> Later that month, it proudly mentioned that a student had been appointed to the staff of the famous Confederate veteran, General Joseph Wheeler, in the Spanish-American War.<sup>43</sup> Throughout the year, there were several similar mentions of Confederate veterans in the Spanish-American War. One extraordinary inclusion in June of 1898 concerned the Massachusetts 6<sup>th</sup> Regiment:

The Sixth Massachusetts Regiment was given a cordial public welcome through Baltimore May 21st on its way South. It was reviewed by the mayor and passed under mottoes and decorations which commenced the change that has taken place since the same regiment, on its way South April 19, 1861, was attacked by a mob. A basket of flowers, which was presented to the regiment by the city, bore the inscription ‘Baltimore welcomes the Sixth Regiment. Flowers not bullets.’ A basket of lunch was given each soldier, within was a card inscribed, ‘Maryland’s greeting to Massachusetts. May the memory of 1861 be effaced by the welcome of 1898’ Confederate veterans formed an escort and among them was a group of rock throwers who took part in the attack on the regiment in 1861. The regiment had one colored company which was cheered with special cordiality.<sup>44</sup>

This short history of the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment provides an illustration of the animosities during the Civil War, and how far removed they felt from that situation during the Spanish-American War. The inclusion of heightened Civil War memorialization in the *Crimson White* conveys the connection to Confederate veterans among the younger generation of Southerners, but also demonstrates the effectiveness and persistence of Lost Cause ideology. These ideas not only reverberated through the South but seeped into the North through connections such as the Southern figure Thomas Nelson Page’s visit to speak at Yale. Additionally, this instance provides context for the pattern of sectional reconciliation during the Spanish-American War as well as the patriotism shown by ex-Confederates throughout 1898. In July of 1899, General James Longstreet, a famous Confederate and Spanish-American War veteran, asserted that “barring a little family misunderstanding of a generation back, the South has never been anything but loyal.”<sup>45</sup> This further conveys reconciliatory sentiment following the Spanish-American War and that the South’s loyalty to the Union was proven by its participation in the war of 1898.

These inconsistencies of Civil War memory across regions of the United States convey not only the South’s commitment to the battle over Civil War memory

<sup>41</sup> *Crimson White*, February 16, 1898.

<sup>42</sup> *Crimson White*, May 5, 1898.

<sup>43</sup> *Crimson White*, May 21, 1898.

<sup>44</sup> *Crimson White*, June 1898.

<sup>45</sup> James Longstreet, “Loyal South of To-Day,” *The Independent ... Devoted to the Consideration of Politics, Social and Economic Tendencies, History, Literature, and the Arts (1848-1921)* (July 6, 1899), ProQuest.

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and meaning, but also general passivity among the demographic of students in the North concerning its Civil War veterans as demonstrated by the students of Yale and Harvard. The Grand Army of the Republic consistently pushed for their narrative of Civil War history, as did the United Confederate Veterans, but only the latter proved effective in pushing their narrative through to span across generations and regions in the early years following the Civil War. As the Union veterans in the North worked to ensure their memorialization and to combat the Lost Cause mythology, the university-aged students did little to assist them. In contrast, students at Southern universities readily and frequently assisted Confederate veterans and proponents of the Lost Cause in their goals. Beyond these differences in Civil War memorialization and rhetoric during the year of 1898, these sources provide a context for sentiment concerning the Spanish-American War, which serves as a significant moment as a marker of sectional reconciliation. These student-run newspapers provide numerous examples of concern over the war and students' intrigue concerning tense foreign relations. Each began to memorialize the veterans of the Spanish-American War prior to the war's end influenced by Lost Cause mythology. Ideas infused with the Lost Cause were perpetuated by the demographic who would hold the power to cultivate the harmful political and social status quo in the United States for the greater part of the twentieth century.

The Spanish-American War as a significant moment in sectional reconciliation following the American Civil War renders the year of 1898 as a valuable point of analysis. This is especially poignant in the North, whose students neglected the Union veterans' pleas to reject ideas of the Lost Cause. This comparison of Civil War memorialization and the merging of ideas among the younger generations in the North and South presents a foreshadowing of the ongoing process of sectional reconciliation that would continue for decades, especially in the areas of compromise by the North in light of Southern stubbornness. As mentioned at the beginning of the article, Harvard's students conveyed an understanding of the responsibility for memory concerning war veterans with their proclamation that "the fate of the dead hero is in the hands of those who survive him."<sup>46</sup> These students realized the importance of preserving the honor of fallen veterans, yet they did not actively apply their understanding to the memory of Union veterans from the Civil War. The power of the Lost Cause spread beyond the South and into the North, impacting the view and sympathies of Harvard and Yale's students. This is significant as it provides a greater context for the moment of sectional reconciliation and the generational gap among not only Spanish-American War and Civil War veterans, but also the younger civilians across the North and South who would lead the United States in the decades following through the Gilded Age and into the Progressive Era—whose legislative decisions would be influenced by the Lost Cause for years to come.

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<sup>46</sup> "Memorial Day Services," *The Harvard Crimson*.

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