Introduction


8. See, for example, Harry Ashmore, An Epitaph for Dixie (New York, 1958); Woodward, “The Search for Southern Identity,” begins, “The time is coming, if indeed it has not already arrived, when the Southerner will begin to ask himself whether there is really any longer very much point in calling himself a Southerner.”


8. F. M. Barnard, *Herder's Social and Political Thought: From Enlightenment to Nationalism* (Oxford, 1965), pp. 59-66; Hartz, "South Carolina vs. the United States," observes that "if the pure metaphysical passion is to be found in American political thought at all, where would we place it if not in the men who have struggled so heroically with the categories of state and nation?"

9. Joel Chandler Harris, *Life of Henry W. Grady, Including His Writings and Speeches: A Memorial Volume* (New York, 1890), p. 129, quotes Grady thus: "I know that the ideal status is that every state should vote without regard for sectional lines ... I would to God that status could be reached!"


17. Walter Hines Page to Mims, 6 October 1911, Mims Papers; in this, little had changed since the ancien régime. Southern nationalists had constantly called for “Southern” books, only to be little heeded by the public; see John Ezell, “A Southern Education for Southerns,” *Journal of Southern History* 17 (August 1951): 303-27.


19. Virginius Dabney, *Liberalism in the South* (Chapel Hill, 1932), p. 416; William E. Dodd, *Statesmen of the Old South; or, From Radicalism to Conservative Revolt* (New York, 1911). In fact, Dodd had serious doubts about industrialization and the New South, though he approved of its educational initiatives. He took the agrarian content of Jeffersonianism as seriously as its civil libertarian side. It is some evidence of the strength of this schema of the Southern past that it could absorb perceptions like Dodd’s and Thomas Nelson Page’s without undue strain; on Dodd, see Robert Dallek, *Democrat and Diplomat: The Life of William E. Dodd* (New York, 1968), pp. 54-69.


26. Edwin Mims, “Introduction,” in *The South in the Building of the Nation*, VIII,


29. Cf. Allen Tate’s observation that Mims “was a Southern William Lyon Phelps”; Tate to the author, 26 May 1971.


31. Page to Mims, 8 January 1900, Mims Papers: “We have a writer of criticism in the South who is a clever man and I suppose a well read man, but who seems to me totally unfitted for a critic. He is either so afraid of the error of provinciality—which is indeed a great danger to us—or else is so in love with what he conceives to be the cold criticalness of the North that he never wrote a sympathetic line in his life, and his praise is as insolent as his censure. You may know that I am speaking of Trent—and I am speaking of him I believe correctly. I started to read his book on Simms with the friendliest of feeling for him, but I ended satisfied that he was as ignorant of the art of criticism as he was of the spirit of the South. Because your Father believed in slavery you don’t have to pillory him for a fool and a knave.”


33. Woodward, Origins of the New South, p. 156; the U.D.C. was founded in Atlanta in 1895.

34. I have found H. Stuart Hughes, Consciousness and Society: The Reorientation of European Social Thought 1890-1930 (New York, 1958), the most useful guide to this.


37. ITMS, pp. xxiii-xxiv.


39. For a contemporary reaction to the shift, see Stringfellow Barr to Virginius Dabney, 16 March 1936, Virginia Quarterly Review Papers, 2d ser., Alderman Library, University of Virginia, Charlottesville.

40. Grantham, Democratic South, p. 53; Tindall, Emergence of the New South, pp. 219-53.


42. Interview with Robert Penn Warren, Yale University, 10 September 1973; Warren suggested that one reason the essay lacked urgency was his feeling then that Southern history had “stopped,” it was something that had happened, but wasn’t happening anymore.

43. Donald Davidson to Allen Tate, 21 July 1930, Allen Tate Papers, Firestone Library, Princeton University, Princeton, N.J.; Davidson to Tate, 23 July 1930, Tate Papers; Davidson to Tate, “Saturday” [July 1930], Tate Papers.
44. Davidson to Will Alexander, 22 September 1929, Commission on Interracial Cooperation Papers, Trevor Arnett Library, Atlanta University, Atlanta.

45. Alexander to Davidson, 31 October 1929, Interracial Commission Papers.

46. Odum, Social and Mental Traits of the Negro (New York, 1910); Odum to Edwin L. Clarke, 21 March 1922, Odum/1/13; Odum to D. L. Chambers, 7 November 1930, Odum/12/241.


48. Interview with Mary Frances Schinhan, November 1976, Chapel Hill; Wayne D. Brazil, “Howard W. Odum: The Building Years, 1884-1930” (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1975), pp. 11-12, 18-26, 466-67; Brazil’s dissertation is much the best history of Odum’s early years.


50. Irving Babbitt, Rousseau and Romanticism (New York, 1919). As will become clear later in this analysis, I have been impressed by and relied upon two books for my understanding of the literary and intellectual heritage of Romanticism: M. H. Abrams, Natural Supernaturalism: Tradition and Revolution in Romantic Literature, and Frank Kermode, Romantic Image.


53. This discussion of personal and social backgrounds has been pieced together from the following sources: interviews with Harriet Chappell Owsley, Anne Wade Rittenbury, Robert Penn Warren, Andrew Lytle, E. Merton Coulter, and Theresa Sherrer Davidson; Radcliffe Squires, Allen Tate: A Literary Biography (New York, 1971); Tate, Memoirs and Opinions, pp. 3-23; T. D. Young and M. Thomas Inge, Donald Davidson (New York, 1971); Brazil, “Howard Odum”; and my own manuscript research.

54. Dallek, Democrat and Diplomat, p. 28.


56. Davidson to Tate, 5 February 1929, Tate Papers.

57. The free-lance and the teacher did not always understand each other’s difficulties. See Davidson to Wade, 7 July 1932, John Donald Wade Papers, University of Georgia, Athens: “Tate is bound to no routine as we are in our academic arrangements. If it pleases him to write something, whether for a newspaper or a quarterly, he has only to sit down and do it; but you and I have students to meet, classes to teach, papers to grade. If Tate wants to go to Europe or to Washington, to libraries or battlefields, for writing purposes, he has only to jump in his Ford and light out.” Cf. Tate to Davidson, 4 December 1942, Donald Davidson Papers, Joint University Library, Nashville, box 11, file 1 (hereinafter cited as Davidson/box no./file no.): “You have always had a steady job and security, and of late a considerable royalty income; and I have had temporary jobs and insecurity, and right now I face great difficulties.”

58. Ransom to Mims, 27 September 1926, Mims Papers; Davidson to Tate, 5 February 1929, Tate Papers; Fred C. Hobson, Jr., Serpent in Eden: H. L. Mencken and the South (Chapel Hill, 1974).


61. Tate to John Gould Fletcher, 3 December 1930, John Gould Fletcher Papers, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville.

62. *ITMS*, p. xx: “Nobody now proposes for the South, or for any other community in this country, an independent political destiny.”


65. A typical review of *I’ll Take My Stand* was that of Gerald Johnson, “The South Faces Itself,” *Virginia Quarterly Review* 6 (January 1931): 157: “That the Twelve should turn to agrarianism as a remedy would seem to indicate that their sole knowledge of the South has been gleaned from the pages of Joel Chandler Harris and Thomas Nelson Page.”


68. On these matters, see the following chapters on Tate, Owsley, and Davidson.


70. Interview with Rupert Vance, November 1973, Chapel Hill; Brazil, “Howard Odum,” pp. 2, 5; Interview with Lytle.


Part II: The Sociological Vision: Odum. 2: Sociology in the South

1. Edwin Embree to Odum, 22 April 1936, Odum/18/391.

2. Odum, *Rainbow Round My Shoulder: The Blue Trail of Black Ulysses* (Indianapolis, 1928); *Wings on My Feet: Black Ulysses at the Wars* (Indianapolis, 1929); *Cold Blue Moon: Black Ulysses Afar Off* (Indianapolis, 1931). In fairness, it must be said that many have liked his prose style, including Ulrich Phillips: “Preface,” *Life and Labor in the Old South* (Boston, 1929).


15. Odum, “Part of the Opening Address of the first official meeting of ‘The Educational Association of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South,’ Memphis, Tennessee, March 4-6, 1919;” Odum/1/1.


17. Odum to Bruce Payne, 10 September 1912, Odum/1/unmarked (first) folder; Odum to A. B. Hart, 20 March 1920, Odum/1/2.


22. Ibid., 1 (January 1923): 181, 182.

23. Ibid., 1 (November 1922): 56; Odum, “G. Stanley Hall,” p. 145 (It may be significant that this observation on the South is abruptly interpolated).


31. Odum to Chase, 3 May 1920, Odum/1/2; Wilson, University of North Carolina, 1900-1930, p. 448.

32. Odum to Joseph H. Willits, 30 March 1954, Odum/30/621; Beardsley Ruml to Odum, 10 December 1929, Odum/9/198; Interview with Rupert Vance.

33. One must note that the foundation executive was a wily bird, constantly bombarded by men like Odum, and one occasionally finds annotations on Odum’s various letters to New York that indicate skepticism; thus Odum to Sydnor Walker, 27 March 1925, Rockefeller Foundation Papers, 3d ser., box 109, folder 1106, contains the pencilled observation, presumably by Walker, “Very toadmg!!”; thus, much later, a report of a visit to Chapel Hill by a member of the General Education Board, 11 April 1952, General Education Board Papers, Rockefeller Foundations Archives, Pocantico Hills, Tarrytown, N.Y., 1st ser., 3d subser., box 459, folder 950, has this: “he never misses a chance when he has a foundation representative in tow.”

34. Cameron Morrison to Odum, 7 June 1921, Odum/1/9; O. Max Gardner to Odum, 3 March 1930, Odum/10/209.


37. Odum to Jesse F. Steiner, 12 April 1927, Odum/6/132; Odum to Steiner, 21 April 1927, Odum/6/133.


39. Odum to Steiner, 16 May 1927, Odum/7/136.

40. Odum to Steiner, 23 May 1927, Odum/7/136.

41. Gerald Johnson to Odum, 25 November 1922, Odum/1/20; Odum to Johnson, 28 November 1922, Odum/1/20; Odum to George W. Ochs Oakes, 11 June 1926, Odum/5/101.
42. There is a map of his travels in Odum to Edmund Day, 5 November 1929, Rockefeller Foundation Papers, ser. 236, box 9, folder 113.
43. Odum to Gerald Johnson, 8 June 1929, Odum/9/184; Odum to William T. Couch, 1 July 1929, University of North Carolina Press Papers, Southern Historical Collection, file marked “Hibbard-Southern Series.”
44. Will Alexander to Odum, 8 July 1929, Odum/9/185; Odum to Alexander, 10 July 1929, Odum/9/185; Alexander to Odum, 1 August 1929, Odum/9/187.
45. William F. Ogburn to Odum, 19 April 1929, Odum/9/183 (this includes a memo by Odum on regional plans); Odum to Ogburn, 9 September 1929, Odum/9/189.
46. French Strother to Odum, 10 April 1929, Odum/9/183; on Hoover and Strother, see Harris G. Warren, *Herbert Hoover and the Great Depression* (New York, 1959), p. 57; Odum to R. H. Thornton, 17 August 1929, Odum/9/188; Strother to Odum, 22 August 1929, Odum/9/188; Strother to Odum, 5 September 1929, Odum/9/189; Odum to Ogburn, 9 September 1929, Odum/9/189; Odum to Strother, 21 September 1929, Odum/9/190.
48. Odum had a signed photograph of Hoover in his study; Odum to Strother, 30 September 1929, Odum/9/191; Odum to Gerald Johnson, 9 November 1929, Odum/9/195; interview with Mary Frances Schinhani; Benjamin Kendrick to Odum, 9 November 1932, Odum/14/297. Subsequently, Odum was to exchange Christmas gifts with Hoover and visit the ex-president in California.
49. The correspondence between the Rockefeller Foundation, President Frank Graham, and Odum can be followed in the Rockefeller Foundation Papers, ser. 236, box 10, folder 118.
50. Odum to Gerald Johnson, 18 July 1931, Odum/12/256.
51. Alexander to Odum, 5 August 1931, Odum/12/257; Jackson Davis to Odum, 3 December 1931, Odum/13/263; Odum to Edmund Day, 19 December 1931, Odum/13/263.
52. Odum to Frank Graham, 23 December 1931, Odum/13/263.

3: Odum: Southern Sociology

2. Wayne D. Brazil, “Howard W. Odum: The Building Years, 1884-1930” (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1975), pp. 567-68; Mencken to Odum, 3 June 1928, Odum/8/177; Odum to D. L. Chambers, 29 May 1928, Odum/8/176; D. L. Chambers to Odum, 26 October 1931, Odum/13/261, gives the following sales figures: for *Rainbow Round My Shoulder*, 9317 copies, for *Wings on My Feet*, 3152 copies, for *Cold Blue Moon*, 1745 copies.
7. Odum to Benjamin Kendrick, 13 March 1930, Odum/10/210; Odum, "Dependable Theory and Social Change," Social Forces 2 (January 1924): 286; Odum, American Epoch, p. 112; Kendrick had dissented from Odum's adverse assessment of Tom Watson, and Odum reiterated with the observation, "I cannot quite see your viewpoint on Tom Watson... I studied Watson for a long time and went from an admirer to a critic. I read faithfully year in and year out his Jeffersonian, and I am convinced that Tom Watson and Bishop Candler more than any other two sources have kept Georgia in the 'anti,' 'agin' mood": Odum to Kendrick, 13 March 1930, Odum/10/210.


9. Odum to Mencken, 3 November 1930, Odum/12/240; Odum to Sydnor Walker, 24 October 1930, Odum/12/238.


12. Kendrick's critique can be found in Odum/10/208; Odum to William F. Ogburn, 9 September 1929, Odum/9/189, said of Kendrick: "He is good and always has ideas and also is a good back field man to help us play safe."


18. Odum to John Wade, 15 February 1934, Odum/16/341; Wade to Davidson, 6 March 1934, Davidson/11/27; Davidson to Wade, 3 March 1934, Odum/16/342; George F. Milton to Odum, 7 February 1934, Odum/16/340; Milton to Odum, 6 February 1934, Odum/16/340; the Odum files also contain letters to and from Frank Graham, Lambert Davis, Will Alexander, Stringfellow Barr, Louis R. Wilson, and Jackson Davis on this subject.

19. Odum to Sydnor Walker, 7 February 1934, Odum/16/340; Odum to Will Alexander, 8 February 1934, Odum/16/340; Odum to Walker, 19 February 1934, Odum/16/341.

20. Kendrick to Odum, 16 February 1934, Odum/16/341; Davidson to Wade, 3 March 1934, Odum/16/342.


22. Odum to Edmund Day, 30 January 1934, Odum/16/339; Odum to Robert T. Crane, 31 January 1934, Odum/16/339; Odum to Jackson Davis, 31 January 1934, Odum/16/339; Odum to Harry Chase, 7 February 1934, Odum/16/340; Kendrick to Odum, 11 May 1934, Odum/16/348: all Kendrick could secure was $500.


28. Gerald Johnson to Odum, 10 May 1938, Odum/20/438; Odum to Gerald Johnson, 12 May 1938, Odum/20/439; interview with Rupert Vance; Odum, *Southern Regions*, p. 9.
31. Odum to G.W. Forster, 21 April 1936, Odum/18/391; Odum, *Southern Regions*, p. 27.
32. Odum, *Southern Regions*, pp. 11-12, 624-25; Odum to Kendrick, 15 July 1932, Odum/14/287; Odum to Kendrick, 3 January 1933, Odum/14/302.
33. Odum, *Southern Regions*, pp. 57-59, 587, 209; one might note that, in his dealings with Harry Hopkins when Odum was chairman of the North Carolina Civil Works Administration, he had urged upon Washington a concentration of relief upon the middle class; see Odum to Hopkins (telegram), 17 September 1933, Odum/15/327.
36. Odum was annoyed when Myrdal, backed by the Carnegie Foundation, began his study because it thus spoiled his own plan for a similar Chapel Hill/Rockefeller Foundation project. Rather reluctantly, he allowed Johnson to help Myrdal. When Myrdal gave a none too enthusiastic account of the Interracial Commission, of which Odum was president, Odum was bitterly critical; see Odum to Edwin Embree, 3 May 1939, Odum/21/460; Odum to Frank Graham, 4 May 1939, Odum/21/460; Odum to Myrdal (telegram), 7 August 1942, plus an annotated criticism of a Myrdal manuscript, Odum/24/unmerged folder.
37. Only Rupert Vance may be said to have paid an informed attention to both politics and history, and was later commissioned by the Louisiana State University Press to write a volume on the contemporary South for the “History of the South” series: later, the task was assumed by George Tindall. In the 1930s, Vance planned a study of Southern political demagogues: interview with Rupert Vance.
45. Odum, “Memorandum for President Chase” [February? 1926], Odum/5/89.
46. Odum, “Folk and Regional Conflict,” pp. 9, 10.
49. *Ibid*.
50. These letters can be found in boxes 18 and 19 of the Odum Papers, but see especially Louis Brandeis to Odum, 12 May 1936, Odum/18/392; Stephen Early to Odum, 23 May 1936, Odum/18/392; M. A. LeHand to George Foster Peabody, 1 July 1936, Odum/18/395.
NOTES TO PAGES 70-76


4: Odum: The Failure of Regionalism

3. Ibid., p. 207.
4. Odum to Sydnor Walker, 25 February 1935, Odum/17/367. A further consideration was the usual reluctance of a foundation to be the permanent bankroll of an institution.
5. Odum to L. R. Wilson, 12 November 1932, Odum/14/297; Odum to Clarence Heer, 22 May 1933, Odum/15/318; Odum to Edmund Day, 22 May 1933, Odum/15/318.
7. Program, “Institute on Regional Development,” 17 June 1936, Odum/18/394; Odum to Frank Graham, 27 April 1936, Odum/18/391.
8. Odum to Will Alexander, 2 October 1937, Odum/19/418; Alexander to Odum, 7 October 1937, Odum/19/418.
9. Odum to Jackson Davis, 1 November 1937, Odum/19/420.
10. Margaret Simon to Odum, 22 November 1937, Odum/19/421; Jackson Davis to Odum, 13 December 1937, Odum/19/423; “Preliminary Statement and Tentative Agenda” [Atlanta, 15 January 1938], Odum/20/426.
12. “Preliminary Statement and Tentative Agenda,” Odum/20/426; Odum to Will Alexander, 17 January 1938, Odum/20/426; the letters of acceptance are to be found in General Education Board Papers, 1st ser., 3d subser., box 412, folder 950.
13. Will Alexander to Odum, 3 June 1938, Odum/20/441.
16. Tindall, Emergence of the New South, pp. 598-99; Mark Ethridge to Odum, 1 November 1938, Odum/21/447, observed, “If Southern leadership did not produce some program before about February 1st [1939], the New Dealers will put a Southern program into Congress. Both Barry [Bingham, editor of the Louisville Courier-Journal] and I are fearful of the reaction to that.”
17. Odum to Arthur Mann, 20 August 1938, Odum/20/444; Odum to Emily Clay, 15 August 1938, Odum/20/444.
19. H. C. Nixon to Odum, 5 October 1938, Odum/21/446; Odum to Wilson Gee, 6 October 1938, Odum/21/446; Odum to Nixon, 8 October 1938, Odum/21/446; Wilson Gee to Odum, 11 October 1938, Odum/21/446; “Notes on the Proceedings of the Southeastern Regional Advisory Committee,” p. 18, Odum/20/431.

20. Odum to Will Alexander, 24 October 1938, Odum/21/446; Alexander to Odum, 25 October 1938, Odum/21/446; Odum to Mark Ethridge, 14 November 1938, Odum/21/447.


22. Alexander to Odum, 4 March 1939, Odum/21/457.

23. Interviews with Will Alexander (3 March 1939, Washington), A. W. Dent (Superintendent of the Flint-Goodridge Hospital, Dillard University, 21 March 1939), Dr. T. Lynn Smith (22 March 1939, Louisiana State University), Alexander Fitzhugh (24 March 1939, Vicksburg), Brooks Hays (25 March 1939, Little Rock), Dr. T. S. Staples (25 March 1939, Hendrix College, Conway, Ark.), Wilson Gee, Dean Thomas Cooper of the University of Kentucky, Dr. W. I. Myers of Cornell University (25-26 March 1939, Washington), Paul Magnus Gross (13 April 1939, Duke University), President John L. Newcomb (17 April 1939, University of Virginia), Dr. Lynn Smith (27 April 1939, Louisiana State University), Dr. H. A. Dawson (Division of Rural Education of the N.E.A.), Dr. Nolen M. Irby (University of Georgia), Ed McCuiston (state agent for Negro schools in Arkansas), H. L. Caswell and F. B. O’Rear (Teachers College, Columbia University), President L. N. Duncan (Alabama Polytechnic Institute), H. C. Nixon (27 April 1939, New Orleans), Edgar B. Stern (27 April 1939, New Orleans), Dean S. Campbell (George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville), Dean Calvin Hoover (Duke University); all these in General Education Board Papers, 1st ser., 3d subser., box 412, folder 950.


26. Odum to Alexander, 9 May 1939, Odum/21/462; Tindall, *Emergence of the New South*, p. 719; Odum to Arthur Mann, 31 May 1939, Odum/21/462.

27. Odum to Alexander, 21 September 1939, Odum/22/467; Gerald Johnson to Odum, 15 March 1939, Odum/21/458; Odum to Gerald Johnson, 21 March 1939, *ibid.*


36. Odum to Moore, 27 December 1937, Odum/19/unmerged folder: “Now as for your grand revision on gestalt, I am very appreciative. I have not changed a word in it ... It strengthens the chapter immensely. My only mild objection, if any at all, to the gestalt
would be that it might seem an imitation of the psychologist. As a matter of fact, you have eliminated all of this hazard and have made a real contribution"; Moore to Odum, "Thursday" [December 1937?], Odum/20/425: "I really think we have something worthwhile in the idea. And it as much yours as mine"; Moore to Odum, "Friday afternoon." Odum/20/425: "About the gestalt idea. I am pretty well convinced that it will be used more and more in the future and would like to get in on the ground floor of the movement."

37. Odum and Moore, American Regionalism. p. 414; cf. Moore to Odum, "Friday afternoon." Odum/20/425: "I have also re-inserted a couple of pages dealing with the ideas of cultural determinism and gestalt. It seems to me that the whole work leads up to these two ideas and that it would be a pity not to label them so that no one would be in doubt as to how we stand."


39. Odum, "A Sociological Approach to the Study and Practice of American Regionalism: A Factorial Syllabus," Social Forces 20 (May 1942): 425-36; Odum to Ellsworth Faris, 27 July 1942, Odum/24/522. To save disruption of the narrative, the correspondents with Odum are listed and identified here; unless otherwise stated, they are members of a department of sociology: Ellsworth Faris, University of Chicago; George T. Renner, Teachers' College, Columbia University; Read Bain, managing editor, American Sociological Review; Otis D. Duncan, Oklahoma A&M College; Maurice Davie, Yale University; C. Arnold Anderson, Iowa State College; Floyd N. House, University of Virginia; Logan Wilson, Tulane University; John F. Cuber, Kent State University; Robert Faris, Bryn Mawr College; Frederick E. Lumley, Ohio State University; Lawrence K. Frank, vice-president, Josiah Macy, Jr., Foundation (formerly of the Rockefeller Foundation); Edgar A. Schuler, Louisiana State University; Robert E. Park, University of Chicago; Edwin H. Sutherland, University of Washington; Pitirim Sorokin, Harvard University; Raymond F. Bellamy, Florida State College for Women; H. C. Brearley, George Peabody College for Teachers; W. Russell Tylor, University of Illinois; F. Stuart Chapin, University of Minnesota; Wayland Hayes, Vanderbilt University; George A. Lundberg, National Resources Planning Board, Washington; Irwin T. Sanders, University of Kentucky; Thomas D. Eliot, Northwestern University; Raymond Bowers, University of Rochester; Cecil C. North, Ohio State University.

40. Renner to Odum, 13 March 1942, Odum/24/515; Bain to Odum, 15 June 1942, Odum/24/518; Duncan to Odum, 29 June 1942, Odum/24/520.

41. Renner to Odum, 13 March 1942, Odum/24/515; Bain to Odum, 15 June 1942, Odum/24/518.

42. Davie to Odum, 24 June 1942, Odum/24/519; Anderson to Odum, 3 August 1942, Odum/24/523; House to Odum, 17 June 1942, Odum/24/518; Wilson to Odum, 21 June 1942, Odum/24/518.

43. Cuber to Odum, 26 June 1942, Odum/24/518; Svend Reimer, "Theoretical Aspects of Regionalism," Social Forces 21 (March 1943): 279 (cf. Harry Moore to Odum, 17 November 1937, Odum/19/420: "To make the argument stand up that regionalism is an outgrowth of actual experiences in dealing with social data in various disciplines, the definition should follow rather than precede the discussion of these disciplines. If the order is reversed and the concepts are defined to begin with, the discussion of their uses in other disciplines become a demonstration of what we have decided a priori. . . . Of course, it is partly true that . . . the idea preceded the evidence"); Duncan to Odum, 29 June 1942, Odum/24/520.


45. R. Faris to Odum, 23 June 1942, Odum/24/519; Lumley to Odum, 27 June 1942, Odum/24/520.
46. Frank to Odum, 23 July 1942, Odum/24/522; Schuler to Odum, 3 August 1942, Odum/24/523.
47. Lumley to Odum, 27 June 1942, Odum/24/520; Park to Odum, 21 August 1942, Odum/24/524.
48. Davie to Odum, 24 June 1942, Odum/24/519; Sutherland to Odum, 27 June 1942, Odum/24/520; Schuler to Odum, 3 August 1942, Odum/24/523.
49. Duncan to Odum, 29 June 1942, Odum/24/520; Sutherland to Odum, 27 June 1942, Odum/24/520; E. Faris to Odum, 21 July 1942, Odum/24/522.
51. R. Faris to Odum, 23 June 1942, Odum/24/519; Duncan to Odum, 29 June 1942, Odum/24/520; Sorokin to Odum, 1 July 1942, Odum/24/521.
52. Brearley to Odum, 24 June 1942, Odum/24/519; Cuber to Odum, 26 June 1942, Odum/24/520; Frank to Odum, 23 July 1942, Odum/24/522.
54. Bellamy to Odum, 2 July 1942, Odum/24/521; Bellamy to Odum, 12 August 1942, Odum/24/523.
55. John B. Lansing to Odum, 6 July 1942, Odum/24/521.
56. Brearley to Odum, 24 June 1942, Odum/24/519; Bellamy to Odum, 2 July 1942, Odum/24/521; Anderson to Odum, 3 August 1942, Odum/24/523.

**John Wade, 5: A Turning Inward**

3. Interview with E. Merton Coulter, Athens, Ga., 27 November 1973; on Ida Wade and the Florida land boom, see Wade to Ida Wade, 24 January 1926, Wade Papers, in which he attempted to press her into liquidating her holdings; see also D. E. Frederick to Ida Wade, 7 September 1927, Wade Papers, in which Frederick observed, “You can be perfectly happy without a million dollars.”
11. Ibid., pp. 29, 20, 195-96, 19-20; cf. Percy, Lanterns on the Levee, 263-69, for a similar, and equally misplaced, confidence in the ability of the patrician Southerner to control the Negro.


16. Quoted in Lester Hargrett to Wade, 31 December [1924], Wade Papers; Wade, Longstreet, pp. 244, 272.

17. Wade, Longstreet, p. 32. A list of books on the back flyleaf of his First World War Diary, probably dating from late 1918 or early 1919, has The Education of Henry Adams as its first item. The list also includes Lytton Strachey’s Eminent Victorians, Julia Harris’s Life and Letters of Joel Chandler Harris, Mencken’s The American Language, Ulrich Phillips's American Negro Slavery and Life of Robert Toombs, and Maeterlinck’s The Burgomaster of Stilemonde. Some have their prices marked, so it might have been a shopping list. The works by Adams, Harris, Mencken, and Strachey have been checked.


19. Interview with E. Merton Coulter.

20. Odum to Wade, 31 March 1924, Odum/2/33; Odum to Wade, 30 April 1924, Odum/2/35.

21. Wade to Odum, 21 July 1924, Odum/2/40; Wade to Odum, 10 October 1924, Odum/3/45. The use of the word “anti-Klucker” is intriguing, and suggests that the Ku Klux Klan may have been an issue. Marshallville was in Macon County, where there had been a rash of Klan floggings in 1923, and Andrew Erwin, editor of the Athens Banner-Herald was active in anti-Klan campaigns. Wade had friends on the staff of Julian Harris’s Columbus Enquirer-Sun, which was also opposed to the Klan. It would be surprising if a man of genteel upbringing like Wade did not dislike the Klan. However, it would be unwise to put too much weight upon a single ambiguous phrase, as no other evidence directly supports the inference. In this context, “anti-Klucker” may mean no more than “anti-cabal.” On the Klan in Georgia, see David Chalmers, Hooded Americanism: The History of the Ku Klux Klan (New York, 1965), pp. 70-77.

22. There is a folder of clippings on the events of 1927 in the Wade Papers; on the Iconoclast, see Henry Fuller to William Couch, 14 December 1927, William T. Couch Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, box 1, folder marked “1927b”, (hereinafter cited as Couch/box no./folder no.); Wade to Odum, 5 June 1927, Odum/7/138.

23. Wade to Odum, 5 June 1927, Odum/7/138.


26. On the coupling of Wade’s name with Strachey, see Tate to Bernard Bandler, 23 October 1932, Hound and Horn Papers, Beinecke Library, Yale University, Allen Tate File; Davidson to Wade, 7 July 1932, Wade Papers; and Tate, “Beautiful Prose,” New Republic 65 (10 December 1930): 113.


29. Three doctoral theses on Southern literary figures were done under Wade’s supervision and subsequently published; see Edd Winfield Parks, Charles Egbert Craddock (Mary Noailles Murfree) (Chapel Hill, 1941); Linda Rhea, Hugh Swinton Legare: A Charleston Intellectual (Chapel Hill, 1934); Richmond C. Beatty, William Byrd of Westover (New York, 1932).

30. Odum to Edmund Day, 4 April 1931, Rockefeller Foundation Papers, ser. 236, box 10, folder 118.

31. The friend was Roosevelt Walker; interview with E. Merton Coulter; Wade, John Wesley (New York, 1930), pp. xiii-xiv, viii.

32. Interview with E. Merton Coulter; Warren to Tate [November 1932], Tate Papers; Lytle to Tate, 23 October 1932, Tate Papers.

33. Lyle Lanier to Tate, 21 July [1930], Tate Papers (it seems that Wade suggested the title, I’ll Take My Stand, which may give irony to an intention hitherto opaque); Wade to Barr, 31 October 1930, Virginia Quarterly Review Papers, 1st ser.

34. Gerald J. Smith, “Augustus Baldwin Longstreet and John Wade’s ‘Cousin Lucius,’” Georgia Historical Quarterly 61 (Summer 1972): 276-81; Tate to Fletcher, 4 November 1930, Fletcher Papers; Tate to Fletcher, 3 December 1930, Fletcher Papers.


37. Clipping, Macon Telegraph, May 1931, Wade Papers; “All of his days, he [Longstreet] was never able to go gentle into anything, and least of all did he go gentle into the War of the Sixties, during all of which he raged against what he felt sure was the slow dying of all proper Light,” in Wade, “Georgia Scenes,” Georgia Review 14 (Winter 1960): 444-47, reprinted in Wade, Essays, p. 168; clipping, Macon Telegraph, May 1931, Wade Papers.


40. Ibid., pp. 157-58.


43. Wade, Essays, pp. 159, 82.

44. Ibid., p. 48.


47. Wade to Odum, 8 March 1934, Odum/16/343. It is interesting to speculate whether Wade included Nashville among the “better-type communities,” and the Agrarians amongst its victims.

48. Wade to Davidson, 8 November 1932, Davidson/11/25; interview with E. Merton Coulter; Wade to Davidson, 5 October 1938, Davidson/11/30.

49. Wade, The Marshallville Methodist Church, Wade Papers; Wade, “Culture,” in John Cassius Meadows, Contemporary Georgia (Athens, Ga., 1942), pp. 1-43; the MS of
the novel is in Marshallville: it was submitted to various publishers, unsuccessfully, in the 1950s.


51. Wade to Davidson, 8 August 1954, Davidson/11/37.

Part III: The Reaction to Modernism: The Southern Agrarians. 6: John Ransom: The Cycle of Commitment

1. On the Fugitive group, the best history is Louise Cowan, The Fugitive Group: A Literary History (Baton Rouge, 1959).

2. Ransom to Davidson, 23 June 1930, Davidson/8/34; ITMS, p. 3.


4. Ibid.

5. When Ransom returned to England in 1931, he delayed his visit to Oxford until the following summer. As he explained to Cleanth Brooks, another Rhodes Scholar, "I've been waiting to see Oxford at its best, as I don't want to spoil some fixed impressions." See Ransom to Brooks, 25 May 1932, Cleanth Brooks Papers, Beinecke Library, Yale University.

6. Ransom to mother, 8 May 1912, Ransom Family Papers, Tennessee State Archives, Nashville, box 7, folder 9; Ransom to mother, 4 November 1911, Ransom/7/8; Ransom to mother, 12 August 1912, Ransom/7/9.

7. Ransom to mother, 14 November 1911, Ransom/7/8; Ransom to father, 29 October 1911, Ransom/7/8.

8. Ransom, "Conservatism, by Lord Hugh Cecil," longhand MS, Ransom/18/6 (the Home University Library had offered a prize for the best essay on Cecil's book, and this was Ransom's unsuccessful effort, in draft); Ransom to mother, 26 December 1911, Ransom/7/8; Ransom to father, 2 February 1913, Ransom/8/1.

9. Ransom to mother, 26 February 1913, Ransom/8/1; Ransom to father, 3 November 1913, Ransom/8/2.


11. Ransom to Mims, 1 December 1917, Mims Papers; Ransom to (Mims?), 5 March 1918, reprinted in Vanderbilt Alumnus 3 (April 1918): 178; Ransom to mother, 24 July 1912, Ransom/7/9 (this kind of admiration for Germany was fairly common among progressives: cf. Carl Resek, ed., The Progressives (Indianapolis, 1967), pp. xxii-xxxiii); Ransom to Annie Ransom, 11 September [1912], Ransom/7/8.

12. Ransom to father, 30 May 1917, Ransom/8/4. It is worth observing that in neither Ransom's nor Davidson's letters from their training camps is the Spanish-American War mentioned as the first occasion that Southerners and Northerners had united in a common military venture after the war. They seemed to be starting from scratch. Cf. Paul H. Buck, The Road to Reunion, 1865-1900 (Boston, 1937), p. 306.

13. Davidson, Southern Writers in the Modern World (Athens, Ga., 1958), p. 14; one of the few extant pieces of evidence about Ransom's view of public affairs in these years is in a letter to Mims from shortly before the presidential election of 1924: "The poor old Democratic party at this writing seems bent on extinguishing itself. I've had a half-hearted attachment for McAdoo as a Liberal. But now I could hardly vote for him if nominated—an utterly self-seeking man as I see him. I've grown suspicious of John W. Davis too, judging from the character of his support. Underwood has falsified, since he announced he could not by conviction consent to be a candidate unless the Klan were mentioned by name. Ralston [Senator from Indiana] I see nothing for except that he seems to have a sense
of decent modesty rather than a passionate ambition to be the nominee. [Newton D.] Baker and Walsh (Montana) are I think my favorites at this moment—either of them would be a case of the office seeking the man, and either is able and honest. I rather prefer Baker. But I think Coolidge will be the next President now without a doubt": Ransom to Mims, 6 July [1924], Mims Papers.


16. Tate, "The Eighteenth Century South," *Nation* 124 (30 March 1927): 346; Ransom to Tate, 20 February 1927, Tate Papers.

17. Ransom to Tate, 3 (and 13) April 1927, Tate Papers.


19. Ransom to Tate, "Tuesday" [1927] 1, Tate Papers.

20. Ransom to Tate, 25 June [1927], Tate Papers; Ransom to Tate, 13 September [1927], Tate Papers.


23. Cf. Tate's remark on Ransom's history, in Tate, "Remarks on the Southern Religion," *ITMS*, p. 167: "A distinguished contributor to this symposium argues that the Southern population were originally much less rebellious against European stability than were the Northern. It is doubtful if history will support this, though I should personally like to do so, for it is the myth-making tendency of the mind in one of its most valuable forms."

24. Tate to Fletcher, 5 March 1929, Fletcher Papers.

25. Ransom to Tate, 5 September 1926, Tate Papers.

26. See, for example, Ransom, "Flux and Blur in Contemporary Art," *Sewanee Review* 37 (June 1929): 353-66, a review of Wyndham Lewis, *Time and Western Man*, which reads like a prospectus for Eliot's *Four Quartets*: cf. Tate's suggestion that "John's thought and Eliot's run along the same line; in fact, if John's book *God Without Thunder* is what I think it is, it leads right up to religion, whither Eliot has been bound all the time. Ransom and Eliot are more alike than any other two people alive; I have always suspected this, now I am convinced": Tate to Davidson, 18 February 1929, Davidson/10/55.

27. Ransom to Tate, 5 January 1930 (this letter is, in fact, dated 1929, but this is a New Year mistake), Tate Papers; Alice Stockell to George Fort Milton, 27 November 1930, George Fort Milton Papers, Library of Congress.

28. Ransom to Tate, 5 January 1930, Tate Papers; Ransom and Davidson to Tate, Warren, and Lytle, 5 September 1930, Tate Papers.

29. Ransom to Tate, 5 January 1930, Tate Papers; MS entitled "Articles of an Agrarian Reform," Davidson/18/22.

30. Ransom, "Humanists and Schoolmasters," p. 3 (MS enclosed in Ransom to Tate, 25 January 1930, Tate Papers).


32. Interview with Andrew Lytle.

33. Ransom to Davidson. 13 December [1931], Davidson/8/36.

34. Ransom to Tate, 25 October 1932, Tate Papers; Ransom also wrote an article, based upon a diary he had kept in England, that was apparently un unreadly dull and rejected by the *Hound and Horn*: see Ransom to Tate, 23 November 1931, Tate Papers; Tate to Davidson, 1 May 1932, Davidson/10/50; Bernard Bandler to Tate, 2 May 1932.
Hound and Horn Papers, Tate File. It is some reflection upon Ransom's lack of interest in history, even his own, that he usually destroyed old manuscripts and correspondence; this is in marked contrast to Tate and Davidson.


36. Ransom, "A Capital for the New Deal," American Review 2 (December 1933): 141. The Nashville friend was Sidney Mttron Hirsch, at whose home many Fugitive meetings had been held.


38. Haynes Johnson and Bernard M. Gwenzman, Fulbright the Dissenter (London, 1969), pp. 107-15, on the origins of the Fulbright-Hays Act; The Times (London), 22 June 1932, p. 13e; Tate to Warren, 9 December 1932, Robert Penn Warren Papers, Beinecke Library, Yale University; Warren to Tate [November 1932], Tate Papers.

39. Ransom to Tate, 25 October [1932], Tate Papers; Ransom to Davidson, 18 December [1932], Davidson/34.


41. Ransom to Tate, "Tuesday" [late winter 1933], Tate Papers; Ransom, "Hearts and Heads," American Review 2 (March 1934): 559.

42. Ransom to Fletcher, 7 March 1934, Fletcher Papers.


44. Ransom, "Shakespeare at Sonnets," Southern Review 2 (Winter 1938): 531-53; Davidson to Tate, 10 March 1938, Tate Papers; cf. Tate, Memoirs and Opinions: 1926-1974 (Chicago, 1975), p. 40: "Logic was the mode of his thought and sensibility."


47. Ransom to Warren, 15 February [1935], Southern Review Papers, Ransom File, Beinecke Library, Yale University.

48. Ransom to Tate, 17 September [1936], Tate Papers; Ransom to Tate [September 1936], Tate Papers.

49. Ransom to Tate, 6 April 1937, Tate Papers; Ransom, "Art and the Human Economy," Kenyon Review 7 (Autumn 1945): pp. 683-88; Davidson to Tate, 27 March 1937, Tate Papers.

50. Ransom to Tate, 29 March 1939, Tate Papers; Tate to Lytle, 22 March 1939, Andrew Nelson Lytle Papers, Joint University Library, Nashville, box 5 file 5 (hereinafter cited as Lytle/box no./file no.).

7: Allen Tate: "The Punctilious Abyss"

2. Tate, *Memoirs and Opinions, 1926-1974* (Chicago, 1975), p. 30; Tate to Davidson, 17 August 1922, Davidson/10/18; Rob Roy Purdy, ed., *Fugitives' Reunion: Conversations at Vanderbilt: May 3-5, 1956* (Nashville, 1959), p. 92; Tate to Davidson, 21 July 1922, Davidson/10/18; Tate to Davidson, 29 June 1923, Davidson/10/18.

3. Tate to Davidson, 17 December 1924, Davidson/10/28; Tate to Davidson, 8 June 1924, Davidson/8/24.

4. Tate, "Last Days of the Charming Lady," *Nation* 121 (28 October 1925): 485-86. In the light of his later views, it is as well to point out that Tate in 1925 saw the Old South as distinctly secular: "The South, before the Civil War, probably had little more than incidental commerce with the name of deity."

5. Tate to Davidson, 27 May 1925, Davidson/10/30; Tate to Davidson, 3 March 1926, Davidson/10/32.

6. Tate to Davidson, 26 June 1926, Davidson/10/33; Tate to Davidson, 29 July 1926, Davidson/10/34.


8. Tate, "A Poetry of Ideas," *New Republic* 47 (30 June 1926), pp. 173, 172. By this time, Tate had established personal contact with Eliot. In July 1926, Eliot had, after a lapse of ten months, declined to publish any of Tate's poetry in the *Criterion*, but given it some very thorough criticism. Eliot had hazarded the unwelcome opinion that Tate had greater talents as a critic than as a poet. See Tate to Davidson, 29 July 1926, Davidson/10/34.

9. Davidson to Tate, 15 February 1927, Tate Papers; Tate to Davidson, 20 February 1927, Davidson/10/37.

10. Tate to Davidson [12 April 1928], Davidson/10/41; Tate, *Memoirs and Opinions*, pp. 3-23.

11. Tate to Davidson, 1 March 1927, Davidson/10/37; Tate to Lytle, 15 March 1927, Lytle/5/1; Tate to James Southall Wilson, 23 May 1927, *Virginia Quarterly Review* Papers; Tate to Davidson, 28 April 1927, Davidson/10/37.

12. Tate to Davidson, 26 February 1928, Davidson/10/40; Cowley, *Exile's Return*, p. 223; Tate to Davidson, 28 April 1927, Davidson/10/37.

13. Tate to Fletcher, 11 June 1927, Fletcher Papers; Tate to Davidson, 11 June 1927, Davidson/10/37.

14. Tate to Davidson, 5 May 1927, Davidson/10/37; Tate to Davidson, 17 July 1927, Davidson/10/38; Cowan, *The Fugitive Group*, p. 36.

15. Tate to Fletcher, 27 August 1927, Fletcher Papers.


17. Tate to Fletcher, 24 December 1927, Fletcher Papers; Tate, *Jefferson Davis: His Rise and Fall* (New York, 1929), p. 303.

18. Tate to Fletcher, 21 November 1928, Fletcher Papers.


21. Tate to Fletcher, 5 March 1929, Fletcher Papers; Tate to Fletcher, 3 December 1930, Fletcher Papers; Tate to Lytle, 4 May 1929, Lytle/5/2.

22. Eliot, "The Humanism of Irving Babbitt," in *Selected Essays: 1917-1932* (London, 1932), pp. 419-28; on Tate's meeting with Eliot, see Tate to Davidson, 24 October 1928, Davidson/10/53, and Tate to Davidson, 18 February 1929, Davidson/10/55.

23. Tate to Fletcher, 19 October 1928, Fletcher Papers.
24. Tate to Fletcher, 21 November 1928, Fletcher Papers; Tate to Davidson, 18 February 1929, Davidson/10/55.

25. Tate to James Southall Wilson, 25 April 1929, *Virginia Quarterly Review* Papers; Tate to Davidson, 18 February 1929, Davidson/10/55; Tate to Lytle, 16 June 1929, Lytle/5/2: “Have you seen John Ransom’s essay in Harper’s? It is a great piece of work. The whole thing is so brilliant and profound that the editor had to put it in the back of the magazine; I am amazed that he ever accepted it. I am sending you a piece that I wrote last winter, now in the Criterion. It is nowhere so fine as John’s, and it doesn’t touch the political and social question, but it argues for much the same views from a more general position;” cf. Tate, “The Fallacy of Humanism,” *Criterion* 8 (July 1929), pp. 661-81.

26. Tate to Ransom, 27 July 1929, Davidson/10/43.

27. Tate to Davidson, 10 August 1929, Davidson/10/43; Tate to Ransom, 27 July 1929, Davidson/10/43.

28. Tate to Fletcher, 21 November 1928, Fletcher Papers; Tate to Davidson, 9 November 1929, Davidson/10/44.

29. Tate to Fletcher, 19 October 1928, Fletcher Papers; Tate to Davidson, 10 August 1929, Davidson/10/43; Tate, “Mistaken Beauty,” *New Republic* 59 (29 May 1929): 51.


31. *Ibid.;* Tate to Davidson, 12 December 1929, Davidson/10/44.


33. Tate to Davidson, 9 February 1930, Davidson/10/46; *ITMS,* p. 155.

34. *ITMS,* pp. 155-75.


37. Tate to Fletcher, 3 December 1930, Fletcher Papers.

38. Tate to Fletcher, 21 November 1928, Fletcher Papers: an intimation of the paradox of liberalism and conservatism in Tate can be gained from his remarks on the 1928 elections, “If I had been at home I should certainly [have] voted for Smith, both because he is a Democrat and because he was personally promising. But if any other Democrat had been running, I should have voted for [Norman] Thoma [the Socialist]. In that case the vote would have been merely the register of an opinion, and Thomas stands for it, as things are, better than any one else”; Fletcher, *Life is My Song* (New York, 1937), p. 344.

39. Tate to Davidson, 16 April 1931, Davidson/10/49; Tate to Davidson, 14 July 1931, Davidson/10/49.

40. Tate to Lytle, 16 July 1931, Lytle/5/2; Interview with Lytle.


42. Interview with Lytle; Lytle, *Nathan Bedford Forrest and his Critter Company* (New York, 1931); Tate to Davidson, 12 December 1929, Davidson/10/44; Tate to Fletcher, 4 November 1930, Fletcher Papers.

43. Tate, MS “Lee,” p. 3: “The profits, for a few, were great at the very start, but these profits were invariably, and after the manner of the landed tradition, necessarily conceived in terms of keeping up the physical establishment of life, the home, the family, and finally that almost mystical entity that lies back of the mere sound of a family name. This, I believe, is the true meaning of aristocracy, and all those prejudices of class that the Virginians in time acquired were but the outward defenses of a great social idea. This idea was a great one because it contained in it probably as high a degree of political and moral disinterestedness as any society in the world has ever achieved”; Lytle, *Hero With the Private Parts,* p. 237; Tate, MS “Lee,” p. 30.
44. Tate to James Southall Wilson, 4 September 1931, Southern Writers Conference Papers, Alderman Library, University of Virginia; Interview with Lambert Davis, Chapel Hill, 19 November 1973; Tate to J. S. Wilson, 29 October 1931, Southern Writers Conference Papers.


46. Malcolm Cowley to Tate, 18 November 1931, Tate Papers; Tate to Edmund Wilson, 28 July 1931, Lytle/5/2; Tate to Ellen Glasgow, 30 March 1933, Ellen Glasgow Papers, Alderman Library, University of Virginia.

47. Tate to Davidson, 9 December 1930, Davidson/10/49; Tate and Lytle to Davidson, Ransom and Lyle Lanier, 11 December 1930, Davidson/7/9; Tate to Davidson, 13 December 1930, Davidson/10/49.

48. George B. Tindall, The Emergence of the New South, 1913-1945 (Baton Rouge, 1967), pp. 383-85, on the Harlan Strike; Tate to Davidson and Warren, 10 December 1931, Warren Papers; Tate to Ransom, 17 December 1931, Tate Papers.

49. Tate to Bernard Bandler, 14 November 1931, Hound and Horn Papers, Tate File; Tate to Davidson, 17 December 1931, Davidson/10/49.

50. See Hound and Horn Papers, Tate file; on the publication of “To the Lae-daemonians,” see Davidson to Wade, 5 July 1932, Wade Papers: this poem trod closer on the line between art and propaganda, much insisted upon by Tate, than he might have liked, if one takes at face value Davidson’s observation, “There’s so much in it of the doctrine that you and I have talked over.”

51. Tate to Doris Levine, 27 May 1933, Hound and Horn Papers, Tate file, refers to it as “a study, based upon the genealogy of two families, of the forces that have disrupted all settled forms of life in America.”

52. Tate to Lytle, 22 August 1932, Lytle/5/3; Tate to Davidson, 9 October 1932, Davidson/10/51.

53. Tate to Davidson, 10 December 1932, Davidson/10/51; Tate to Lytle, 4 November 1932, Lytle/5/3.

54. Tate to Davidson, 28 December 1932, Davidson/10/51; Tate to Warren, 9 December 1932, Warren Papers; Tate to Warren, 17 October 1933, Warren Papers.


56. Ibid., pp. 413, 430; Tate to Herbert Agar, 17 November 1933, Tate Papers; Tate to R. P. Blackmur, 18 December 1933, Hound and Horn papers, Tate file.

57. Tate to Warren, 15 December 1934, Warren Papers.

58. Tate to Lincoln Kirstein, 9 September 1933, Hound and Horn Papers, Tate file; Tate, “Where Are the People?” American Review 2 (December 1933): 231-37; Tate to Agar, 9 September 1933, Tate Papers. It is pertinent to note that Agar was heavily influenced by Oswald Spengler: see Agar, Land of the Free (Boston, 1935), especially chap. 1, “Culture or Colonialism?” Tate had read Spengler in the 1920s and there are occasional echoes of the German in his writings.


60. Chard Smith to Agar, 8 April 1936, and Agar to Chard Smith, 13 April 1936, Tate Papers; Interview with Lytle.

61. Tate to Agar, 7 January 1937, Tate Papers.

62. Tate to E. F. Saxton, 17 November 1933, Davidson/10/52 (the prospectus is reprinted in The Literary Correspondence of Donald Davidson and Allen Tate ed. J. T. Fain and T. D. Young (Athens, Ga., 1974), pp. 409-11); Tate to Ellen Glasgow, 22 September 1935, Glasgow Papers.

63. Tate to Lambert Davis, 24 October 1934, Virginia Quarterly Review Papers.


66. See, especially, his comments on the good manners of the French peasantry and those at the Southern Writers' Conference, in Tate to Lytle, 22 August 1932, Lytle/5/3, and Tate to James Southall Wilson, 29 October 1931, *Southern Writers' Conference Papers*.

67. Tate, in *Shenandoah* 3 (Summer 1952): 29.

8: Frank Owsley: "The Immoderate Past"


2. Interview with Harriet Owsley; on the tale of Uncle Dink, see Robert Penn Warren, "Afterword" to Lytle, *The Long Night* (paperback reprint, New York, 1973); however, Warren has mistakenly displaced the story of visiting Uncle Dink from Owsley's father to Owsley himself.

3. Interview with Harriet Owsley.

4. *Ibid.*; Wendell H. Stephenson, *Southern History in the Making* (Baton Rouge, 1964), pp. 132-43, on Petrie. As sometimes happens to graduate students, Owsley was the victim of a faculty squabble and obliged to retake his oral examinations; the dispute was between the liberal, Dodd and the conservative, Andrew McLaughlin, over the possibility of the former succeeding McLaughlin as head of the history department: see J. Fred Rippy, *Bygones I Cannot Help Recalling: The Memoirs of a Mobile Scholar* (Austin, 1966), pp. 123-25.

5. Interview with Harriet Owsley.


7. Interview with Lytle; Owsley to Davidson, 24 February 1927, Davidson/8/10.

8. Interview with Harriet Owsley.


10. Tate to Davidson, 10 December 1932, Davidson/10/51; Owsley to Davidson, 24 February 1927, Davidson/8/10.


13. Tate to Owsley, 2 July 1928, Owsley/5/10.

14. Owsley to Lytle, 7 March 1930, Lytle/4/2; *ITMS*, pp. 61-69; the notion of a second American Revolution was more susceptible to a pro-Confederate reading than Beard might have liked, in that hostility to untrammelled capitalism was too easily translatable into approval for those who opposed its rise: see Thomas J. Pressley, *Americans Interpret Their Civil War* (Princeton, 1954), pp. 242, 280-82.


16. Pressley, *Americans Interpret Their Civil War*, pp. 166-81; *ITMS*, pp. 77, 62, 79; Avery Craven to Owsley, 15 August 1934, Owsley/3/36; Thomas P. Abernethy to Owsley, 17 September 1933, Owsley/1/1.

17. Owsley to Davidson, 8 April 1931, Davidson/8/10; Owsley to Tate, 29 February 1932, Tate Papers.


24. Fletcher to Owsley, 1 December 1933, Owsley/2/20.

25. Owsley to Fletcher, [December 1933], Fletcher Papers.


27. Owsley to Fletcher, 11 March 1934, Fletcher Papers; Davidson to Wade, 25 March 1934, Wade Papers.


30. Interview with Harriet Owsley; Owsley to Davidson, 8 April 1931, Davidson/8/10.

31. Owsley to Davidson, 24 August 1932, Davidson/8/10; Owsley to Davidson, 5 August 1933, Davidson/8/10.


33. Cf. Edgar W. Knight, *Among the Danes* (Chapel Hill, 1927); Rupert Vance had plans to visit Ireland and study its economy in the late 1930s; Odum to Jackson Davis, 14 January 1934, Odum/17/364.


37. John H. Bankhead to Owsley, 12 March 1935, Owsley/1/7; Sidney Baldwin, *Poverty and Politics: The Rise and Decline of the Farm Security Administration* (Chapel Hill, 1938), pp. 129, 146-48. Bankhead introduced his bill on 11 February 1935, more than a month before he wrote to Owsley, and hearings before the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry were held on 5 March. It is interesting that Henry Wallace, in his testimony, used the same anticommunist argument in pleading for the measure as Owsley.

38. William Dodd to Owsley, 26 March 1935, and 4 May 1935. Owsley/2/12; Hugo Black to Owsley, 26 March 1935, Owsley/1/11.


40. Vance to Owsley, 29 March 1935, Owsley/5/13; Vance was acting in an advisory role for the Alexander/Tannenbaum group and the Department of Agriculture: Baldwin, *Poverty and Politics*, pp. 128, n.2, 131, n.5; according to Tate, Vance voted with the Agrarians on every issue during the Southern Policy Conference in Chattanooga: Tate to Davidson, 11 May 1936, Davidson/10/55.


42. Owsley to Couch, 18 March 1935 and 11 March 1935, Couch/1/“1935.”

43. Owsley to Agar, 26 September 1935, Lytle/13/51; Owsley to Tate, 26 September 1935, Lytle/13/51; Agar to Owsley, 29 September 1935, Owsley/1/2; Owsley to Agar, 1 October 1935, Tate Papers.


45. Agar to Owsley, 29 September 1935, Owsley/1/2; Owsley to Agar, 1 October 1935, Tate Papers.


49. Interview with Harriet Owsley.

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51. Owsley, Plain Folk of the Old South (Baton Rouge, 1949), pp. 90-91.

52. Roger W. Shugg, Origins of Class Struggle in Louisiana: A Social History of White Farmers and Laborers during Slavery and After, 1840-1875 (Baton Rouge, 1939); see Owsley to Cleanth Brooks, 5 November 1939, Southern Review Papers, Owsley file: "I have not read Shugg's book, but I located much of his statistical ante bellum material for him and told him how to use it; but his Marxian title gives me the impression that he has misused the material"; later Owsley reviewed Shugg's book in Journal of Southern History 6 (February 1940): 116-17.


56. Owsley had grown increasingly disenchanted with Vanderbilt, as the Agrarians had, one by one, severed their links with it. Moreover, he was frustrated with the difficulties of running a graduate program at a university with few manuscript holdings and little inclination to alter the situation. In retrospect, he came to look upon his Agrarian phase with nostalgia, as a "lost utopia": Owsley to Warren, 25 August 1946, Owsley/6/14, and Owsley to "Carter," 14 March 1952, Owsley/6/17.

57. Owsley to Geoffrey Stone, 24 May 1938, Owsley/6/16; Owsley to Tate, 14 November 1943, Tate Papers.

58. Thomas B. Alexander to Owsley, 17 October 1944, Owsley/1/3; see also Glover Moore to Owsley, 24 December 1943, Owsley/4/8.


60. Interview with Harriet Owsley; Owsley to Lytle, 28 February 1956, Lytle/4/2: "Our negro trouble here is unending. The Supreme Court has handed the Negro a privilege—or right—that one searches the Constitution in vain to find. It is a mighty stride toward the monolithic State that our Yankee Liberals are creating. . . . I believe that ultimately the negroes will be admitted in limited numbers to state universities—very limited. Personally, while I cringe at the idea, yet I am of the opinion that our professional schools—medicine, dentistry, law, and theology—should train the Southern negro doctors, lawyers, and preachers. There would be such a relatively few, no problem would be created—at least no major problem. But public schools—I am convinced that integration at this level and of a mass proportion would be the last word in disaster to the white South and to the U.S. The schools would be ruined—as they have been in Washington—and endless strife would follow. Furthermore, schools are social institutions. This would end in a lot of race mixture."

9: Donald Davidson: "The Creed of Memory"

2. Davidson to Fletcher, 22 May 1941, Davidson/2/5; Interview with Theresa Sherrer Davidson, Middlebury, Vt., 15 September 1973.

3. Davidson to father, 4 May 1919, Davidson/1/1; interview with Theresa Davidson; the brief tour of 1965 to Ireland, England, Italy, and Greece, was paid for by Richard Dodd, a wealthy friend from Marshallville; Davidson did toy briefly with visiting Europe in the early 1930s, but not too seriously; see Davidson to Wade, 20 June 1932, Wade Papers.

4. Richmond Beatty to Brainerd Cheney, 28 December [1943], Brainerd Cheney Papers, Joint University Library, Nashville, box 4, file 3; Bernard Breyer to Davidson, 17 January 1954, Davidson/3/34; Senator Robert R. Reynolds to Davidson, 7 February 1939, Davidson/8/39; Senator McKellar to Davidson, 4 February 1939, Davidson/7/14; Davidson to Warren and Brooks, 6 February 1937, Southern Review Papers, Davidson file. During the Spanish Civil War, Davidson protested to the university authorities when pro-Loyalist circulars were distributed in Vanderbilt mailboxes: "I wish to make it plain, however," he wrote, "that neither the Fascist cause, the Communist cause, nor any other European cause is among the causes in which I have an interest. I am against them all, without exception: Russia, Italy, Germany, France and England—and I am especially against any or all of them in so far as they endeavor in any way to enlist American support and embroil us in their troubles." See Davidson to O. C. Carmichael, 14 December 1938, Davidson/1/44.

5. Davidson to Tate, 13 August 1922, Davidson/1/3; Davidson, "Critic’s Almanac,” Nashville Tennessean, 23 June 1929, reprinted in Davidson, The Spyglass: Views and Reviews, 1924-1930, ed. J. T. Fain (Nashville, 1963), p. 140; Davidson to Tate, 29 July 1929, Tate Papers.


7. Davidson to John Mebane, 19 September 1960, Davidson/2/54; Davidson to Louis Rubin, 24 January 1954, Davidson/2/39; Davidson to Louis Rubin, 10 May 1955, Davidson/2/47.


9. Davidson to Tate, 15 August 1926, Tate Papers.


12. Davidson to Tate, 22 June 1927, Tate Papers; Davidson to Fletcher, 13 June 1927, Davidson/1/10; Davidson to Fletcher, 21 March 1926, Davidson/1/8.

13. Ransom to Mims, 27 September 1926, Mims Papers; Davidson to Ransom, 5 July 1929, Davidson/1/12; Ransom to Tate, 22 February [1930], Tate Papers; Davidson to Tate, 5 February 1929, Tate Papers.


15. Interview with Lytle; Ransom to Tate, 3 January [1932], Tate Papers.

16. Tate to Bernard Bandler, 24 February 1932, Hound and Horn papers, Tate file.

17. Conversation with Robert Belfingston, Atlanta, November 1973 (Wagner was Davidson’s favorite composer); Tate to Davidson, 27 March 1936, Davidson/10/54; interview with Harriet Owsley; interview with Lytle.

18. Davidson to Fletcher, 23 March 1931, Davidson/1/18; Davidson to Tate, 16 March 1933, Tate Papers.


21. Davidson to Fletcher, 6 March 1935, Davidson/1/26; Davidson to Fletcher, 12 March 1935, Davidson/1/27; Charlie May Fletcher to Davidson, n.d. [1951], contains this: "I don't suppose any of the group with whom he [Fletcher] quarreled so bitterly in 1935 knew that it was at the beginning of one of his periods of illness. He managed to get as far as Memphis, on his way from New Orleans, then he had to telephone his sister to come for him while he waited in the railway station. I have come across an hour by hour report of the trained nurse who took care of him, and he was evidently far worse than in his last illness [Fletcher committed suicide in 1950]. But I am convinced that he wrote letters, previous to that, without knowing what he was saying. Only one with him twenty-four hours a day, as I was, could see the approach of the cycles."

22. See, for example, Fletcher to Warren, 11 March 1935, Warren Papers; Ransom to Fletcher, 13 March 1935, Tate Papers (apparently not sent); Fletcher to Tate, 13 March [1935], Tate Papers; Fletcher to Tate, 14 March 1935, Tate Papers; Ransom to Fletcher, 15 March [1935], Fletcher Papers; Davidson's account of the affair can be seen in Davidson to Tate, 17 March 1935, Davidson/1/27.

23. Ransom to Fletcher, 18 July 1933, Fletcher Papers; Davidson to Macmillans, 5 January 1934, Tate Papers; Davidson to Macmillans, 13 March 1934, Davidson/1/25.

24. Davidson to Tate, 24 April 1936, Tate Papers.

25. Davidson to Fletcher, 6 March 1935, Davidson/1/26; Warren to Catherine Wilds, 25 May 1936, Tate Papers; Ransom to Tate, 29 March 1939, Tate Papers.


27. Davidson to Mims, 29 March 1932, and 30 March 1932, Davidson/1/19; Davidson to Wade, 20 June 1932, Wade Papers.


30. Davidson to William Couch, 8 March 1931, Davidson/1/18; Davidson to Fletcher, 26 July 1930, Davidson/1/15; Davidson to Tate, 19 February 1933, Tate Papers.

31. Lambert Davis to Davidson, 4 January 1949, Davidson/4/39, gives the following sales figures:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1937-38</th>
<th>1938-39</th>
<th>1939-40</th>
<th>1940-41</th>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941-42</td>
<td>1942-43</td>
<td>1943-44</td>
<td>1944-45</td>
<td></td>
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<td>1945-46</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 1948, the University of North Carolina Press pulped unbound copies and allowed *The Attack on Leviathan* to go out of print. Davidson was furious. Lambert Davis, editor of the press, had to go on a peace mission to Nashville to prevent Davidson from suing the press. In a subsequent memorandum, Davis shrewdly observed: "The core of Mr. Davidson's dissatisfaction, I am sure, is the feeling that the Press exercised some kind of censorship on his work. He is almost the only surviving member of the Nashville group of the '20s whose southernism has been intensified rather than modified by the passage of time. He has
parted company, one by one, with nearly all the members of that group, and he very
definitely has the feeling that the world is against him, and that there are sinister
machinations against his expression of his opinions”: “Memorandum on Conversation with
Donald Davidson,” 23 February 1949, University of North Carolina Press Papers, Attack
on Leviathan file.

32. Davidson to Couch, 19 June 1938, Davidson/1/41.

33. Only Russell Kirk and Francis B. Simkins subsequently gave it any attention: see
Simkins, “The South,” in Regionalism in America, ed. Merrill Jensen (Madison, 1952),
pp. 148, 155, 156, 168, and Simkins to Fletcher, n.d. [1949?], Davidson/8/34; and Russell
Kirk, “The Poet as Guardian: Donald Davidson,” in Confessions of a Bohemian Tory:

34. Davidson, The Attack on Leviathan: Regionalism and Nationalism in the United
States (Chapel Hill, 1938), p. 4.

35. Ibid., p. 41; Davidson to Wade, 3 March 1934, Odum/16/342; Davidson, Attack on
Leviathan, p. 40.


37. Ibid., pp. 39-64, 285-311; clipping, Raleigh News and Observer, 10 November 1954,
Odum/30/Obituary file.


39. Ibid., p. 96; Isaiah Berlin, Vico and Herder: Two Studies in the History of Ideas
(New York, 1976), passim; Hayden White, Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in

40. Davidson to Ferris Greenslet, 31 October 1933, Davidson/1/22 (note that Davidson
had started serious planning for the book as early as 1933); Davidson, Attack on Leviathan,
p. 137.

(New York, 1931).

42. Davidson, Attack on Leviathan, pp. 212-27.

43. Ibid., pp. 228-39.

44. Ibid., pp. 240-57.


Davidson, “The Class Approach to Southern Problems,” Southern Review 5 (Autumn
1939): 261-72; Davidson to Tate, 28 November 1939, Tate Papers.

47. Davidson to Mims, 24 January 1934, Mims Papers.

48. Davidson to Stringfellow Barr, 3 June 1933, Virginia Quarterly Review Papers:
“and please will somebody tell me what to expect of the New Deal!”; Davidson to Tate,
7 June 1933, Tate Papers: “I am more at sea, when it comes to judging the trend of affairs,
than I was a year ago. Sometimes I think we are about to enter on a new period of
commercial & industrial vulgarity that will eclipse the Hoover regime completely; sometimes
I think things will may not be so bad, after all. There is no doubt, however, that Roosevelt
is either putting on a revolution or doing the things that will inevitably produce one at
last.”; Davidson to William Watts Ball, 10 January 1937, William Watts Ball Papers,
Duke University: “The Rooseveltians seem to me to have given the South a rake-off,
which was coming to us, but they have done so at a price which I don’t like to contemplate.
They have done nothing to end permanently our condition of colonial dependency. We
are still tied and helpless, disgorging most of our money and material wealth at the will of
the eastern exploitative mechanism. The only difference under the New Deal is that we are
given a little more money to disgorge and don’t, so to speak, have to cough up our
lifeblood every moment.”

49. Davidson, Attack on Leviathan, p. 262; Davidson to Mims, 24 January 1934, Mims
Papers.
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59. David Potter, “The Historian’s Use of Nationalism, and Vice Versa,” in *South and the Sectional Conflict* (Baton Rouge, 1968), p. 39; cf. Claudius Murchison, “Captains of Southern Industry,” *Virginia Quarterly Review* 7 (July 1931): 379: “If a correct ethical judgement of the Southern business man is sought, he must be viewed not in relation to that which is foreign to him, but in relation to the surroundings and circumstances which produced him. If he is to be tested, it must be through his success or failure in meeting the requirements which are unique to his own environment.”
60. Davidson, *Attack on Leviathan*, p. 6: “The states and the Federal government represent conceptions or organizations rather than organisms. The government (or governments) cannot take formal notice, is in fact specifically forbidden in certain instances to take formal notice, of the actual geographic divisions—the sections or regions. The real and concrete thing does not express itself overtly in the abstract conception. The organizations do not coincide with the organisms.”
61. Davidson, “Gulliver with Hay Fever,” *American Review* 9 (Summer 1937): 153, 164-65; Davidson, “A Sociologist in Eden,” *American Review* 8 (December 1936): 177-204; Davidson persistently distinguished between the sociology of Raper, on the one hand, and Odum and Vance, on the other, mainly because, one feels, Raper (whose *The Tragedy of Lynching* had been published in 1933) dealt more directly with race relations; Raper himself regarded the distinction as artificial: see Raper to Lillian Smith, 19 April 1938, enclosed in Raper to William Couch, 20 April 1938, University of North Carolina Press Papers, *Attack on Leviathan* file.
63. Tate mildly dissented in the next issue, but observed that “any responsible leader who ignores Mr. Davidson’s central argument ignores it at the peril of the South and the country”: Tate, “Mr. Davidson and the Race Problem,” *Sewanee Review* 53 (Autumn 1945): 659-60.
64. Davidson to James W. Perkins, 7 June 1950, Davidson/2/31; Davidson to Tate, 4 May 1952, Davidson/2/32; Davidson to Dwight Eisenhower, draft of a telegram, written on the back of a bill, dated 3 December 1954, Davidson/2/71; Davidson to Russell Kirk, 24 August 1955, Davidson/2/48. I speak of Davidson as an old man. In fact, he was only fifty-seven in 1950, but it is interesting that his letters betray an old man’s querulousness from as early as the 1930s. The psychologist might make much of this; untutored, I resist the temptation.
66. Davidson to Tate, 23 February 1940, Tate Papers; see, for example, Hugh Gordon Porter to Davidson, 13 May 1935, Davidson/8/28, and Mary Chalmers Hood to Davidson, 16 May 1935, Davidson/6/14.


Part IV: The Survival of Southern Identity. 10: The Idea of the South: An Interpretation


4. Ibid., pp. 68-70, 84, 93-94.

5. Ibid., pp. 75, 70, 115.

6. Ibid., pp. 290, 362.


8. On the difference between the use of dialectic by Hegel and Fichte, see J. N. Findlay, Hegel: A Re-Examination (London, 1958), pp. 69-70, and Walter Kaufmann, Hegel: A Reinterpretation (New York, 1965), pp. 102-11: roughly speaking, the difference is that Fichte saw the synthesis as uniting and abolishing the disparateness of the forces that made it up, while Hegel believed that the synthesis retained the forces, which continued to influence its development; for Hegel, the tensions were only reconciled in the mind of the philosophical observer.


10. Both Vanderbilt University and the University of North Carolina, both Davidson and Odum, concurred in such a policy.


12. Linguists do not seem to take the idea of a Southern language seriously, nor is there a single Southern dialect. Rather there are a number of dialects that convention has chosen, for social and political reasons, to group together; see William Cabell Greet, "Southern Speech," in Culture in the South, ed. William Couch (Chapel Hill, 1934), pp. 594-615, which observes, "There were and are many varieties of speech in the South, all closely related to speech in other parts of the country."


15. Tate to Davidson, 10 December 1932, Davidson/10/51.

16. Frank Kermode, Romantic Image (London, 1957), passim, but especially 152-77, which includes a comment on Ransom and Tate; M. H. Abrams, Natural Supernaturalism: Tradition and Revolution in Romantic Literature (London, 1971), p. 427, comments directly on Kermode's ideas, agrees that there are continuities between Romanticism and modernism, but insists upon the earlier movement's elan. For a more idiosyncratic statement of
the continuity, see Morse Peckham, *Beyond the Tragic Vision: The Quest for Identity in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1962).


20. Davidson to Tate, 15 February 1927, Tate Papers; one might note that Davidson thought both his own, Tate's, and Ransom's poems were children of the Romantic movement's diagnosis of alienation and was hurt to be accused by Tate of being "romantic," knowing how that was a term of abuse in Tate's critical vocabulary: see Davidson to Tate, 23 February 1940, Tate Papers.


22. It will be seen that my sympathies among the proponent theories of myth lie with Bronislaw Malinowski's functionalism, rather than Claude Lévi-Strauss' structuralism, with the rider that a functionalism of disparate needs seems more apposite than one that expresses a single integrated need; without such a modification one is hard put to explain the existence of conflicting versions of the Southern idea. In other words, the social function of myth must be conjoined to its individual psychological usefulness. Structuralism does not seem very useful to the historian, since Lévi-Strauss identifies ahistoricity as the primary characteristic of myth; nonetheless, it might be interesting to see a structuralist interpretation of Southern mythology's tendency to cohere around polarities. See Henry Tudor, *Political Myth* (London, 1972), esp. chap. 2; Edmund Leach, *Lévi-Strauss* (London, 1971), esp. pp. 13-17; *The Structuralists from Marx to Lévi-Strauss* ed. Richard and Fernande DeGeorge (New York, 1972); Bronislaw Malinowski, *Sex, Culture and Myth* (London, 1963).


25. Tate to C. Hartley Grattan, 28 November 1932, Tate Papers; Tate to Edmund Wilson, 28 July 1931, Lytle/5/2; Purdy, ed., *Fugitives' Reunion: Conversations at Vanderbilt: May 3-5, 1956* (Nashville, 1959), pp. 177-223.