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# Mississippi's Confederate Leaders After the War\*

by William B. Hesseltine and Larry Gara

Six years after the close of the War Against the States [Civil War], Jefferson Davis, Mississippi's most eminent ex-Confederate, sadly advised his friend Armistead Burt that "There is little left for us to do, but that little is of much worth: it is to preserve the traditions of our Fathers and to keep in honorable remembrance the deeds of our Brothers."<sup>1</sup>

Although both despair and pessimism crept into such advice, neither Davis nor his former Confederate associates were content with reminiscence. Economic necessity, revived ambitions, and even the desire to vindicate their past judgment combined after Appomattox to force the former leaders of the Confederate States of America into efforts to rehabilitate themselves. In the process they rebuilt the devastated South – and built into the New South much of the traditions of their fathers and the honored memories of their brothers' deeds.

Mississippi had furnished somewhat less than fair proportion of the top-ranking military and political leaders of the Confederacy. In the entire South, perhaps a thousand men occupied positions of

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<sup>1</sup> Davis to Burt, November 28, 1871. Jefferson Davis MSS, Duke University.

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leadership. Some held high executive posts in the Confederate and state governments. Some served in diplomatic missions, while others were congressmen, judges of courts, general officers in the army, or admirals in the Confederate Navy. Mississippi, with nearly 9% of the Confederacy's population, had but 7% of the leading civil and military officers.<sup>2</sup> Yet the chief executive of the Confederacy came from Mississippi, and the voice of the Magnolia State was never weak in Southern councils.

In the years that followed Appomattox, fifty erstwhile leaders of the Confederacy made significant contributions to Mississippi's economic and political life. Four of them had been major generals and twenty-two brigadier generals in the Confederate armies. One had been a commander in the Confederate navy. Eight had sat in the Confederate Provisional Congress and fourteen legislated in the Richmond Congress. One, Jehu A. Orr, represented his state in both capacities. Alexander M. Clayton was both a provisional congressman and a Confederate judge and Lucius Q. C. Lamar was minister to Russia and judge-advocate-general.

Many of Mississippi's prominent Confederates had demonstrated their capacities for leadership in the ante-bellum period. For the most part, they had had the advantages of an education in the better academies and colleges of their day. Eight had received a military education at West Point. Nineteen of them received the usual classical training offered in the colleges of the time while three terminated their work at the academy level. Some had studied law and other subjects without formal guidance while others, like Reuben Davis, prepared for professional careers under the tutelage of private instructors.

Experience had supplemented formal instruction in preparing Mississippi's Confederates for their war-time posts. Thirteen of them were planters, three had edited newspapers, and two had taught school in the years before the war. Besides three who were professional military men, there was one banker and one merchant. In a time when law was the usual stepping stone to a political career the majority—thirty-one—practiced at the Mississippi bar. Eighteen of those Mississippians who later achieved prominence in the Confederacy spent some of the prewar years in the state legislature, four served as chief executives of the state, and three donned the black robes of justice. Some had

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<sup>2</sup> James Wilford Garner, *Reconstruction in Mississippi* (New York, 1901), 20. Garner lists five major generals and twenty-nine brigadiers.

achieved recognition beyond the borders of Mississippi and were elected or appointed to positions in the national government. Ten represented the state in the lower house of the United State Congress and five in the Senate. Two meted out justice in Federal Courts, two prosecuted lawsuits for the Federal government and one acted as United States Indian Agent.

When the southern cause accepted the decision of force at Appomattox many of Mississippi's leaders still faced long years of active life and possible service. On that fateful day in 1865 the average age of those Mississippi Confederate leaders who survived the conflict was forty-five years. They were to live, on an average, nearly twenty-five years, and a few of them retained their vigor into the opening years of the twentieth century.

A few prominent Confederate leaders could not muster enough strength and energy to face life's vicissitudes in a conquered South. Mississippi's war governor, John J. Pettus, who had fought for the principle of States' Rights in war and peace, migrated to Arkansas at the close of the war and spent his two remaining years as a disillusioned recluse. Another Mississippi Confederate leader, John J. McRae, a pre-war governor who had served in the congress at Richmond, came to the end of the conflict broken in health and fortune. McRae, like some of his Confederate associates, preferred migration to submission. A planned future in Belize, British Honduras, was terminated when the fifty-three-year-old McRae died in 1868 shortly after arriving at his tropical escape.<sup>3</sup> However, only a handful of Mississippi's Confederates left their state after the war and most of them moved to other sections of the South where they again gained recognition as leaders.

While some who led their state during the trials of war were overburdened by the horrors of bloodshed and the prospects of life under the rule of their conquerors, a substantial number of Confederate leaders refused to accept personal defeat and lived to carve out important post-war careers in the new South. Not all prominent ex-Confederates fled to other lands, went into political seclusion, or died broken hearted in the months after Appomattox.

The part that Jefferson Davis played in the life of post-war Mississippi was, in a sense, symbolic of the roles assumed by many of the state's Confederate leaders. Denied opportunity to regain his political

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<sup>3</sup> Marcus J. Wright, *General Officers of the Confederate Army...* (New York, 1911), 169.

position, Davis gave his first attention after his release from prison to efforts to rehabilitate himself economically. For a time he served as president of the Carolina Life Insurance Company of Memphis. When inadequate finances brought bankruptcy to the firm, the Confederate chief executive tried to launch a steamship line between North and South America. Finally, despairing of success, he settled down to the life of a planter at Beauvoir, and gave his energies to preserving the traditions of the Old South and keeping alive the memories of Confederate deeds.

Lacking Davis's political handicaps, many of Mississippi's former Confederate leaders sought again, in the post-war era, to recapture their political fortunes. Of those who had led their state during the critical years of armed struggle three became governors of Mississippi after the war, five sat on the Mississippi courts, eight legislated in the halls at Jackson and seven were appointed to various positions in the state government. Mississippians also participated in the post-war work of the Federal government. Five who had helped their state serve the Confederate cause joined the "Rebel Brigadiers" in Congress, three representing Mississippi in the lower house, one in the Senate, and one, Lucius Q. C. Lamar, in both houses of Congress.

Lucius Q. C. Lamar, who had opposed secession in 1860, gave service to the Southern Cross in military and civilian capacity. Failing health forced his resignation from the Confederate army, but he was soon appointed minister to Russia and later, when that mission failed, he became judge-advocate-general of the Southern armies. A distinguished lawyer, educator and congressman before the war, Lamar resumed his activities with renewed vigor after the completion of the conflict. Immediately following the war, he again practiced law and taught metaphysics and law at the University of Mississippi. He also cared for his planting interests and practiced and preached diversified farming. In 1874 Lamar again traveled to Washington to represent his state in the House of Representatives. The same year the Mississippi congressman reconfirmed the faith of those who had effected removal of his political disabilities when he made a gesture towards national unity in his famed eulogy of Charles Sumner. In 1876 Mississippi voters promoted Lamar to a seat in the Senate where he served until 1885. Then President Cleveland acknowledged his political debt to southern Democrats by appointing Lamar Secretary of the Interior. While in the Senate Lamar maintained his interest as well as his faith in education and supported the Blair Bill which gave the Federal government power to set up and

aid common schools. Although Jefferson Davis contended the bill “can have but one end, if continued—the obliteration of State lines and the formation of one great and powerful State instead of many co-equal commonwealths,”<sup>4</sup> Lamar believed the bill to be “fraught with almost unspeakable benefit to the entire population of the South, white and black.” The act, Lamar proclaimed from the Senate floor, was the “first step and the most important step that the government has ever taken in the direction of the solution of what is called the ‘race problem’” which is but an end result of “ignorance, prejudice, and superstition.” After his congressional life and two years as Secretary of the Interior, Lamar was appointed [by President Cleveland] to the United States Supreme Court where he served for five years until his death in January 1893.<sup>5</sup>

Not all of Mississippi's Confederate leaders who followed post-war political careers achieved the recognition accorded Lucius Lamar, but many of them served with distinction in state and national offices. Just as they held varying opinions on debatable questions in the pre-war years, so Mississippi's ex-Confederates failed to agree on post-war policies. A few even advocated active political cooperation with their conquerors. Even though his Whig background led him to oppose secession prior to the outbreak of hostilities, James L. Alcorn served in the war as a brigadier general of state troops. At the end of the war Alcorn again changed political color and joined the Republican Party which sent him to the United States Senate in 1865. Although the Radical Republican Senate refused to seat him, he returned to Mississippi, sat in the radical constitutional convention of 1868, and became Republican governor one year later. From 1871 to 1877 Alcorn represented the carpet-bag government of Mississippi in the United States Senate and he was active in the state constitutional convention of 1890. As governor, Alcorn supported public education, with separation of the races, and in the Senate he opposed discriminatory economic laws and social legislation designed to force submission from the South. However, such concessions did not win sufficient good will within Mississippi to gain re-election and in 1877 Governor Alcorn retired from active political life to care for his economic interests as a planter and merchant.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> E. Polk Johnson, “Jefferson Davis at Home,” in *Southern Bivouac*, 2 (New Series): 143 (August 1886).

<sup>5</sup> W. A. Cate, *Lucius Q. C. Lamar* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1935), 398-399; *Congressional Record*, 48 Congress, 1 Session (1884), 2369-2370.

<sup>6</sup> *Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Mississippi* (2 vols., Chicago, 1891), 1:291-295; *A Biographical Congressional Directory* (Washington, D.C., 1903), 355.

Although the vast majority of Mississippi's Confederate leaders carried on in the southern tradition during the turbulent post-war decades some, like Governor Alcorn, yielded to political expediency and counseled submission to the principles of Thaddeus Stevens. Another advocate of submission was Albert Gallatin Brown, who had vigorously promoted southern nationalism during his term as governor in the 1840s and later as United States Senator. Brown felt the verdict of force was final and urged Southerners to "meet Congress on its own platform and shake hands." He urged full acceptance of Radical measures, including the 15<sup>th</sup> Amendment, but his compromise position brought no recognition from local carpet-baggers or Federal officials. Governor Brown never re-entered public life and died in obscurity fifteen years after the close of the war.<sup>7</sup>

The Republicanism of Henry Stuart Foote followed logically from his pre-war political ideas. In the decade preceding the armed conflict Foote ably promulgated the doctrine of Unionism and later as Confederate congressman opposed much of Jefferson Davis's program. After the war Foote practiced law in Washington and wrote vigorous anti-southern histories. The Hayes administration rewarded his apostasy by appointing him director of the mint in New Orleans.<sup>8</sup>

In contrast to the careers of Mississippi's scalawags was the post-war life of Brigadier General Benjamin Grubb Humphreys, who was elected governor in 1865. Humphreys, a consistent Democrat, won the title "Old Veto" because of his staunch opposition to any legislation which he believed unconstitutional. In 1868 the military commander of the Fourth Military District, General Irwin McDowell, removed the unreconstructed Humphreys from his office, but the obstinate governor, wishing to demonstrate the illegality of reconstruction methods, refused to leave his post until Federal troops forced him to march from the governor's mansion between files of special guards. After this "military pantomime," the ousted governor spent several years in Jackson and Vicksburg as an insurance agent before settling down to the life of a planter in Leflore County in 1877.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> *The Official and Statistical Register of the State of Mississippi* (Nashville, Tennessee, 1908), 140-142.

<sup>8</sup> *Official Register of Mississippi*, 145-147; *Congressional Directory*, 536-537.

<sup>9</sup> Dumas Malone, "Benjamin Grubb Humphreys," *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1932) 9:372-373; Garner, *Reconstruction in Mississippi*, 215-216; P. L. Rainwater, ed., "The Autobiography of Benjamin Grubb Humphreys," in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 21:231-255, (September 1934).

Robert Lowry, who fought with Johnson [sic] and Hood, was the third Mississippi brigadier general to become governor of the State. Like Governor Humphreys, Lowry was too thoroughly steeped in Confederate tradition to exchange political banners after the war. Immediately after returning from the war Lowry served a term in the Mississippi senate and during that time acted under commission from Governor Humphreys to visit Washington and request the release of the imprisoned Jefferson Davis, who was then suffering from poor health. In 1869 Lowry campaigned unsuccessfully as Democratic nominee for attorney general and after years of constant agitation against carpet-bag domination of the South, he became governor of Mississippi in 1881, a position which he held until 1890.

Besides helping to re-establish the political power of southern leaders, Governor Lowry aided the perpetuation of southern ideas. While practicing law at Jackson, Lowry spent many hours with W. H. McCardle writing *A History of Mississippi*. A staunch defender of the Lost Cause, Lowry regularly donned the grey uniform at meetings of the United Confederate Veterans, which elected him state commander in 1903. Governor Lowry continued his active interest in Confederate veterans' activities until his death in 1910.<sup>10</sup>

Other Mississippi Confederate leaders contributed to the state's post-war politics and for the most part these men worked within the tradition of the Confederacy. Brigadier General Samuel J. Gholson, who resigned a position as Federal judge to serve the Confederate cause, resumed active political life after the war. Gholson, who had lost his left arm in battle, worked steadfastly for the political redemption of his state. He acted as speaker of the Mississippi [House of Representatives] in 1865 and 1866 and later, when the carpet-bag government had left the state, returned to that post in 1878.<sup>11</sup>

Brigadier General Winfield Scott Featherston lived twenty-six years after the end of the war and devoted much of that time to Mississippi politics. In the legislature Featherston moved the impeachment of Governor Adelbert Ames and prepared the prosecution which would overthrow the carpet-bag regime. After Ames escaped prosecution by resigning, Featherston turned his attention to the work of the judiciary commission and supervised the revision of the legal code in 1880. In

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<sup>10</sup> Wright, *General Officers*, 124; *Official Register of Mississippi*, 159-160.

<sup>11</sup> *Congressional Directory*, 551; Dunbar Rowland, "Samuel Jameson Gholson," *Dictionary of American Biography*, 7:232-233.



1882 General Featherston became a state judge and in 1890 he sat on the judiciary committee of the constitutional convention. Preserving memories of the Southern fight also occupied some of Featherston's time as state commander of the United Confederate Veterans.<sup>12</sup>

Still another major general, Will T. Martin, a Kentucky born Whig and opponent of secession, followed an active political life after Lee's surrender. Martin allied himself with the Democratic Party, served in the state constitutional convention of 1865, and attended every Democratic national convention held between the years 1868 and 1880. From 1882 to 1894 General Martin sat in the state senate, and he attended the constitutional convention of 1890. He was one of the three members of the convention who refused to sign the completed constitution because it forbade payment of principal or interest on Mississippi's long-since repudiated Union Bank Bonds or Planters Bank Bonds. Martin also helped in the economic reconstruction of Mississippi and promoted the building of the Natchez, Jackson and Columbus Railroad. When the line was completed in 1884 he became president of the company. Martin's interest in the educational life of the state led him to accept appointments to the boards of trustees of the University of Mississippi and of Jefferson College. When General Martin was eighty-two years old, President Theodore Roosevelt appointed him postmaster of Natchez although he retired eighteen months later. He died in 1910 at the age of eighty-seven.<sup>13</sup>

A combination of political and other interests occupied the time and energy of some prominent Mississippi ex-Confederates. After the war Ethelbert Barksdale, who had served in both Confederate congresses, managed a plantation and editorially counseled southern submission to congressional reconstruction in the columns of the *Jackson Clarion*. Barksdale traveled to various national political conventions, was chairman of the Democratic state committee from 1877 to 1879, and represented his state in Congress from 1883 to 1887. Others who combined politics with plantation interest in the post-war times were Governor Alcorn, Governor Humphreys, Lucius Q. C. Lamar and Stephen Dill Lee.

Not all, of course, of Mississippi's prominent Confederate leaders aspired to political office in the years after the war. Some of Mississippi's

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<sup>12</sup> Charles S. Sydnor, "Winfield Scott Featherston," *Dictionary of American Biography*, 6:308.

<sup>13</sup> Wright, *General Officers*, 99; Clayton Rand, *Men of Spine in Mississippi* (Gulfport, Mississippi, 1940), 255.

leaders also made contributions to the work-a-day world of business. Thirteen preferred plantation life in the post-war period, five became railroad officials, three worked for life insurance companies, and two cared for private business interests. High places in the state's post-war professional activities also beckoned to those who had led during the days of the Confederacy. Twenty-five Mississippi Confederate leaders practiced law after the war's end, three taught school, one edited a newspaper and two exchanged their martial uniforms for ministerial garb.

Confederate Mississippians attained considerable post-war distinction in their professional pursuits. Josiah A. Patterson Campbell, a member of the Confederate provisional congress, practiced law before and after the war. He sat on Mississippi's courts until removed by military government in 1870 and filled the post of code commissioner the same year. In 1876 Judge Campbell returned to the bench as justice on the Mississippi Supreme Court. In 1878 Campbell became chief justice and held that position until 1894—with another year's service as code commissioner in 1880. Judge Campbell enjoyed speaking to appreciative Memorial Day audiences whom he told of the glories of the southern cause and the life and character of Jeff Davis.<sup>14</sup>

Another Mississippi Confederate, Jehu A. Orr, specialized in corporation law in the post-war South. Besides promoting railroad interests, acting as attorney for six large corporations and serving seven years on the bench, Orr sat on the board of trustees of the University of Mississippi. An ardent Presbyterian, Orr frequently lectured on *The Bible as a Textbook for Lawyers and Statesmen*.<sup>15</sup> John William Clark Watson, a senator in the Confederate congress, also combined Presbyterianism and law. Watson won fame by winning a United States Supreme Court reversal of a court decision which had declared Mississippi laws regulating railroads unconstitutional. The decision enabled the Mississippi Railroad Commission to continue its work of regulating rates.

Substantial contributions were made to the educational life of Mississippi by former Confederate leaders. Lucius Q. C. Lamar pioneered in teaching law by use of a thorough study and analysis of adjudicated cases—a method later developed by Christopher Langdell at Harvard. Brigadier General Francis Asbury Shoup followed careers in church

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<sup>14</sup> Franklin L. Riley, "Josiah A. Patterson Campbell," *Dictionary of American Biography*, 3:460-461.

<sup>15</sup> Dunbar Rowland, *Mississippi*, (3 vols., Atlanta, Georgia, 1907), 3:623-633.

and school after the war. With the end of the conflict Shroup traded his sword for a Bible and as an ordained ecclesiastic of the Episcopal Church he served in dual capacity of professor of mathematics at "Ole Miss" and rector of St. Paul's Church in Oxford. But when he approved a student's commencement address which violently denounced the Republican United States Congress the board of trustees forced him to resign from the University faculty. Thereafter he became chaplain at the University of the South, and taught at Sewanee from 1869 until 1875. After holding several pastorates he returned to Sewanee in 1883 as professor of mathematics, engineering, and physics.

Another ecclesiastical educator, Brigadier General Mark Perrin Lowrey, famed for his advice: "preach like Hell on Sunday and fight like the Devil all week," founded the Blue Mountain Female Institute in 1873. Besides acting as president of the college Lowrey taught history and moral science, revived numerous churches which had suffered during the war years, and presided for a decade over sessions of the Mississippi Baptist Convention. Lowrey also served on the board of trustees for the State University.<sup>16</sup>

Stephen Dill Lee, who served in the Confederate army with the rank of major general, divided his post-war years among political, educational, religious and cultural interests. In a varied career the energetic Confederate made tremendous contributions to the post-war life of Mississippi. For a short time after the war Lee worked for a life insurance firm. But his wife's ill health required his attention at home, and he became a planter. After a dozen years of plantation life Stephen Dill Lee entered politics and became a state senator. He was in the senate in 1878 when it created the Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College. General Lee was chosen as the college's first president and during 19 years of leadership President Lee trained the state's youth for agricultural and industrial work. His avowed aim was to provide "a thorough English education, with a practical knowledge of the sciences that underlie the Agricultural and Mechanical Arts." At the school students were compelled to work three hours a day for five days a week. This, reported General Lee, "makes labor honorable" and "inculcates and preserves industrial habits during that susceptible age, when the habits of boys are forming which will accompany them through life." Lee maintained that Mississippi's young people were ripe

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<sup>16</sup> Cecil Johnson, "Mark Perrin Lowrey," *Dictionary of American Biography*, 2:474-475.

for industrial education and it was his desire to train them “for the grand industrial future just ahead in Mississippi, and the Southern States.”<sup>17</sup> At the college Lee successfully resisted the introduction of the classics, philosophy or other subjects he believed distracting to his major educational objective. Instead he recommended setting up an electrical laboratory in the school, and preparing for the industrial development of the New South. President Lee also encouraged experiments with cottonseed byproducts, established at the college the first creamery in the Gulf States, and promoted diversified agriculture and drainage. Superior grasses were cultivated in the school’s farms and improved stock resulted from the college’s cattle breeding experiments.<sup>18</sup>

While still president of the A and M College, Lee went to the constitutional convention of 1890 as a delegate from Oktibbeha County. In the spring of 1899 Lee resigned his college position to accept an appointment to the Vicksburg [National] Park Commission.<sup>19</sup> In addition Lee was prominent in re-activating the Mississippi State Historical Society which made him president in 1898 and backed his efforts to form a Department of Archives and History for the state.<sup>20</sup> When the State Department of Archives and History was formed in 1902, Stephen Dill Lee [became] the first president of its board of trustees—an honor he held until his death in 1908. In his later years Lee also worked enthusiastically for the Baptist Church, both as Sunday School teacher and ardent promoter of religious revivals. General Lee proudly commanded the United Confederate Veterans, speaking with great fervor to numerous army reunions, state legislatures, colleges, historical societies and memorial gatherings. In his messages the aged warrior spoke of the glories of the Confederate Cause as well as the vision of the New South. His words were not designed to recreate sectional strife but he admonished his young audiences “to preserve and defend the record of your forefathers.” Such glorification, Lee said, “is not any way incompatible with true and loyal allegiance to our government as the

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<sup>17</sup> Stephen Dill Lee, “Report on Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College,” in *Biennial Reports of the Departments and Benevolent Institutions of the State of Mississippi* (Jackson, Mississippi, 1882-1883), 10-11.

<sup>18</sup> Rand, *Men of Spine in Mississippi*, 239-241.

<sup>19</sup> Donovan Yewell, “Stephen Dill Lee,” *Dictionary of American Biography*, 2:474-475.

<sup>20</sup> Dunbar Rowland, *The Mississippi Plan for the Preservation of State Archives*, (An address delivered, by invitation, before the General Assembly of Tennessee and the Tennessee Historical Society, January 10, 1905), 10-11.

issues of the great war are settled and accepted by all.”<sup>21</sup>

Although West Point trained, Lieutenant General A. P. Stewart, “Old Straight” to his soldiers, failed to contribute as much to education as Stephen Dill Lee, he did much to preserve Confederate memories. As a Tennessee Whig, Stewart had opposed secession, but the excesses of [Governor William] Brownlow’s reconstruction regime disgusted him and in 1870 he resigned a teaching post at Cumberland University to become secretary of the Mutual Life Insurance Company of St. Louis. Four years later he was appointed chancellor of the University of Mississippi. During Stewart’s administration women were first admitted to the school. In 1890 President Harrison made Stewart a Commissioner of Chickamauga National Park where the ex-Confederate general supervised road building and the erection of markers on the battlefield. Formerly a pious Presbyterian, the aged General Stewart became a follower of Pastor Tazewell Russell’s Jehovah Witnesses. Convinced that the biblical “great time of trouble” would soon come about the eighty-seven-year-old Stewart died in 1908, six years before the beginning of Pastor Russell’s predicted “Great Tribulation.”<sup>22</sup>

Besides teaching school, managing plantations, arguing fine points of law, and furthering the cause of religion, Mississippi’s former Confederate leaders put their ideas and findings into print. Confederate congressman Reuben Davis, who became noted as a criminal lawyer in the post-war years, published his autobiography in 1889. Major General Samuel Gibbs French also spent part of his old age writing reminiscences which he titled *Two Wars: an Autobiography of General Samuel G. French*. Stephen Dill Lee wrote many lengthy reports on the progress at A and M College, contributed accounts of battles to the publications of the State Historical Society and wrote “The South Since the War” for *Confederate Military History*. Brigadier General Shoup contributed to learning with his texts on the *Elements of Algebra* and *Mechanism and Personality*. One Mississippi Confederate congressman, Henry S. Foote, wrote books repudiating the cause to which he had given temporary adherence.

President Davis, who refused to request pardon from the government because he had not repented, became the living symbol of the Lost Cause, and his home, Beauvoir, was a gathering place for those who dreamed

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<sup>21</sup> William L. Lipscomb, *A History of Columbus, Mississippi* (Birmingham, Alabama, 1909), 148.

<sup>22</sup> M. Wingfield, “A Sketch of the Life and Campaigns of Lieutenant-General A. P. Stewart, C.S.A.,” *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, 3:99-130.

of a Southern destiny that might have been. After years of travel and unsuccessful attempts at regaining his lost fortune Jefferson Davis spent his later years writing, speaking, and reminiscing. Davis told his friend Jubal Early: "My motive in writing is the justification of the South in the act of secession and in the prosecution of the war; beyond this my hope was to add, whenever I could, another leaf to her crown of glory."<sup>23</sup>

Jefferson Davis spent four years preparing his monumental *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*. He also found time to write numerous articles, reviews and speeches in which he expounded the doctrine of States' Rights, the constitutionality of secession and the splendor of the Confederate Dream. Davis's post-war unpopularity in the South quickly disappeared with the suffering and humiliation forced upon him by vindictive politicians. In 1886 the aged Davis attended the unveiling of a war memorial in Montgomery, Alabama, where a crowd of 15,000 welcomed him. Despite a downpour of rain the faithful multitude listened to Jefferson Davis's address in which he reiterated "belief in the righteousness of our cause and the virtue of those who risked their lives to defend it."<sup>24</sup> Until his death in 1889 proud Jefferson Davis continued to justify the Confederacy.

The reconstructed Mississippi which took its place in the New South was partially the creation of those who had served in high positions during the Confederate regime. In the years following Appomattox these men of ability regained their positions of leadership in the political, religious, educational and cultural life of the state and made valuable contributions to their chosen fields of activity. Despite the decision of the sword and the power of the victors, those who fought and served under the Southern Cross remained to help rebuild the state and to direct its destiny.

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<sup>23</sup> Davis to Jubal A. Early, September 29, 1878. Davis MSS, Duke University.

<sup>24</sup> Robert M. McElroy, *Jefferson Davis* (2 vols., New York, 1937), 2:672.

