Aberration of Mind
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Introduction

3. Works focusing on violence in the South include Franklin, Militant South, 1800–1861; Bruce, Violence and Culture in the Antebellum South; Ayers, Vengeance and Justice; Gorn, “Gouge and Bite, Pull Hair and Scratch”; Trelease, White Terror; Emberton, Beyond Redemption; Budiansky, The Bloody Shirt; Shapiro, White Violence and Black Response. The literature on lynching is vast but includes Brundage, Lynching in the New South; Brundage, ed., Under Sentence of Death; Dray, At The Hands of Persons Unknown; Tolnay and Beck, A Festival of Violence; Wright, Racial Violence in Kentucky.
4. David Silkenat’s work is the notable exception. His book contains several chapters on suicide in nineteenth-century North Carolina. Silkenat, Moments of Despair. Terri L. Snyder’s recent monograph focuses on slavery and suicide in the larger British
Atlantic world. Snyder, *The Power to Die*. Mark S. Schantz offers a chapter on slave suicide in his monograph *Awaiting the Heavenly Country*, 126–62. Most historians have taken their cues about Southern suicide from Hackney, who established that, while homicide rates were higher in the South, suicide rates there fell below rates elsewhere in the country. Later, historian Edward L. Ayers, citing mortality schedules in the 1860 census, confirmed Hackney’s assertion that the number of deaths attributed to self-murder in the South lagged behind the North and the rest of the country. Hackney, “Southern Violence”; Ayers, *Vengeance and Justice*, 25, 286 n. 44.

U.S. historians generally have slighted the topic of suicide. Howard I. Kushner’s, *American Suicide* is the only sweeping survey of suicide in America. See also Kushner’s essays about gender and suicide in a historical context, including “Suicide, Gender, and the Fear of Modernity in Nineteenth-Century Medical and Social Thought,” later reprinted as “Suicide, Gender, and the Fear of Modernity,” and “Women and Suicide in Historical Perspective.” Additional works include Snyder’s “What Historians Talk about When They Talk about Suicide” and “Suicide, Slavery, and Memory.” On the rhetoric and discourse of suicide in the early republic, see the works of Richard Bell, *We Shall Be No More*, “The Double Guilt of Dueling,” and “In Werther’s Thrall.” Roger Lane explores suicide in his larger work, *Violent Death in the City*, 13–34. On Civil War soldiers and suicide, see R. Gregory Lande’s “Felo De Se,” 531–36, though his focus is largely the Northern soldier.

European sociologists planted the flag on the study of suicide, beginning with the seminal scholarship of Émile Durkheim, whose published work *Le suicide* first appeared in 1897 and whose influence extended well past the mid-twentieth century. Durkheim sought to identify the cause of suicide, which he rooted in social and economic structural forces. Durkheim famously categorized suicide into several basic types, each of which related to a different set of structural factors. In seeking to understand why certain people killed themselves, Durkheim discounted individual motives and circumstances of those who took their own lives, dismissing them as mere pretext. He viewed suicide as a social, not an individual, act. For Durkheim, suicide constituted a rejection of society and could be traced to the extent to which individuals and groups were integrated into society. Durkheim, *Suicide*. On Durkheim’s theories on suicide, consult Bailey, “*This Rash Act*,” 15–33; Pickering and Walford, eds., *Durkheim’s “Suicide*,” 1–10; Taylor, *Durkheim and the Study of Suicide*, 6–21; Goeschel, *Suicide in Nazi Germany*, 1–3, 4; Tomasi, “Emile Durkheim’s Contribution to the Sociological Explanation of Suicide,” 13–14.


5. Jack D. Douglas advocated a case-study approach to the historical study of suicide. Douglas, *The Social Meanings of Suicide*, 164, 255–70, 284–319. His cases, though, are taken from the twentieth century, when medical records were more thorough and standardized. Some of the “cases” under study here do in fact emanate from asylums,
so they resemble modern “case studies.” However, many of the individual suicide cases I examine are culled from a variety of sources, many unrelated to a medical setting.

6. My thoughts here are much informed by Brancaccio, Engstrom, and Lederer, “The Politics of Suicide.”

7. Scholars, particularly social scientists, have long treated suicide as an index of suffering. “Moral statisticians” in the late nineteenth century quantified suicide in order to measure the effects of “civilization” and then linked those findings to a gendered, religious, and ethnic schema of suffering in which the tendency of white male Protestants to kill themselves more frequently than other groups provided ostensible evidence of greater suffering, proof of intellectual and moral superiority. Durkheim, *Suicide*. Durkheim’s study was preceded by that of Enrico A. Morselli, *Suicide: An Essay on Comparative Moral Statistics*, originally published in 1879, which compiled vital statistics, mostly from Europe. See also O’Dea, *Suicide*. Treatments of late nineteenth-century suicidologists include Brancaccio, “‘The Fatal Tendency of Civilized Society,’” and Lederer, “Sociology’s ‘One Law.’” Alison Clark Efford, at work on a project on suicide and immigrants, cautions against uncritically accepting suicide as a measure of suffering. Efford, “Suicide Rates as an Index of Suffering.”


10. On Southern men torn between martial duty and family duty, consult Riley, “‘This Is the Last Time I Shall Ever Leave My Family.’”


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Scholars of suicide have contested the utility of a quantitative approach to historical suicide. To be sure, Anderson is cautious in her use of statistics and is well aware of its flaws and limitations. Anderson also skillfully employs additional sources—sermons, law, coroners’ reports, poetry, illustrations—to buttress her quantitative findings. Victor Bailey’s pathbreaking “This Rash Act” follows in this vein, although he characterizes his approach as “refurbished Durkheimianism” (5). An army of scholars, though, questions the validity and accuracy of numeric data related to suicide, notably Jack D. Douglas, who, in *The Social Meanings of Suicide*, pointed out the unreliability of official record keeping and reporting of suicides. Douglas argues that suicide is socially and culturally constructed and not, as Durkheim assumed, an immutable fact. Douglas and others have noted rightly that a variety of factors influenced coroners in rendering their findings, such as pressures from family members embarrassed by a family member’s suicide. Underreporting of suicide can also be traced to uncertainties regarding cause of death that obscured whether one’s death was intentional or accidental. Coroners with varying degrees of training or expertise also misreported or misclassified deaths by suicides. Official and bureaucratic processes of classifying a death as a suicide thus were subjective and contested. Michael MacDonald and Terence R. Murphy likewise question the quantitative approach to suicide, focusing instead on the cultural meaning of suicide, by which they mean “how it is defined and identified, and how it is understood by suicides themselves, by their survivors, and by society at large.” In their study of early modern England, they privilege questions concerning what people thought about suicide and how they reacted to suicide. The key to unlocking the answers to these questions, they argue, lies with their efforts to “decode the meanings in social actions and in texts.” MacDonald and Murphy, *Sleepless Souls*, 4. The methodology of *Aberration of Mind* is much informed by their approach to historical suicide.


19. For example, Bailey’s database of completed suicides (based on coroners’ rulings) consists of 493 males and 236 females. Bailey, “This Rash Act,” 125.

20. Ibid., 129.

21. My ideas about gender and suicide are informed by Kushner, “Suicide, Gender, and the Fear of Modernity,” 31–38. Kushner criticizes Durkheim’s classification system, which was based on incidence of lethal suicide. By employing a narrow definition of suicide, Durkheim ignored attempted suicides, mostly by women. Kushner points out that redefining suicide to include attempted acts elevates women as the group at greatest risk for suicidal behavior.

22. I have adapted the approach employed by Bailey, whose discussion of the intervention of Maurice Halbwachs on this methodological issue is particularly useful. Halbwachs’s challenge to Durkheim is central in his work, *The Causes of Suicide* (1930). Bailey, “This Rash Act,” 18–20.
24. Kushner’s insight on this point is noted.
26. Paul A. Cimbala offers a reflective cautionary note about historical treatments of PTSD and Civil War soldiers in Veterans North and South, xv–xviii. See also Wayne Wei-Siang Hsieh’s “Go to Your Gawd like a Soldier,” 551–77. Cimbala suggests that historians pursuing research on postwar trauma and Civil War soldiers should consider examining soldiers who displayed resiliency and proved resistant to effects of war trauma. Hsieh appears to propose a “transnational” perspective in order to better gauge the effects of war trauma, although offering that American veterans had it easier than Chinese soldiers, large numbers of whom were executed when they were defeated, hardly seems a satisfying alternative (559–60).
28. Further impeding attempts to understand the psychological and emotional impact of war on nineteenth-century Southerners are the complicated ways that physiological ailments and injuries manifested psychological symptoms. Scientists and medical practitioners now know, for instance, that traumatic brain injury (TBI) mimics some of the same psychological symptoms as PTSD, including depression and suicidal ideation. Disease can also produce signs of mental illness. Syphilis, for example, in its advanced stages can bring on dementia. Onion, “Map Shows the Most Syphilitic States in the Union.”
29. Dean, Shook over Hell, 91–114; Andersen, “Haunted Minds.”
30. McClurken, Take Care of the Living, 132. For a different approach to interpreting illness in the nineteenth century, see Clarke, “So Lonesome I Could Die.”
31. Andrew J. Huebner makes use of this term in his study Love and Death in the Great War. My appreciation to Stephen Ortiz for sharing this concept with me.
34. On the cultural meaning of suffering in the North, see Clarke, War Stories; in the South, see Rubin, A Shattered Nation, 50–54
35. Rubin, A Shattered Nation, 7.
36. For a recent review of this latest “turn” in Civil War historiography framed as “new revisionism,” consult Sternhell, “Revisionism Reinvented?”; Emberton, “Unwriting the Freedom Narrative,” 383. For a popular synopsis of the dark turn, consult Horwitz, “150 Years of Misunderstanding the Civil War.”
37. Dean, Shook over Hell; Faust, This Republic of Suffering. One critic of the dark turn contemptuously referred to it as a “wide ranging evidentiary base of woe.” Hsieh, “Go to Your Gawd like a Soldier,” 551. Examples of “the dark turn” include Adams, Living Hell; “The Trauma of War” special issue of Civil War History 59:4 (December 2013); Miller, Empty Sleeves; Nelson, Ruin Nation; Linderman, Embattled Courage; Berry, ed., Weirding the War; Hacker, “A Census-Based Count of the Civil War Dead”; Carmichael, “We Shall Never Any of Us Be the Same”; Berry, “When Metal Meets Mettle”; Grant, “The Lost Boys.” Phillip Shaw Paludan’s Victims appeared earlier than Dean’s Shook over Hell, and although they differ in approaches and subject matter, both aim to expose the impact of war-related trauma on the individual.
38. Hsieh, “‘Go to Your Gawd like a Soldier,’” 552, 557; Gallagher and Meier, “Coming to Terms with Civil War Military History,” 492. Critics also have taken aim at dark turn scholars by accusing them of infusing their analyses with “presentism” and “advancing a political agenda,” though these critics have not done a particularly good job of explaining these terms or what they mean by political agenda. See, for example, Carmichael, “Relevance, Resonance, and Historiography,” 182.

39. Prewar religious and societal views toward suicide will be discussed in more depth in chapter 8, but examples of theological condemnation of suicide as self-murder include [Fisher and Erskine], An Essay towards an Easy, Plain, Practical and Extensive Explication of the Assembly’s Shorter Catechism; [Green], Lectures on the Shorter Catechism of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America; Miller, The Guilt, Folly, and Sources of Suicide; Lathrop, Two Sermons on the Atrocity of Suicide and on the Causes Which Lead to It (although Joseph Lathrop’s condemnation of suicide left open the possibility that those suffering from insanity might not be accountable for their own deaths [15]); Gracious Interpositions; or, “Do Thyself No Harm”; and Watson, Theological Institutes. A fuller examination of religious and theological attitudes toward suicide in the nineteenth-century South can be found in Sommerville, “‘Cumberer of the Earth,’” and in chapter 8. The Universalists dissented from mainstream proscriptions against suicide, which ordained that suicide fell under the auspices of the Sixth Commandment against murder.

40. Clemens, Bernard Lile, 19; Danielson, “Jeremiah Clemens.”

41. Sinclair, Poems, 95.

42. “Cousie” to “My Silent Darling,” February 14, 1861, John Wesley Halliburton Papers, SHC, UNC.

43. Concordia (La.) Intelligencer, June 16, 1841, p. 3. Antebellum attitudes toward suicide will be more fully explored in chapter 8.

44. Petersburg Index, September 13, 1869.


46. Lieberman, Leaving You, 43.

47. Goeschel, Suicide in Nazi Germany, 1.


Chapter 1


2. Bailey, “This Rash Act,” 31. One historian has described suicide as the “most private and impenetrable of human acts.” Richard Cobb, Death in Paris, 101, quoted in Goeschel, Suicide in Nazi Germany, 1. Lingering emotional or family issues, worries about finances, unrequited love, homesickness, heredity, illness, and scores of other circumstances, likely contributed to wartime soldier suicides. Moreover, some of the men who killed themselves while in uniform might well have done so if there had not been a war. Importantly, not all Confederate soldiers exposed to war trauma took their own lives, so other conditions certainly came into play. Nonetheless, what all wartime suicides have in common is the war.
3. Those who took their own lives infrequently left notes before the Civil War, leaving us to search for clues in the accounts of relatives and the reaction of community members to those suicidal deaths or in the limited personal information culled from census materials or court and military records, which stingily yield parcels of insight into the suicides’ circumstances and feelings. Suicide notes themselves are not prima facie evidence of motive, as those who opted for voluntary death oftentimes sought to shape the understanding of their deaths, which sometimes meant concealing true motives.


6. Nineteenth-century understanding of “insanity” and its causes was vague, very much in flux, and often confused symptoms with causes. The founding of the Association of Medical Superintendents of American Institutions for the Insane in 1844 (the progenitor of the American Psychiatric Association later in the century) inaugurated the publication of the American Journal of Insanity, the most important source of psychiatric literature in the nineteenth century, and is usually regarded as the beginning of American psychiatry. Asylum superintendents constituted the experts in early psychiatry, as psychiatrists, physicians specializing in mental health, did not yet exist. Those charged with treating mentally ill patients faced considerable confusion in classifications and causes of insanity. Many continued to be influenced by eighteenth-century notions that attributed insanity to physical causes. Benjamin Rush, for example, believed the cause of “madness” to be situated in the blood vessels of the brain. Later, others pointed to brain “lesions” as the source of mental impairment. Most early American physicians in the antebellum period, though, saw insanity as a physical disorder but disagreed over whether the cause was environmental or moral. Disagreement also characterized the designation of proximate (immediate) and predisposing (underlying) causes of insanity. On early American psychiatry and the supposed causes of insanity, consult Jarvis, “Causes of Insanity,” 289–305; Grob, The Mad among Us, 5–12, 58–64; Grob, The State and the Mentally Ill, 51–61, 229–32; Dean, Shook over Hell, 144–45; Dain, Concepts of Insanity, 3–113; Fox, So Far Disordered in Mind, 15; Tomes, The Art of Asylum-Keeping, 77–87; Shryock, “The Beginnings”; Rothman, The Discovery of the Asylum, 3–154.

7. There is no way to quantify systematically and reliably the number of Confederate soldiers who killed themselves during the war, as there was no system in place to track wartime deaths, unlike U.S. military records. The Surgeon General of the United States documented cause of death for Union soldiers in the six-volume Medical and Surgical History of the War of the Rebellion, but no such analog exists for the Confederate States of America (CSA). (The entire report is accessible at Archive.org.) Official Union sources list 400 suicides as cause of death for its soldiers, although this
figure is surely too low. Hess, *The Union Soldier in Battle*, 90. For cases of Union soldiers committing suicide during the war, see Lande, “Felo De Se,” 533–35. Lande offers that from June 1861 to August 1865, U.S. forces averaged 5.25 suicides per month. See also Frueh and Smith, “Suicide, Alcoholism, and Psychiatric Illness among Union Forces.”

A classic late nineteenth-century study of suicide in Europe asserted that suicide rates were highest in the military. To cite one example, the rate of suicide in the Italian military was fourteen times that of the civilian population. Morselli, *Suicide*, 256–61. Durkheim suggested that in European countries in the late nineteenth century, military suicides outpaced those among the civilian populations by between 25 and 900 percent. Durkheim, *Suicide*, 228. See also Kushner, “Suicide, Gender, and the Fear of Modernity,” 37–38. If Confederate soldiers did commit suicide at significantly higher rates than the civilian population, and there is no way to ascertain that, then they would have been part of a larger trend of higher rates of suicide among Western armies in the second half of the nineteenth century. On suicide among nineteenth-century British soldiers, consult Padiak, “Death by Suicide in the British Army.”


10. Like Bailey, I privilege the testimony of principal observers and witnesses to historical suicides and find these sources useful and compelling in assigning motive. Their ideas about causation have been informed by their lived experiences and circumstances; they are the best links we have to the suicide victims, even though their understanding of suicide causation was circumscribed by limitations of scientific and medical knowledge. Bailey, “This Rash Act,” 31–32.

11. I prefer the more all-encompassing term “war trauma” rather than the commonly (but often incorrectly) used “PTSD,” short for post-traumatic stress disorder, a clinical diagnosis referring to behaviors exhibited following exposure to battle and embracing a wide range of symptoms including “rage, guilt, flashbacks, nightmares, depression, and emotional numbing,” which are then manifested in myriad social and psychological pathologies, such as domestic violence, substance abuse, unemployment, and suicide. Dean, *Shook over Hell*, 5. Since the publication of Dean’s important work, a flurry of studies, not all of them written by historians, have taken seriously the emotional and psychological impact of the war on Civil War soldiers. Among them are Warshauer and Sturges, “Difficult Hunting”; Andersen, “‘Haunted Minds’”; Adams, *Living Hell*; Berry, “When Metal Meets Mettle”; Bussanich, “‘To Reach Sweet Home Again’”; Carmichael, “We Shall Never Any of Us Be the Same”; Dean, “‘His Eyes Indicated Wildness and Fear’”; Sommerville, “‘A Burden Too Heavy to Bear’”; Marten, “Nomads in Blue”; Fleming, “Living Casualties of War”; Carroll, “‘The God Who Shielded Me Before, Yet Watches over All Us.’” Treatments of war trauma that generally or tangentially touch on Civil War soldiers and veterans include Hyams, Wignall, and Roswell, “War Syndromes and Their Evaluation,” 398–405; Jones, “Historical Approaches to Post-Combat Disorders”; Kentsmith, “Principles of Battlefield Psychiatry.” Several recently published monographs on Civil War veterans take seriously the psychological and emotional costs of the war. These include McClurken, *Take Care of the Living*, 118–42; Jordan, *Marching Home*; Marten, *Sing Not War*, 270
12. Much of the discussion about Civil War soldiers and psychological trauma has turned on the related question of whether the war should be considered a “modern” war, the assumption being that modern or twentieth-century wars employed tactics (like trench warfare) and weapons (like mustard gas) that made the experience much more traumatic for soldiers. For an explanation of why “premodern” warfare was believed less psychologically stressful to troops than twentieth-century warfare, consult Ingraham and Manning, “American Military Psychiatry,” though the authors cite the American Civil War as the first time that psychological symptoms were viewed as a military problem (27–28). Earl J. Hess insists that while the American Civil War contained modern characteristics it was not a “modern” conflict, although his definition encompasses political as well as military criteria. He is clear nonetheless that the Northern soldier, the subject of his fine study, “did not have to endure the horrors that his counterpart in World War I” did. Hess, The Union Soldier in Battle, 198. Richard A. Gabriel’s survey of wars and psychiatry treats the Civil War as a “progenitor of modern war.” Gabriel, No More Heroes, 106. James M. McPherson sees elements of both traditional and modern warfare in Ordeal by Fire (183), but he also points out in a comparison of the Civil War and the Vietnam War that the combat experience of Civil War soldiers was more “intensive and prolonged” than for American GIs in Vietnam. McPherson, “War in the Mind.” While nineteenth-century American soldiers faced different conditions from their later counterparts, they contended with deprivations and circumstances—extensive marching and walking in the absence of modern transportation, rampant disease, chronic food shortages, and extensive periods of exposure—that contributed substantially to physical and emotional suffering, common triggers of psychiatric casualties. I remain unpersuaded of the utility of the “modern” vs. “premodern” paradigm as an effective apparatus through which to gauge the psychological experience of soldiers and, in fact, fear that it clouds our understanding of the military experience of Civil War soldiers, who deserve to be studied without being compared to those who participated in twentieth-century wars. See Dean, Shook over Hell, 46–54. On the difficult conditions Civil War soldiers faced generally, turn to Adams, Living Hell. Two retired psychiatrists who authored a historical survey of psychiatry in the U.S. military identified the Civil War as a conflict that “included circumstances which were favorable to the causation, recognition, and acceptance of wartime mental disorders,” and among these were large numbers of soldiers new to battle, who were prone to breakdown; repeated major engagements involving large numbers of military personnel; and high death rates. Glass and Jones, “Psychiatry in the U.S. Army,” chapter 2, p. 3.

13. Dean, Shook over Hell. Dean’s work, like the few others on Civil War soldiers and war trauma, focuses mainly on Union soldiers primarily because of the availability of sources, such as federal pension records. See also Warshauer and Sturges, “Difficult Hunting”; Andersen, “Haunted Minds”; Marten, “Nomads in Blue.” World War I and II soldiers have received much more attention from scholars interested in the psychological effects of war trauma, and the literature is extensive. A sampling of that literature includes Shepherd, A War of Nerves; Moran, The Anatomy of Courage;
Dean’s *Shook over Hell* persuasively argues that the conditions of the Civil War were more intense and protracted than those of the Vietnam War, making fertile ground for extensive psychiatric casualties, noting, for example, that the death rate in the American Civil War was sixty-nine times as great as in the Vietnam War and that the casualty rate in the Civil War was also much greater: nearly 25 percent of its soldiers were killed or wounded compared to under 6 percent in Vietnam. Dean, *Shook over Hell*, 180. Dean’s pathbreaking work has been very influential shaping studies of war trauma and Civil War soldiers, though it has provoked criticism from military historians who object to linking soldiers’ and veterans’ pathological behaviors with their wartime experiences on several grounds. First, they argue that historians who do so apply modern categories and understandings to historical actors who were unaware of such things. Because nineteenth-century Americans were unaware of conditions like PTSD, historians, armed with knowledge of modern science, should not apply this knowledge retroactively. In other words, they claim this approach is anachronistic. Historical actors would not have shared our ideas about suffering and human consciousness. Second, critics have accused historians of Civil War trauma of treating PTSD as “universal” or “timeless” when in fact the diagnosis emerged only in the context of the Vietnam War. Third, they suggest that by studying Civil War trauma we are somehow “overemphasizing” that experience. The worry, it seems, is that such attention runs the risk of “depicting a world populated only by traumatized survivors” (Hsieh, “‘Go to Your Gawd like a Soldier,’” 559).

While I concur that historians need to approach their subjects with the utmost care and not project modern sensibilities into their analyses, it is unreasonable to expect historians to refrain from considering links between psychiatric distress among soldiers and their experiences in military service, knowledge that we have at our disposal, simply because nineteenth-century Americans did not. Developments in scientific knowledge are not unlike developments in approach, like multiculturalism or feminist theory, for example, that lead to new ways of thinking that help historians understand and analyze events of the past. It is essential that historians not ignore the obvious, and now well-established, links between psychiatric ailments and Civil War combat experience. I know of no credible historian working on war trauma from any period who makes the argument that PTSD was universal. Historical treatments of war trauma situate the actors and their conditions in the particular circumstances of the time and place. That said, military combat is considered to be “the most intense stressor known to human beings” (Jones, “Historical Approaches to Post-Combat Disorders,” 533), regardless of geographic setting or time period. Historical context, of course, is central in shaping individuals’ responses to combat—What was the nature of weapons used? Were the combatants volunteers, conscripts, or professional soldiers? What were the motives for fighting?—and should be considered in one’s analysis, as they are in this study.

The accusation that by merely bringing scholarly attention to Civil War soldiers who suffered from war trauma, a topic that has been overlooked for decades, somehow risks universalizing that experience and assuming all Civil War soldiers were traum-
matized by their combat experience is misguided. All Civil War historians, but especially military historians, should aspire for as complete an understanding as possible about the impact of combat on all soldiers, not merely those who apparently lived and thrived after the war. In fact, the real danger is that by not telling the story of those men scarred emotionally by war, we run the risk of minimizing the human cost of war. For criticism of the study of Civil War trauma, see Gallagher and Meier, “Coming to Terms with Civil War Military History,” 492. For more strident critiques, consult Hsieh, “ ‘Go to your Gawd like a Soldier, ‘” and Carmichael, “Relevance, Resonance, and Historiography,” 182, though Carmichael himself examines “psychic wounds” of returning Confederate soldiers in an earlier work. Carmichael, “We Shall Never Any of Us Be the Same.”

14. This study examines the records of two Southern insane asylums, the South Carolina Lunatic Asylum in Columbia, South Carolina, and the Georgia State Lunatic Asylum in Milledgeville, Georgia. The Georgia asylum first opened its doors in 1842 and was severely taxed by the increase in patients during and after the war, although most of its patients were civilians. Thomas Green, superintendent and resident physician of the asylum, reported in 1867 that the facility was “greatly overcrowded” and filled, “crowded to its utmost capacity.” Green, “Report of Superintendent and Resident Physician to Board of Trustees, October 2, 1867,” 5. Conditions had not abated the following year when Green reported that in 1868 there was a long waiting list for patients, many of whom were in the “most pitiable condition.” Green, “Report of the Superintendent and Resident Physician to Board of Trustees” (1870), 8. The asylum has been known by various titles over the years including the Georgia Insane Asylum, Georgia Lunatic Asylum, Georgia State Sanitarium, and, most recently, Central State Hospital. Cranford, But for the Grace of God. The South Carolina facility officially opened in 1828. For more on the South Carolina Lunatic Asylum, as it was called, refer to McCandless, Moonlight, Magnolias, and Madness.


16. The focus of this chapter is Confederate soldiers in uniform engaged or about to be engaged in warfare and so precludes the treatment of veterans after the war, whose symptoms of psychological and traumatic injuries became manifest or were treated after the war years (even into the twentieth century) and whose war trauma was exacerbated by postwar conditions. Chapter 5 of this book will address veterans.

17. I rely heavily on Linderman’s work Embattled Courage, in which he argues that, as the war progressed and the nature of war evolved, original conceptions of courage gave way. For a more nuanced, recent treatment of cowardice during the Civil War, see the works of Chris Walsh, “ ‘Cowardice Weakness or Infirmity’” and Cowardice.

18. On the response of Northerners to suffering, see Clarke, War Stories; Fredrickson, The Inner Civil War, 79–112.

19. Harsh attitudes toward suicide had been slowly relaxing in the early modern period, as Snyder outlines in “What Historians Talk about When They Talk about Suicide,” most notably in the gradual elimination of legal sanctions, such as the forfeiture of property. British colonies, such as Virginia and Georgia, adopted English common law regarding suicide, although instances of colonial authorities acting on the laws against self-murder are rare (658–63). Despite this appreciable softening in attitudes toward suicide, religious and popular animus toward suicide victims
remained in the nineteenth century. Antebellum Southern cultural attitudes toward suicide are addressed in chapter 8.


29. Ibid., October 21 and October 22, 1861.
30. *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, September 1, 1861, p. 4, reprinted in the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, September 10, 1861, p. 4

31. [Also, Riddings]. *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, April 28, 1864; Sammons, comp., *Marriage and Death Notices from Wilmington, North Carolina Newspapers*, 191 (April 1864). Other instances of Confederate soldiers killing themselves before seeing combat include the case of a prominent lawyer from Mobile, Alabama, who enlisted in one of the volunteer companies formed in that city in the early part of summer 1861. While on his way to the front he slit his throat. *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, June 7, 1861, p. 1, reprinted in *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, June 7, 1861; *Louisville Daily Journal*, June 10, 1861; *New York Herald*, June 12, 1861, p. 4. A University of North Carolina student purportedly overdosed on laudanum rather than report to his regiment. Lindemann, “True and Candid Compositions.”

32. *Trenton (N.J.) Daily State Gazette and Republican*, July 24, 1861, p. 2. For the story of a Kentucky son who joined the Confederate army against his family’s wishes, see Murrell, “Union Father, Rebel Son.”


34. [Also, Earles]. *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, August 8, 1861; *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, August 13, 1861, p. 2; *Atlanta Daily Constitutionalist*, August 11, 1861; *Memphis Daily Appeal*, August 14, 1861. The *Richmond Daily Dispatch* offered a retraction of sorts on November 30, prompted by family members who had objected to the remark about hereditary insanity that was reprinted in the *Charleston Mercury*, December 13, 1861. Two days after Earle’s death another Southern soldier (rank unknown), Samuel W. Meacham, died after “leaping” from the eighth story of a different Richmond hotel. Although the coroner ruled the death accidental, one is left wondering if Earle’s suicide two days earlier had planted the seed. *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, August 10, 1861. Meacham served as a private in the 5th Battalion Virginia Infantry, CWSSS. On “contagious suicide,” consult Silkenat, *Moments of Despair*, 59–61.


38. Hess, *The Union Soldier in Battle*, 95–97; McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades*, 52, 77–80; Gabriel, *No More Heroes*, 103; Walsh, “Cowardice Weakness or Infirmity,” 494–95. Hess and McPherson rightly argue that most Civil War soldiers, though challenged and tested by battle, managed to work through their fears and soldier on. My work does not challenge this position; rather, I focus on the minority who were incapacitated psychologically. A recent study prompted by high rates of suicide among contemporary soldiers offers a gendered explanation for suicide in the military that may have relevance for Civil War soldiers. Highly controlled and rigid military cohesion requires almost total subordination of the individual to the group, resulting in depersonalization and devaluation of the individual soldier. Military social organization also demands emotional control from its soldiers in a culture in which traumatized soldiers are stigmatized and feminized, forcing a sort of

39. Southern white boys were socialized at young ages to equate virility with honor, fear with cowardice. Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor*, 149–74.


43. Durkin, ed., *John Dooley, Confederate Soldier*, 83 (March 9, 1863). Dooley used the word “executioner” to describe the man who carried out the whipping, a different connotation than we have today for what an “executioner” does.

44. Washington N. Easterby, certificate of physicians and magistrate, Charleston District, April 3, 1863, SCSH, Commitment Files, 1840–1950 (misc.) (hereafter Commitment Files), SCDAH (Commitment files are arranged by patient number (except in the 1860s when patient numbers were recorded irregularly), which is roughly chronological by date of commitment, and include papers sent by committing court officials including affidavits establishing mental unfitness after medical examination, order of commitment, physician’s report, and medical history); Microfilm Reel AD #674, Physicians’ Record, 1860–1874 (hereafter Physicians’ Record), Patient #1335, April 5, 1863, SCDAH. (The physician’s record contains information recorded by physicians as patients entered the South Carolina Lunatic Asylum including date of admission; patient’s name, age, marital status, education, occupation, religion, and number and ages of children; comments about the patient’s condition as represented by the patient and/or family members; and observations by physicians on the patient’s condition. By about 1860, the asylum had created a standardized intake form that listed a number of questions about the patient’s history and medical background, including suicidal behavior. Forms evolved and grew longer in time and asked additional questions of the patients and their families. See figure 10.) The organization and classification of the asylum records in South Carolina, as well as their labels, is muddled by missing records, overlap, changing names of the asylum, and changing procedures in original record keeping. At times, asylum officials changed how and what information they recorded, so information kept in one record type might abruptly shift to a different volume. In particular, the physician’s record, case histories, and patient treatment records should be consulted together, as there is considerable overlap in dates, with patients’ names not always appearing in all three volumes. As the name of the asylum changed over time, so, too, has the South Carolina Department of Archives and History’s labeling system. While the various collections cited here all fall under the South Carolina Department of Mental Health collection, the titles of individual records, when attached to the institution itself, vary: South Carolina Lunatic Asylum, South Carolina State Hospital, and South Carolina State Hospi-
tal for the Insane are all one in the same. Yet, individual records, though under the same collection umbrella, are often labeled with different institutional names. To minimize confusion, I follow the titles of the sources provided in the current online catalog at the South Carolina Department of Archives and History under the search term “lunatic asylum.” SCArchCat, http://rediscov.sc.gov/scar/ (accessed October 26, 2017). Series and volume titles, as well as their assigned series numbers, can be found listed in the bibliography under manuscript collections for the South Carolina Department of Archives and History.

Reports of ill or injured soldiers eager to get back to the front are also found in McPherson, For Cause and Comrades, 79; Linderman, Embattled Courage, 23, 27–28; Hess, The Union Soldier in Battle, 97.


46. Linderman, Embattled Courage, 17–33 (quotations on 17, 23; italics added for emphasis); McPherson, For Cause and Comrades, 36. Soldiers who demonstrated courage in battle might be willing to acknowledge their fears more openly. McPherson, For Cause and Comrades, 36–37. Linderman posits that as the war progressed, soldiers grew more tolerant of behaviors that earlier in the war would have been denounced as cowardly. Linderman, Embattled Courage, 166–67. Chris Walsh takes a more nuanced position suggesting that sometimes fear was equated with cowardice, but that at other times and under different circumstances, fear was acceptable, even forgivable. Walsh, “‘Cowardice Weakness or Infirmity,’” 507–10.

47. Richmond Daily Dispatch, March 7, 1865.

48. Salmon, “War Neuroses and Their Lesson,” 994. At the onset of World War II, military officials understood the need to identify those recruits least likely to hold up under fire and so instituted fifteen-minute psychiatric interviews during the screening process, which theoretically would have weeded out soldiers predisposed to mental illness. In practice, this objective proved more difficult. Shepherd, A War of Nerves, 187–200; Ginzberg, Anderson, Ginsburg, and Herma, The Lost Divisions, 32–40, 70, 167–93. The Civil War, through bounties and conscription, actually promoted the induction of the mentally ill. Glass and Jones, “Psychiatry in the U.S. Army,” chapter 2, p. 4. Two years into the Civil War, the U.S. Army instituted the world’s first psychiatric screening of recruits, though it was fairly ineffective. Gabriel, No More Heroes, 107–08. Gabriel argued vociferously that all men eventually succumb to battle stress, not merely the weak, the predisposed, and the mentally ill. As evidence, he asserted that although military officials in World War II tried to identify those recruits likely to fail as soldiers, a high percentage of those who passed nonetheless suffered from psychiatric casualties. Gabriel, No More Heroes, 72–73, 88, 95.

49. Dean, Shook over Hell, 118; Gabriel, No More Heroes, 107–8.

50. On the nineteenth-century understanding of “nervous” disorders, see McMahon, “Nervous Disease and Malingering.”

the article, from which this quotation appears, was assistant surgeon and surgeon in charge at the Jarvis Hospital in Baltimore.


58. Conversely, Bell Irvin Wiley and Earl J. Hess argued that the youthfulness of the federal army contributed to its resiliency. Hess, _The Union Soldier in Battle_, 144–45; Wiley, _The Life of Billy Yank_, 303. Janet Padiak, in her study of nineteenth-century British soldiers, found that older soldiers, especially those who enlisted for a second term, were likelier to kill themselves. She acknowledges that this finding differs from modern studies of military suicides in which the youngest soldiers are the most vulnerable to suicide. Padiak, “Death by Suicide in the British Army,” 127, 129–30. See also Matt, _Homesickness_, 92–99.

59. Pizarro, Silver, and Prause, “Physical and Mental Health Costs of Traumatic War Experiences among Civil War Veterans,” 198; Andersen, “‘Haunted Minds,’” 145–52. Technological advances in weaponry worsened battlefield carnage. For a detailed description of the effects of the rifle and artillery on their intended targets, see Adams, _Living Hell_, 68–83.


61. Chambers, “My Journal: The Story of a Soldier’s Life Told by Himself,” 264 (April 1863), 327 (June 27, 1864). On the impact of battle trauma and death on Civil War soldiers, see Wiley, _The Life of Johnny Reb_, 32–34; Mitchell, _Civil War Soldiers_, 76–77; Royster, _The Destructive War_, 274–75; McPherson, _For Cause and Comrades_, 163–70; Hess, _The Union Soldier in Battle_, 118. Joseph Allan Frank and George A. Reaves argue that, despite exposure to the horrors of war, most soldiers on both sides,
at least those who participated in the Battle of Shiloh, nonetheless carried on and that
the experience was less transformative than one might expect. Frank and Reaves,
"Seeing the Elephant," 180–81. Hess examines the coping mechanisms developed by
soldiers to survive the travails of war. Hess, The Union Soldier in Battle, 127–42.

64. Dean, Shook over Hell, 78–80. Algernon Sidney Porter, father of William Sid-
ney Porter, better known as the short-story author O. Henry, was a Confederate sur-
dgeon during the war and became an alcoholic and a drug abuser after the war.
Wyatt-Brown, Hearts of Darkness, 134. At age thirty-eight, Dr. Lewis D. Faver was
admitted to the Georgia state insane asylum, deemed insane from excessive drinking.
Records note that he was a non-drinker until the war. GAR, March 26, 1873, p. 397,
GA. (The Georgia Asylum Records [GAR] are much less complicated than South Car-
olina sources because there are far fewer of them. In essence, Georgia asylum records
consist of one record type, a series of short medical histories that were entered into
admission registers upon intake. The type of information included in these entries
varies over time but typically includes the following information: admission date; pa-
tient’s name, age, race [especially after 1865], marital status, occupation, number of
children, and residence; contact person or next of kin; family or medical history, not-
ing physical condition or ailments and symptoms [including suicidal behavior or ide-
ation]; and final disposition of the patient [e.g., death, cured, or ran away]. In an
attempt to streamline and simplify reference notes, I have shortened the citation to
simply GAR [the case histories recorded upon intake], date of admission, and page
number. Through the 1860s, patients’ paying status is also included [paying or pau-
per]. Georgia Archives no longer uses drawer and microfilm numbers. Researchers
are directed to obtain these on site. Soldiers sometimes self-medicated with opium,
alcohol, or laudanum. Adams, Living Hell, 53; Frueh and Smith, “Suicide, Alcohol-
ism, and Psychiatric Illness among Union Forces”; Foote, The Gentlemen and the
Roughs, 29–31. On conditions faced by Northern doctors during the war, see Hess, The
Union Soldier in Battle, 35–37.
66. Richmond Daily Dispatch, October 1, 1864; Virginia Military Dead Database.
67. Nashville Daily Union, November 1, 1862, in Garrett, comp., Obituaries from
Tennessee Newspapers, 3; Mobile Register, October 26, 1862. See also the postwar
mental illness of a Union physician, William Chester Minor, in Carey, “The Doctor: A
Civil War Casualty.”
68. Richmond Daily Dispatch, January 2, 1862; “Lucius Cissro Fambro,” Find A
March 15, 2012).
69. Brinsfield, Davis, Maryniak, and Robertson, Faith in the Fight, 213. Brinsfield
et al. list Barnwell as an Episcopal minister associated with a hospital in “Warren
Springs,” most likely Warm Springs, a location near Staunton. He also served on the
executive committee of a hospital aid society. Report of the South Carolina Hospital
Aid Association in Virginia 5, 6, 8, 21, 25, 27, 33.; Hilde, Worth a Dozen Men, 35, 36, 64,
221n27. Emma Holmes reported on a lecture Barnwell delivered in December 1861 in
Charleston to recruit women for hospital work. Marszalek, ed., The Diary of Miss
Emma Holmes, 101; see also 82, 200, 229. A letter regarding Barnwell’s suicide is found in Mary Johnstone to Emmie Elliot, Beaumont [Flat Rock, North Carolina], June 28 [1863], Elliott and Gonzales Family Papers, SHC, UNC (I thank David Silkenat for sharing this letter excerpt with me); Richmond Daily Dispatch, June 26, 1863; Woodward, ed., Mary Chesnut’s Civil War, 92, 99–100, 354, 452–53; Document #593, typewritten “Biography of Robert Woodward Barnwell,” n.d., and Document #385, partial note possibly from Robert Woodward Barnwell, ca. 1862, both in Lowcountry Digital Library, http://lowcountrydigital.library.cofc.edu/cdm4/document.php?CISOROOT=/BFP&CISOPTR=2368&REC=17 and http://lowcountrydigital.library.cofc.edu/cdm4/document.php?CISOROOT=/BFP&CISOPTR=1580&REC=2 (accessed March 19, 2012). Most contemporary and recent sources claim Barnwell died of typhoid/typhoid fever/typhus. (For example, see an obituary and his headstone at “Rev. Robert Woodward Barnwell,” Find A Grave, http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=77255257 [accessed July 7, 2014]). Barnwell’s obituary in the Edgefield Advertiser (July 1, 1863) does not include the cause of death but erroneously states that he died at his “post” in Richmond, not at the Western State Asylum in Staunton. I base my claim that Barnwell died by his own hand on the letter cited above and on three additional pieces of information. The first is a quote attributed to his wife, who opposed her husband’s admission to the asylum: “It is only fever. He is too weak to be dangerous.” Presumably, here she means “dangerous” to himself. Woodward, ed., Mary Chesnut’s Civil War, 453 (September 1863). Second, Emma Holmes reported Barnwell had been in a “highly excited state, almost crazy,” which she attributed to typhoid fever and “the many distressing deaths” he had witnessed. Upon learning of his death, Holmes remarked that he had attempted to kill himself with laudanum. “Oh insanity is an awful curse,” she bemoaned, an allusion to Barnwell’s compromised mental state. Marszalek, ed., The Diary of Miss Emma Holmes, 267, 271–72. Third are the asylum records. Barnwell’s patient record indicates typhoid fever as cause of death. Indeed, Barnwell was suffering from bloody stool, delusions, fever, and a rapid pulse, all believed to be symptoms of typhoid fever. Humphreys, Marrow of Tragedy, 99; Schroeder-Lein, The Encyclopedia of Civil War Medicine, 309–11. However, before his admission, he experienced an episode of self-injury, when he bit off a piece of glass, ground it with his teeth, and swallowed. It is not at all clear that Barnwell was attempting to kill himself when he did this, but it does establish a history of self-harm consistent with subsequent suicidal activity. Asylum records showing typhoid as cause of death might well be accurate, as it may have precipitated his suicide. Records of Western State Hospital, 1825–2000, Accession 41404, Case Book (Males), 1858–1869, Vol. 276, BC 1183139, Record of Robert Barnwell, 568, 571–73, and Accession 41253, Admission Register, Patient #1813, Vol. 247, State Government Records Collection, LVA. The etiology of mental illness can be complex, and Barnwell’s family history (his father died in an asylum), his illness, as well as the stressor of war may have all contributed to his psychological downward spiral.

70. Richmond Daily Dispatch, October 6, 1863.
72. McPherson, For Cause and Comrades, 134. John Luck, a U.S. soldier from Milwaukee, suffered a similar fate. His wife was distraught over his enlistment and depa-
ture, which was compounded when her son drowned. Luck received a furlough and returned to find his mentally ill wife committed to the almshouse. He reported back to headquarters, but very soon afterward committed suicide with a pistol. *Nashville Dispatch*, September 13, 1862.


74. *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, May 24, 1861; June 15, 1861, p. 5; *Baltimore Sun*, June 3, 1861, p. 4. On the notion that officers felt more pressure to perform under fire than enlisted men, consult McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades*, 58, 60, and Linderman, *Embattled Courage*, 21, 22, 45, 50. The unwillingness of comrades to label Fisher’s collapse as cowardly makes Chris Walsh’s point that acknowledgment of fear by soldiers was not universally denounced. Walsh, “‘Cowardice Weakness or Infirmity.’”

75. *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, January 3, 1862, p. 1, quoting the *Richmond Enquirer*, December 28, 1861. Northern newspapers buzzed with rumors in late December 1861 about a “gentleman” holding a commission in the Confederate army who had committed suicide, whom they subsequently identified as Cocke. *New York Herald*, December 30, 1861, p. 5; *Harrisburg Weekly Patriot and Union*, January 2, 1862, p. 8. On January 9, 1862, the *Louisville Daily Journal* printed a piece cautioning readers not to confuse Philip St. George Cocke with the Philip St. George Cooke who was a U.S. cavalry officer and also from Virginia. Edmund Ruffin’s suicide remains the most well known of the Confederacy. However, he was not a member of the military, and his suicide took place a few months after the war. On Ruffin’s suicide, see chapter 8.

76. Before Cocke’s death, his Powhatan County estate was appraised at over $1.4 million. Allmendinger, *Ruffin*, 216n86. Fire-eater Edmund Ruffin and Cocke both had been members of the Virginia State Agricultural Society. Ruffin fretted about Cocke’s appointment as general, worrying about his lack of experience: “I fear that he is one of the sundry incompetents who have been put in high offices by the governor.” Scarborough, ed., *The Diary of Edmund Ruffin*, Vol. 2, 13 (April 28, 1861). On Cocke, see also Glatthaar, *General Lee’s Army*, 47–48; Davis, “Philip St. George Cocke”; Koons, “Philip St. George Cocke”; Philip St. George Cocke, suicide, December 26, 1861, *Virginia Military Dead Database*.


82. *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, October 21, 1861; October 22, 1861.

83. *Baltimore Sun*, June 3, 1861; *Wisconsin Patriot*, June 15, 1861; *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, May 24, 1861. Bruce had volunteered for service, even though he had been admitted previously to the state asylum at least twice (and twice more after his
wartime admission). It is hardly surprising, then, that Bruce, after only two days in camp, collapsed into a “state approaching lunacy.” Affidavit of April 10, 1862, signed by two physicians at Camp Price, South Carolina, SCSH Commitment Files; Microfilm Reel AD #677, SCSH Admissions Books, August 16, 1851, October 9, 1860, September 19, 1864, December 21, 1866, May 1, 1872; and, Microfilm Reel AD #673, SCLA Patient Treatment Records, Vol. 3 (1859–1869, 1874), December 1866, p. 165, SCDAH. Bruce was not the only psychiatric casualty who entered military service with a preexisting condition of mental instability. Those suffering from severe forms of mental illness, especially those unable to care for themselves, would likely have been excused by authorities from service. Less clear, however, is how military officials would have regarded the service obligations of a man suffering with moderate or intermittent psychological issues, such as Bruce. Asylum records show that during the war a number of men were readmitted after having been previously institutionalized. Another case is that of Jeptha Hammock, a forty-six-year-old farmer from Spalding County, Georgia. Hammock had entered the state asylum for a short period in 1849 but had remained relatively healthy until the outbreak of war, when he began showing signs of instability, possibly brought on by the stress and anxiety about the approach of war. By July 1863, however, Hammock seemed well enough for military duty. After a short stint, he received a furlough to sow his wheat crop, but when he returned home he contracted diphtheria. Hammock recuperated and returned to his company, but in just three weeks he had become a “raving maniac . . . constantly excited, destructive and disposed to fight anyone about him,” resulting in his military discharge and admission to the state asylum. He also must have faced considerable pressure as provider for his very large family; in 1860, he had eleven children. Asylum records do not mention the death of his eldest son, Benjamin, who, at the very young age of sixteen, volunteered for service in the Confederate infantry. He was killed in battle in Virginia in 1862. In totality, these factors—his predisposition to mental illness, physical ailments, PTSD, and mourning for his son—may have left him debilitated for life. He appears in asylum records as Hammeck, but as Hammock/Hammond in census records. There is no release or death indicated in asylum records. U.S. Census, 1860, Spalding County, Georgia, “J. J. Hammock.” Jeptha does not appear in the 1870 census; his wife, Barbary, is listed as head of household with a large number of her children. The presumption is that Jeptha died. U.S. Census, 1870, Spalding County, Georgia, “Barbary Hammock”; GAR, December 19, 1863, p. 109, GA.

84. Letter from H. A. Carrington to Charlotte Elizabeth (Cullen) Carrington, December 29, 1861, Carrington Family Papers, Mss 1C2358c, VMHC. My appreciation to Jonathan W. White for sharing this source with me.

85. Richmond Daily Dispatch, January 18, 1862.

86. Corinth (Miss.) War Eagle, August 7, 1862, in Wiltshire, comp., Mississippi Newspaper Obituaries, 1862–1875, 4.

87. [also, Meachem, Meachim] Richmond Daily Dispatch, August 10, 1861. See also Virginia Military Dead Database, Samuel M. Meacham, died August 9, 1861 (the Daily Dispatch uses the middle initial “W” while the Virginia Military Dead database identifies him as Samuel M. Meachem, though they are clearly the same individual). The published story characterized Meacham’s action as “leaping” from the eighth floor to his death, suggesting, it would seem, that the newspaper relied on a witness who had
seen the episode and deduced it was a willful act. Attending physicians, coroners, and
the juries they assembled sometimes faced pressure to conceal suicides and occasion-
ally shaped their legal conclusions accordingly. Kushner, *American Suicide*, 32–33,
104; Anderson, *Suicide in Victorian and Edwardian England*, 221–22; Bailey, “This
Rash Act,” 43–45. The death of Samuel B. Pate, a private in “Captain Guion’s” artillery
company, was attributed to the accidental discharge of his rifle but may have been
suicide. *Raleigh Weekly Standard*, October 9, 1861, p. 1; *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, Oc-
tober 5, 1861.

88. *Wilmington Daily Journal*, August 19, 1863; *Wilmington Weekly Journal*, Au-
gust 20, 1863, excerpted in Sammons, comp., *Marriage and Death Notices from Wil-
mington, North Carolina Newspapers*, 215; 1860 Census, Halifax County, North
Cavalry, Company G, found at Fold3.com.


90. Microfilm Reel AD #673, SCLA Patient Treatment Records, Vol. 3 (1859–1869,
1874) (hereafter SCLA Patient Treatment Records), December 1862, Patient #1371,
p. 175; Microfilm Reel AD #674, SCLA Physicians’ Record, December 21, 1863; and,
Microfilm Reel AD #677, SCSH Admissions Books, December 21, 1863, SCDAH;
CWSSS. Jeffrey W. McClurken’s study, unlike my own, finds that officials at Virginia’s
Western Lunatic Asylum did link veterans’ symptoms to experiences during the war.
Asylum records in South Carolina and Georgia, however, made those connections
only infrequently. Or perhaps over time, asylum workers began to make the connec-
tion, as McClurken examines soldiers after the war. McClurken, *Take Care of the Liv-
ing*, 120–33. Evidence suggests U.S. military physicians had begun to understand the
psychological effect of the war on civilians and soldiers alike. Dr. William H. Stokes,
superintendent of Mount Hope Institution, an insane asylum in Baltimore, reported
on how the war affected some of his admitted patients. He described the psychotic,
paranoid behavior of one patient who, believing himself a spy, was apprehensive of
being arrested and imprisoned and unable to sleep or rest. Another patient believed
others suspected him of disloyalty and imagined that everyone he came into contact
with suspected as much. Another patient was driven mad by the events of April 19,
1861, imagining that he had taken part in the war’s inaugural assault. In a frantic at-
tempt to avoid his (imagined) arrest, imprisonment, and execution, he cut his throat
in a suicide attempt. A fourth patient suffered from aural delusions: his sleep was in-
terrupted by the imagined roar of artillery, the tramping of thousands of horses in the
rush of cavalry, the moaning of the wounded and dying, and the shrieks of captive
women. Stokes, “The Influence of the Civil War on Insanity.” At minimum, some
physicians during and after the Civil War began to see a causal link between the phys-
ical rigors of war and mental health. One former Confederate surgeon recalled that
healthy soldiers remained cheerful, but once they became ill “mental depression and
nostalgia, added much to the gravity of their disease.” Buist, “Some Items of My Med-
cal and Surgical Experience in the Confederate Army,” 577. Jacob M. DaCosta’s well-
known study on “irritable heart” identified a number of symptoms—dizziness, loss of
breath, chest pain, palpitations, and fatigue—often associated with panic attacks.
DaCosta, “On Irritable Heart.” Medical practitioners most often connected psychiat-
ric symptoms with the nostalgia diagnosis. Surgeon DeWitt C. Peters identified
numerous psychological symptoms he associated with those afflicted by “nostalgia” including “a species of melancholy, or mild type of insanity”; an “aberration of the mind” that was characterized by “great mental dejection” and loss of appetite; “hysterical weeping”; “anxious expression”; “watchfulness”; and “continued sadness.” Peters, “Remarks on The Evils of Youthful Enlistments and Nostalgia,” 75. J. Theodore Calhoun, also a surgeon in the U.S. Army, observed in nostalgic patients “impairment of functions, consequent on the mental disorder” and a “state of mental depression.” Calhoun, “Nostalgia, as a Disease of Field Service,” 131. Jennifer Travis makes the point that physicians tread lightly when describing or naming mental illness among soldiers so not to offend their masculinized sensibilities. Travis, Wounded Hearts, 31–32.

91. GAR, April 5, 1862, pp. 54–55, GA. Among respectable white men of the period, masturbation was viewed as a moral vice. Medical experts believed it could lead to insanity. Ironically, by the end of the century and with the influence of Sigmund Freud, sexual repression, not overindulgence, was heralded as the source of much psychological dysfunction. On the connection between masturbation and insanity, see Jarvis, “Causes of Insanity,” 297; Fox, So Far Disordered in Mind, 142, 146, 154, 155; Rothman, The Discovery of the Asylum, 111; Grob, The Mad among Us, 60; Dain, Concepts of Insanity, 8, 91–92, 158, 160, 181; Reiss, Theaters of Madness, 56, 119, 186–87. On Freud’s influence on psychiatry, see Shorter, A History of Psychiatry, 145–89, and Porter, Madness, 188–205. For rare discussions of masturbation by learned white men, see Williams, Intellectual Manhood, 144, 146, 159.

92. GAR, May [?], 1862, p. 57, GA.

93. Occasionally, asylum officials would connect a soldier’s mental illness to wartime experience, but usually when a related physical trauma was indicated, such as a head injury caused when a soldier stood too close to a firing cannon or “exposure” while encamped or engaged.

94. Linderman, Embattled Courage, 218–20, 226; McPherson, For Cause and Comrades, 140–41; Dean, Shook over Hell, 92–94; Hess, The Union Soldier in Battle, 156.

95. On Union soldiers admitted to insane asylums, consult Dean, Shook over Hell, 121, and Deutsch, “Military Psychiatry,” 378–82. U.S. military authorities fielded complaints about improper discharge of insane soldiers, many of whom simply were turned loose and left on their own, prompting changes in the way mentally ill soldiers were processed. All insane soldiers were to be sent to the Government Hospital for the Insane in Washington, D.C.; its superintendent consequently noted an increase in the number of military patients in the facility. During the fiscal year 1864–1865, for example, 83 percent of the inmates were military patients. Deutsch, “Military Psychiatry,” 383. On the development of insane asylums in the nineteenth century, consult Hamilton, “The History of American Mental Hospitals”; Dain, Disordered Minds; Kushner, American Suicide, 35–42; Grob, Mental Institutions in America; Grob, From Asylum to Community; Rothman, The Discovery of the Asylum; Toomes, The Art of Asylum-Keeping; Shepherd and Wright, “Madness, Suicide and the Victorian Asylum.”

96. GAR, June 6, 1862, p. 58, GA.

97. Microfilm Reel AD #673, SCLA Patient Treatment Records, Vol. 3 (1859–1869, 1874), September 1862, p. 183, SCDAH; U.S. Census, 1860, Darlington County, South Carolina, “John G. Gatlin.” Gatlin (Gatlan) served in Company K of the 21st South Carolina Infantry. CWSSS.
98. Microfilm Reel AD #677, SCSH, Admissions Books, September 17, 1862; Affidavit of indigency and letter from M. Frazier Cheme (sp.?), April 21, 1864, to Dr. Parker, superintendent of asylum, SCSH Commitment Files; Microfilm Reel AD #674 SCLA, Physicians’ Record (186-1874), February 22, 1864; and, Microfilm Reel AD #673, SCLA Patient Treatment Records, Vol. 3 (1859–1869, 1874), February 1863, p. 174, SCDAH.

99. “Mental illness” was not language used in the nineteenth century. Instead, medical practitioners used the all-encompassing term “insane” to signify aberrant mental behavior that typically fell into one of several broad categories: melancholia (depression), dementia, or mania, though many subcategories existed, such as monomania, hysteria, and neurasthenia. Laypersons often employed language such as “madness” or “lunacy.” Idiocy was also a condition that sometimes resulted in institutionalization, but it was seen as distinct from insanity in that it denoted more of an intellectual (not psychiatric) disability or deficiency. Lunacy was considered treatable; idiocy was deemed permanent. See Wickham, “Idiocy in Virginia, 1616–1860.” Nineteenth-century asylum records denote a patient as either “insane” or a “lunatic.” On nineteenth-century psychiatry, consult Dain, _Disordered Minds_; Shryock, “The Beginnings,” 1–28; McGovern, _Masters of Madness_, 1–148.

100. GAR, [date indecipherable], 1863, p. 98, GA. Military records reveal two records for Noah Tucker: one served in the 38th Georgia Infantry, Company B, and the other in Captain Maxwell’s Regular Light Battalion, Georgia Artillery. CWSSS.

101. [Also, Mannings]. Correspondence from J. P. Phazat (?), M.D., chairman of Trustees of the Roper Fund, March 11, 1862, SCSH Commitment Files; and, Microfilm Reel AD #673, SCLA Patient Treatment Records, Vol. 3 (1859–1869, 1874), p. 183, September 1862, SCDAH.

102. Joseph Elter (sp.?), correspondence from Dr. W. H. Huger, Soldier’s Relief Hospital, Charleston, December 22, 1864, to Surgeon N. L. Crowell, SCSH Commitment Files; and, Microfilm Reel AD #677, SCSH Admissions Books, January 5, 1865, SCDAH.


104. Dean, _Shook over Hell_, 118–121.

105. Thomas Pinckney to W. H. Smith, February 12, 1863, and from Drs. Ravelan and Thomson to Colonel John Preston, January 2, 1863, SCSH Commitment Files,; Microfilm Reel AD #671, Minutes of the Board of Regents, January 5, 1863, p. 307, and January 31, 1863, p. 309; and, Microfilm Reel AD #677, SCSH, Admissions Books, January 3, 1863 SCDAH. Garey was admitted, cured, and released.


107. _Richmond Daily Dispatch_, June 11, 1862. On wounded Civil War soldiers who relapsed psychologically, see Marten, _Sing Not War_, 87. On wounded Union soldiers, see Dean, _Shook over Hell_, 122–23. Jefferson G. Baggett, aged twenty, from Stewart
County, Georgia, was injured when in combat north of Atlanta. A shell fragment lodged near his spine. Reinjured after the war, Baggett was under constant care by physicians, who gave up and sent him to an asylum. GAR, April 3, 1867, p. 201, GA.

108. Richmond Daily Dispatch, October 8, 1861. On the suicide of a Confederate soldier hospitalized following the Seven Days Battle in June 1862, see Silkenat, Moments of Despair, 8. For a case of a suicidal Union soldier, see Beaudot, “A Civil War Madness,” which details the military experiences of William Riley, son of Irish immigrants and a private in the 6th Wisconsin Volunteers, who, although he lived to age ninety-five, suffered psychologically from his time in battle, was institutionalized during the war, and attempted suicide at age twenty-one before war’s end. Confederate soldier John Dooley, wounded at Gettysburg and held for a time in a Yankee hospital, witnessed a deranged Union soldier trying to jump from a third-story window, just as another had the previous week. Durkin, ed., John Dooley, Confederate Soldier, 139 (August 4, 1863). Lieutenant Oliver Wendell Holmes contemplated ending his life with a laudanum overdose after he was shot through his chest. Adams, Living Hell, 69.

110. [McGuire], Diary of a Southern Refugee during the War, 316–17.
112. [McGuire], Diary of a Southern Refugee during the War, 216.
113. Anderson, “Shell Shock”; Singer, “Brain Trauma in Iraq.” Scientists, physicians, and researchers have also greatly benefited from studies on head injuries sustained by professional football players, whose injuries in some ways are similar to blast victims. See DeKosky, Ikonomovic, and Gandy, “Traumatic Brain Injury”; Laskas, “Bennet Omalu, Concussions, and the NFL”; McGrath, “Does Football Have a Future?” For a recent look at “shell shock” during World War I, see Stagner, “Healing the Soldier, Restoring the Nation”; Sheehan, Roberts, Thurber, and Roberts, “Shell-Shocked and Confused.” I am indebted to James Lothian for sharing some of these citations with me. See also Kaufman, “Treatment of Head Injuries in the American Civil War.” Civil War injuries are believed to have contributed to significant advances in the field of neurology. Glass and Jones, “Psychiatry in the U.S. Army,” Chapter 2, pp. 25–35.
114. Microfilm Reel AD #673, SCLA Patient Treatment Records, Vol. 3 (1859–1869, 1874), December 1866, p. 164; and, Microfilm Reel AD #677, SCSH Admissions Books, December 12, 1866, SCDAH.
115. Anderson, “Shell Shock.” See, for example, the letter from Major James P. Douglas, a Confederate artillery officer, who complained to his wife: “I am not very well today. I had an attack of the apoplexy last evening. I fell down senseless for a minute, but soon recovered and have not felt much pain from the effects of it. I had an attack somewhat similar in 1863, and you may remember my fainting in the spring of 1861.” Douglas’s regular proximity to artillery fire, and the damage it probably caused to his ears, likely caused or contributed to his condition. James P. Douglas to “wife,” January 2, 1865, in Douglas, ed., Douglas’s Texas Battery, CSA, 152.
116. Microfilm Reel AD #673, SCLA Patient Treatment Records, Vol. 3 (1859–1869, 1874), June 1865, p. 180; and, Microfilm Reel AD #677, SCSH Admissions Books, June 1, 1865, SCDAH.
117. For other instances of Civil War soldiers suffering the short-term and long-term consequences of traumatic brain injury, see Adams, *Living Hell*, 118–19.


120. On classical views on suicide, see O’Dea, *Suicide*, 30–58; Guernsey, *Suicide*, 10–15. On the “noble death” tradition in early eighteenth-century Russia, see Morrissey, “In the Name of Freedom.”

121. Women rarely killed themselves by cutting their throats. Suicides by throat-cutting can be explained partly by access. Most men possessed personal razors or knives or could have purchased them easily. Soldiers had access to firearms, but most were issued rifles or muskets that would have made killing one’s self difficult, though not impossible. (After all, Edmund Ruffin killed himself with a rifle he fired with the aid of a forked stick. Allmendinger, *Ruffin*, 153.) Suicide by handgun was easier, but few enlisted men carried them, as pistols and revolvers were not standard issue to soldiers. Officers and cavalrymen, however, did carry side arms. “Weaponry,” in Wagner, Gallagher, and Finkelman, eds., *Library of Congress’s Civil War Desk Reference*, 498–501. Olive Anderson’s study of suicide in nineteenth-century England found the use of razors and knives to commit suicide much more common among men than women. Anderson, *Suicide in Victorian and Edwardian England*, 20. Still, one has to consider the gendered and cultural meaning of cutting one’s throat, notably its association with perceived bravery and masculinity, and its influence in shaping decisions about suicide. Victor Bailey documents a case of attempted suicide in nineteenth-century England by a former soldier, who cut his throat and explained to the policeman who found him, “I want to die like an English soldier.” Bailey, “This Rash Act,” 264. Many thanks to Lorri Glover for her help on this point. Janet Padiak finds in her study of soldiers in Victorian Britain that the method of death in nearly one-third of soldier suicides from 1860 to 1900 was throat-cutting, which she attributes to army regulations governing grooming of facial hair and the availability of razors for this purpose. Padiak, “Death by Suicide in the British Army,” 126.


123. High L. Honnell to sister, December 17, 1861, August 16, 1862, Honnell Papers, Woodruff Library, Emory University, Atlanta, as quoted in McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades*, 23.

Chapter 2

1. Emily Liles Harris Journals (1859–1866), Accession 586, Box 2, Folder 4 (1864), November 21, 1864; October 9, 1864; Box 2, Folder 5 (1865–1866), February 20, 1865; February 21, 1865; Box 1, Folder 3 (1862–1863), December 4, 1862; Box 2, Folder 5 (1865–1866), February 20, 1865; Box 2, Folder 4 (1864) August, 27, 1862; Box 2, Folder 5 (1865–1866), February 17, 1865, Louise Pettus Archives, Dacus Library, WU (hereafter Harris Journals). See also Racine, “Emily Lyles Harris,” and Racine, ed., Piedmont Farmer. Harris was not alone in questioning her sanity under the trying circumstances of war. See Faust, Mothers of Invention, 236, for other accounts. On the experience of slaveholding women taking over the new role as overseer and master, see McClurken, Take Care of the Living, 30; Faust, Mothers of Invention, 51–52, 53–54, 56–57, 62–73; Rable, Civil Wars, 114–21; and Bercaw, Gendered Freedoms, 51–52. By contrast, Thavolia Glymph sees continuity and argues that slave mistresses had long doled out corporal punishment to their slaves before the Civil War. Glymph, Out of the House of Bondage, 18–136.

2. The psychological impact of the American Civil War on civilians largely has escaped the attention of historians, even though focus on the homefront and gender has blossomed. While important studies in the past few decades have focused on the experiences of white women in the South during the Civil War, none has taken up the war’s psychological impact on the adult civilian population, most of whom were women. Drew Gilpin Faust devotes several pages to the emotional suffering of Confederate women in her important work Mothers of Invention, 234–38, but no monograph addresses the singular topic. See also Rable, Civil Wars, 222–23.

3. Hobfoll et al., “War-Related Stress,” 849. Stevan E. Hobfoll and colleagues’ study focuses on veterans of the Persian Gulf War and their families, but some of the points resonate with civilians experiencing war in other contexts including the American Civil War. Works that survey experiences of Southern women and families during the war include McClurken, Take Care of the Living, 28–40; Murrell, “Of Necessity and Public Benefit”; Faust, Mothers of Invention; Whites, The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender; Bynum, Unruly Women, 111–50; Glymph, Out of the House of Bondage, 97–136.

expand coverage of suicide to include nonlethal acts, suicidal thoughts, and death wishes.


8. Thomas Dabney to his daughter Emmy, August 13, 1878, in Smedes, Memorials of a Southern Planter, 264. Scholarship on wartime changes to gender roles and responsibilities including Southern white women taking on new roles during wartime includes Scott, The Southern Lady, 80–102; Friedman, The Enclosed Garden, 92–106; Rable, Civil Wars, 50–62; Whites, The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender, 15–40; Faust, Mothers of Invention, 30–52; Bynum, Unruly Women, 132–33; Cashin, “Since the War Broke Out.”


10. Pember, A Southern Woman’s Story, 2.

11. Wright, A Southern Girl in ’61, 165.

12. Ibid., 216.

13. Massey, Bonnet Brigades, 201. In “Historians Forum: Bonnet Brigades at 50: Reflections on Mary Elizabeth Massey and Gender in Civil War History,” a number of historians reflect on the importance of Massey’s early work on women and the Civil War.


15. Clinton, Tara Revisited; Faust, Mothers of Invention; Whites, The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender; Glymph, Out of the House of Bondage; McCurry, Confederate Reckoning; Bynum, Unruly Women; Cashin, “Since the War Broke Out”; Jabour, Scarlett’s Sisters; Ott, Confederate Daughters.

16. Depression was commonly referred to as “melancholy.” Laypeople might use the term “melancholy” to describe feelings of sadness, but melancholia was also recognized as a medical disorder. Competing clinical understandings of melancholia, regarded as a form of insanity, circulated throughout the nineteenth-century, but most American caregivers believed it to be an emotional, not an intellectual, disorder, characterized by unhappiness, dejection, irritability, discontent, preoccupation with self, hopelessness, and an inability to experience pleasure. While occasionally the word “depression” or “depressive” appears in Civil War-era sources, it was not until after the Civil War when the term began to replace “melancholia” in popular lexicon. Shorter, How Everyone Became Depressed, 79–102; Jackson, Melancholia and Depression, 147–87. “Anxiety” is and was a term used to convey feelings of nervousness, uneasiness, or worry usually in anticipation of some event. Symptoms could be both emotional (mental worry and apprehension) and physiological (gastrointestinal ailments, sweating, tachycardia, panic attacks). Historically, anxiety was considered
part of the normal human state, with little clinical attention paid to it. Early clinical classifications treated it as a symptom, not a psychiatric disease in and of itself. Anxiety was most often associated with depression before the twentieth century, when psychiatrists began to recognize it as a stand-alone disorder. Shorter, *How Everyone Became Depressed*, 51–77. Most Confederate women experienced at least mild or moderate symptoms associated with depression and anxiety, although they did not always connect physical symptoms to psychological distress. For example, Kate McClure of South Carolina, whose husband, William, served in the army, battled chronic insomnia. Cashin, “‘Since the War Broke Out,’” 207. George C. Rable identified a number of symptoms reported by Confederate women that he attributed to the physical and emotional drain of the homefront including headaches, depression, and nightmares. Rable, *Civil Wars*, 57.

17. Little work has been on women and suicide in U.S. history. Exceptions are Howard I. Kushner’s scholarly essays, “Suicide, Gender, and the Fear of Modernity,” “Suicide, Gender, and the Fear of Modernity in Nineteenth-Century Medical and Social Thought,” and “Women and Suicide in Historical Perspective.” For additional works on women and suicide refer to note 4 above.


19. For example, Victoria Clayton, in Walker, “Power, Sex, and Gender Roles,” 185. Scholars have debated the extent to which the Civil War presented opportunities for white women to transcend traditional gender boundaries. Scott, in *The Southern Lady*, argued the war was a watershed for Southern white women, who were given new roles in wartime. In this vein, see Jabour, *Scarlett’s Sisters*; Ott, *Confederate Daughters*. Historians who challenge Scott’s sanguine view include Lebsock, *The Free Women of Petersburg*, 239–40; Rable, *Civil Wars*, 367n24; Whites, *The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender*; Faust, *Mothers of Invention*, 253–54; Weiner, “Female Planters and Planters’ Wives in Civil War and Reconstruction Alabama.”

20. Harris Journals, Box 1, Folder 3 (1862–1863), February 24, 1863, p. 116, WU.


27. Ibid., January 1, 1865, p. 43. See also entry for May 13, 1864, p. 34.


29. Harris Journals, November 23, 1862, and October 9, 1864, WU.
30. Mary Greenhow Lee Diary, May 21 and June 2, 1865, Handley Library, Winchester-Frederick County Historical Society, Winchester, Virginia, quoted in Faust, *Mothers of Invention*, 236.

31. Mary Jeffreys Bethell Diary, 1853–1873 (#1737), typescript copy, April 29, 1862, p. 80, SHC, UNC (hereafter Bethell Diary). Bethell, like so many other Confederate women, resorted to taking medications to cope with the anxiety generated by the war. Bethell took doctor-administered laudanum, which gave her relief from her general ill state, but which she conceded “stopped the flooding” as well. Bethell Diary, April 8, 1862, p. 78.

32. Elaine Showalter’s classic study on gender and insanity in nineteenth-century England asserts that “madness” became feminized, that is, women were overrepresented in insane asylums, a reflection, she continues, of cultural assumptions about perceived links between women’s reproductive organs and insanity. Peter McCandless, in his study on the South Carolina insane asylum, rejects the characterization of mental illness in the nineteenth century as “feminized,” claiming that asylum physicians did not dwell on women’s reproductive system as a source of their mental illnesses. My own surveys of Georgia and South Carolina asylums show that women did not become the majority patient population until after the Civil War. As for the perceived “causes” of female patients’ “insanity,” while reproductive-related factors do not constitute a majority of causes, they are cited regularly as contributing to the mental illness of female patients. To take but one sample year: in 1862, sixteen females’ admission records at the Georgia insane asylum include cause or causes of mental illness (though a total of nineteen females were admitted). Six patient histories cite reproductive-related causes, either direct or proximate; ten do not. So, while the majority of female patients’ records in that single year note nonreproductive-related causes of their insanity, a significant number identify reproductive health as an explanation for mental illness. Showalter, *The Female Malady*; McCandless, “A Female Malady?” A more recent study of gender in nineteenth-century British asylums is Shepherd and Wright, “Madness, Suicide and the Victorian Asylum.” On nineteenth-century conceptions of gender and their correlation to psychiatric traits, see Shields, “Passionate Men, Emotional Women.” The treatment that female asylum patients received in the nineteenth century is described by Danielle Terbenche in “‘Curative’ and ‘Custodial.’”

33. See note 6, on insanity, in chapter 1.

34. Microfilm Reel AD #674, SCLA Physicians’ Record, Patient #1274, January 7, 1862; and, Microfilm R #677, SCSH Admissions Books, January 21, 1862, SCDAH. There is a discrepancy in Eason’s age. Asylum records record her age as thirty-seven, and the 1860 census, age fifty. 1860 Census, Charleston, “Mary Eason.” In the 1880 Census, Columbia, Richland County, South Carolina, Eason, still residing in the asylum, is recorded as being sixty-five.

35. Microfilm Reel AD #674, SCLA Physicians’ Record, Patient #1241, May 30, 1861; and, Microfilm Reel AD #677, SCSH Admissions Books, May 30, 1861, SCDAH.

36. Microfilm Reel AD #674, SCLA Physicians’ Record, Patient #1351, August 16, 1863; and. Microfilm Reel AD #677, SCSH Admissions Books, August 16, 1863, SCDAH.
37. Letter from Dr. E. Turnipseed, November 9, 1863, to “All Whom It May Concern,” and a letter to William Parker, chairman of the Commission for the Poor of Richland District, November 9, 1863, SCISH Commitment Files; and, Microfilm Reel AD #677, SCISH Admissions Books, November 11, 1863, SCDAH; 1860 Census, Columbia, Richland County, South Carolina, “Pottey Turnipseed.”

38. Principally, Whites, The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender.

39. Historians disagree about the extent to which Southern slaveholding women supported the patriarchal slave society of which they were a part. Anne Firor Scott suggested that women of the planter class chafed against the confining aspects of life in the antebellum household. Scott, The Southern Lady, 46–79. Catherine Clinton makes a similar point in The Plantation Mistress, 16–35. Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, by contrast, contended that discontent among slaveholding women has been greatly exaggerated among historians. Fox-Genovese, Within the Plantation Household, 47–48. See also Bercaw, Gendered Freedoms, 51–59. George C. Rable asserts that despite their subordinate status, slaveholding women were beneficiaries and defenders of the system. Rable, Civil Wars, 31–49. Suzanne Lebsco takes a more nuanced position, arguing that white slaveholding women operated under a different value system than men, one that privileged personalism, and by doing so exerted a “subversive” influence on the slave system. Lebsco, The Free Women of Petersburg, 138, 144. Brenda Stevenson’s Life in Black and White, 203–4, and especially Thavolia Glymph’s Out of the House of Bondage make clear that no intimacy or bond existed between female slaves and mistresses.

40. Poor white women especially deviated from prescribed gender behaviors. Bynum, Unruly Women; Sommerville, Rape and Race in the Nineteenth-Century South.

41. McCurry, Confederate Reckoning, 94–100.

42. Sally Elmore Taylor Memoirs, p. 107, SHC, UNC, as quoted in Scott, The Southern Lady, 81.

43. Bethell Diary, September 26, 1862, p. 90, SHC, UNC.

44. Faust, Mothers of Invention, 251.

45. Harris Journals, Box 1, Folder 1 (1862–1863), November 23, 1862, WU.

46. Ibid., Box 2, Folder 3 (1862–1863), November 20, 1862, p. 99.

47. Ibid., Box 2, Folder 4 (1864), July 24, 1864.

48. Ibid., Box 2, Folder 4 (1864), September [?], 1864.

49. Bethell Diary, April 17, 1862, p. 79, SHC, UNC. On wartime women and slave management, see Massey, Bonnet Brigades, 210; Stowell, “A Family of Women and Children”; Bercaw, Gendered Freedoms, 51–53.

50. Bethell Diary, May 9, 1861, p. 63, SHC, UNC.

51. Ibid., February 27, 1862, p. 75.

52. Ibid., April 17, 1862, p. 79.

53. Ibid., May 9, 1862, p. 81. See also April 8, 1862, p. 79.

54. Harris Journals, Box 2, Folder 3 (1862–1863), December 2 and December 5, 1862; Folder 4 (1864), July 8, 1864, WU.

55. Letter from Jane May to Arabella May, June 27, 1862, in Mackintosh, ed., “Dear Martha,” 77, 46n173. John May did die, but a few months later in the Second Battle of Bull Run in August 1862.
56. Applicants to asylums generally had been ill for extended periods of time, usually years, before their families or communities took steps to institutionalize them. Families treated asylums as the option of last resort, largely because of stigma, and so made every attempt to accommodate mentally ill family members at home. Consequently, it was not uncommon for the severely mentally ill to go for years without proper medical care. The tipping point usually came when an unwell person’s behavior became uncontrollable, typically violent, and posed a safety threat to others or to himself or herself.

57. Relying on the biographical data of asylum patients—residence, age, marital status, children, responsible party—I try to match them with census and military service records to piece together their family histories and circumstances during the war. Learning that a female inmate has a husband serving in the war is not in and of itself a cause of her mental debility, but it does provide important information and better contextualizes her condition. I also rely on current psychiatric and sociological studies on women in war zones to inform my understanding of the impact of war on civilians’ psychic health.

58. GAR, December 16, 1861, pp. 46–47, GA. Various spellings make it difficult to accurately identify her husband. J. A. Fuger/J. A. Fewger/J. A. J. Feuger served in the 5th Georgia Cavalry; J. A. G. Feuger/J. A. Fewger served in the 1st Georgia Infantry (Olmstead’s) and 18 Battalian Georgia Infantry. No census records can be located.

59. Richmond Daily Dispatch, November 6, 1861 (reprinted from the New Orleans Bee).


61. GAR, GA. Information drawn from admissions registers from April 15, 1861, to April 14, 1865.

62. Microfilm Reel AD #674, SCLA Physicians’ Record, Patient #1352, August 1863; Microfilm Reel AD #673 SCLA, Patient Treatment Records, Vol. 3 (1859–69, 1874), Patient #1352, August 1863; and Microfilm Reel AD #677, SCSH Admissions Books, August 19, 1863, SCDAH.

63. GAR, October 31, 1862, p. 76, GA. Virginia King died just two months later, though no cause of death is listed. 1860 Census, Floyd County, Georgia, “James [W] ng”; 1850 Census, Jackson, Georgia, “James King”; 1870 Census, Floyd County, Georgia, “James King.” Virginia’s husband, James, was aged fifty-four in 1860, so it is unlikely he served in the Confederate army, though with a common surname it is difficult to determine for sure. The four sons of military age were named William, John, William, and James, respectively.
Robert, and James. Again, because of the common surname, it is not possible to identify accurately all four as serving in the war, but Robert N. was a corporal in the 23rd Georgia Infantry. See service records at Fold3.com and the pension application of Mrs. Belle King, August 2, 1937, Georgia, Confederate Pension Applications, 1879–1960, Ancestry.com.


66. Nineteenth-century medical professionals believed women’s reproductive organs, the uterus and ovaries, were connected to the central nervous system and so supposed that changes in the reproductive cycle, such as pregnancy, childbirth, and menarche, affected women’s emotional state. Smith-Rosenberg and Rosenberg, “The Female Animal,” 335; Stephens, “Breezes of Discontent.”

67. GAR, October 3, 1861, p. 40, GA. In 1860, Martha, eighteen, was still living with her parents (or grandparents) in Macon. 1860 Census, Macon, Georgia, “Stephen Fulford,” p. 107. After the war she and husband Brantley relocated to Alabama. 1870 Census, Henry County, Alabama, “Brantley Hodges.” For a short genealogical biographical sketch of Brantley Hodges, see Ancestry.com, http://trees.Ancestry .com/tree/12385463/person/1159034108/media/?pgnum=1&pg=0&pgpl=pid%7cpgNum (accessed April 7, 2012). For Brantley’s service record in the Georgia infantry, see Fold3.com, http://www.Fold3.com/image/#35998161&terms=brantly+hodges (accessed April 4, 2012). On postpartum depression in antebellum Southern women, and for a particularly poignant description of one woman’s severe mental suffering, see McMillen, Motherhood in the Old South, 92–93. A twentieth-century study asserts that pregnant women and women in the year following childbirth experience a low risk of suicide. Appleby, “Suicide during Pregnancy and in the First Postnatal Year.” The subjects of the study, however, were not living in a war zone as Confederate women would have been. Moreover, a study of Israeli new mothers living under threat of terror showed them to be especially prone to psychological distress because the first year after childbirth is a stressful period. Kaitz, Stecklov, and Devor, “Anxiety Symptoms of New Mothers during a Period of Recurrent, Local Terror.”
68. Miller, “Postpartum Depression”; Sawyer, “Postpartum Mental Disturbances”; Leahey-Warren, McCarthy, and Corcoran, “First-Time Mothers”; Parry, “Postpartum Depression in Relation to Other Reproductive Cycle Mood Changes.”

69. For example, in January 1861, Elizabeth Pardue entered the South Carolina insane asylum after cutting off the head of one of her children and twice attempting to kill another. Letter from John D. Wylie, magistrate of Lancaster County, South Carolina, January 25, 1861, SCSH Commitment Files; and, Microfilm Reel AD #677, SCSH, Admissions Books, January 29, 1861, SCDAH. Eliza Vernon, too, almost certainly was under the influence of postpartum psychoses when she attempted to kill one of her children with an axe. GAR, April 28, 1861, p. 22, GA.

70. Miller, “Postpartum Depression”; Sawyer, “Postpartum Mental Disturbances”; Leahey-Warren, McCarthy, and Corcoran, “First-Time Mothers.”


72. Recent psychological and sociological studies make a compelling case for the importance of social networks and support in times of great stress, such as living in a war zone or under a terror threat. Social support serves to mediate stress by acting as a buffer and in fact promotes psychological well-being in times of stress. See Neria, Besser, Kiper, and Westphal, “A Longitudinal Study of Posttraumatic Stress Disorder, Depression, and Generalized Anxiety Disorder”; Hobfoll and Walfisch, “Coping with a Threat to Life”; Hirsch, “Natural Support Systems and Coping with Major Life Changes”; Besser and Neria, “When Home Isn’t a Safe Haven”; Dekel and Tuval-Mashiach, “Multiple Losses of Social Resources following Collective Trauma.”

73. GAR, February 28, 1863, p. 87, GA; 1860 Census, Bowdon, Carroll County, Georgia, “James Fletcher.” Several James Fletchers served in the Georgia infantry, though it is impossible to establish that any one of them was married to Sarah Fletcher. Confederate service records on Fold3.com.

74. GAR, April 9, 1866, p. 152, GA. McMillen, Motherhood in the Old South, 167; Dye and Smith, “Mother Love and Infant Death,” 330; Armstrong, “To Say ‘Thy Will Be Done.’” An antebellum physician asserted that half of all children in America died before reaching five years of age. Gunn, Gunn’s New Domestic Physician, 480.


11. It appears Gladden first enrolled in a home guard unit and then later, an infantry regiment (6th Battalion Georgia Cavalry, 23rd Georgia Infantry), from which he was reported absent without leave in February 1864. One wonders, given the physical and mental ailments of his wife, whether Gladden’s AWOL status was an attempt to return home to offer assistance. Confederate women, especially late in the war, regularly implored their husbands to return home. Faust, *Mothers of Invention*, 238–44. On “milk leg,” consult Gunn, *Gunn’s New Domestic Physician*, 459, and *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/382525/milk-leg (accessed February 21, 2012).


79. GAR, June 1867, p. 209, GA. See 1860 Census, Marion County, Georgia, “A. Passmore,” aged twenty-six, a physician, and his wife, Henrietta A., aged eighteen, and a six-month-old son. A. B. “Abner” Passmore, aged sixteen, appears in the 1850 Census in Marion County living in the household of his parents, Joseph and Cynthia Passmore. Because the ages match up over the two censuses, I infer that “Abner Passmore” is “A. Passmore” married to Henrietta. There are two sets of service records, one for Abner Passmore, the other for A. Passmore, both enlisting in Marion County. It is likely they are one and the same because A. Passmore enlisted in May 1862, but was discharged because he furnished a substitute in January 1863, presumably because in September 1862 he was “at home sick in Marion County.” However, in 1863 Abner Passmore was drafted into the 5th Georgia Infantry (State Guards). See Fold.com, http://www.Fold3.com/search.php?query=abner+passmore&f_ancestor_id=h4XFyLmp&df_ancestor_id=Within%3AGeorgia and http://www.Fold3.com/image/#56599814 (accessed February 21, 2012).


81. GAR, June 29, 1864, p. 139, GA. Sarah was married to Anguish/Angus P. Malloy (or Maloy), living in Magnolia, Georgia (Clinch County), in 1860 with two children. The contact person for her while in the asylum was her brother, James W. Staten (Sarah Malloy was the former Sarah Staten). 1860 Census, Clinch County, Georgia, “Anguish Malloy.” On the death of Malloy, see service records at Fold3.com for A. P. Malloy. The Malloy biographical sketch was also pieced together by multiple entries on Ancestry.com in addition to those above. For a case of an Illinois woman abandoned by her husband, in dire straits, and her child’s sole supporter, who killed herself and her child by drowning, see *Chattanooga Daily Gazette*, June 30, 1864.

82. Holmes and Vinovskis, “The Impact of the Civil War on American Widowhood,” 65. For an account of a Northern woman in the nineteenth century who was widowed at an early age and suffered profound grief, though did not devolve into mental illness, refer to Shockley, *The Captain’s Widow of Sandwich*.

83. On grieving Civil War widows, see Massey, *Bonnet Brigades*, 215–16; Elder, “To Cry Happily Forever”; Mays, “‘Down in the Depths of My Heart’”; McIntyre, “A
Poor Example of Christian Fortitude.” On added responsibilities for Civil War widows, see Gross, “Good Angels,” 135. Mary Todd Lincoln reportedly expressed a wish to die upon learning of her husband’s death. Elder, “To Cry Happily Forever,” 1. Ten years later her adult son attempted to institutionalize her, prompting, it would seem, an effort to secure laudanum in an attempt to take her life. Hirschhorn, “Mary Lincoln’s ‘Suicide Attempt.’”

84. For example, fifty-five-year-old widow Louisa Robinson of Stewart County, Georgia, was admitted to the Milledgeville asylum in 1845. Asylum officials attributed her demise to “loss of friends” and “having lost her husband and children in a short time.” GAR, Patient #42, May 10, 1845, GA. Sarah Rohn of Savannah entered the Georgia asylum in 1852. The forty-year-old widow became insane, it was believed, due to the death of her husband. GAR, Patient #344, admitted July 27, 1852, GA. Louisa Lelman first exhibited signs of insanity when her husband died in 1854. The mother of eight children was institutionalized four years later after manifesting violent tendencies including an attempt at suicide. GAR, Patient #687, November 17, 1858, GA.

Nineteenth-century observers and many scholars into the twentieth century asserted that motives for self-destruction varied by gender. Women, it was believed, resorted to suicide over broken or disrupted relationships, severed or strained by death, unrequited love, separation, or discord. Men, by contrast, were driven to suicide by material interests and misfortune, such as business failure and pecuniary embarrassment. Rhodes, “Suicide”; Morselli, Suicide, 305; Kushner, “Suicide, Gender, and the Fear of Modernity,” 30; Johnson, “Durkheim Revisited.” 150; Canetto and Lester, “Gender, Culture, and Suicidal Behavior,” 174. Women’s suicides were believed driven by personal stressors (such as loss of loved ones), males’ suicides by impersonal stressors (financial failure). While current scholarship persuasively contests these characterizations of suicide motives and gender in the twentieth century, some of this analysis rings true for women in the Civil War South based on asylum patient records.

85. For example, Hannah Burgess fell back on the support of family, community, and church after the death of her husband, William, a sea captain. Shockley, The Captain’s Widow of Sandwich, 139–49. See also Conger, The Widow’s Might, 9, 64; Boswell, Her Act and Deed, 33. On widows actively seeking new husbands during the war, see Faust, Mothers of Invention, 147–50; Wood, Masterful Women, 183–86.

86. See, for example, the observation of one North Carolina woman on the short-age of marriageable men during the war in Kenzer, Kinship and Neighborhood in a Southern Community, 84, 97–98, 125. One measure of the loss of marriageable men can be seen in the comparison of the censuses of 1860 and 1870 for Orange County, North Carolina. In 1870, there were 25 percent fewer white men between the ages of twenty and thirty-nine than in 1860. Kenzer, Kinship and Neighborhood in a Southern Community, 97. See also Gross, “Good Angels,” 134, 137–39; Boswell, Her Act and Deed, 101; Censer, The Reconstruction of White Southern Womanhood, 32; McClurken, Take Care of the Living, 54–57; Wood, Masterful Women, 183–86. Some historians offer that Southern white women, desperate to find a husband from a diminished pool, resigned to marrying much older men or men from a lower station. Faust, Mothers of Invention, 147–50. On this point, see Censer, “Finding the Southern Family in the Civil War,” 223–24. A demographic study of the effect of the Civil
War on marriage finds that, despite the vast loss of male life and despite concerns expressed during the war about the paucity of eligible men, the war had only a modest impact on women’s chances for remarriage. Hacker, Hilde, and Jones, “The Effect of the Civil War on Southern Marriage Patterns.” Similarly, E. Susan Barber found the war did little to change marriage patterns in Richmond. Barber, “The White Wings of Eros.” The tragic case of Mariah Murray demonstrates further restraints on widows’ abilities to remarry. Murray’s deceased veteran husband, in an effort to protect his children’s inheritance, stipulated that upon remarriage her generous widow’s share would revert to a mere child’s portion, removing any incentive to remarry. She resorted to intimate companionship, which resulted in an out-of-wedlock pregnancy that contributed to her suicide. Bynum, “The Seduction and Suicide of Mariah Murray,” 29–30.

87. Holmes and Vinovskis, “The Impact of the Civil War on American Widowhood,” 66. On the importance of kinfolk during the war and especially for war widows, see Kenzer, “The Uncertainty of Life,” 115. On the importance generally of relying on relatives and friends as a survival strategy during the war, see McClurken, Take Care of the Living, 34, 38–40; Gross, “Good Angels,” 141. Desperate Southern families increasingly turned to the state for support when kin networks failed them. Murrell, “Of Necessity and Public Benefit.”

88. Cobb, “Social Support as a Moderator of Life Stress.” See note 72 in this chapter as well.


90. A modern study of women who lost husbands is helpful in gauging the psychological consequences of losing a husband in the Civil War-era South. Anxiety and fear, the article suggests, are prevalent in a widow’s life in the first three years of loss. So widows whose husbands died during the war would be experiencing expected bouts of anxiety and depression while navigating the ill effects of war. Moreover, the study suggests a correlation between the level of distress and the level of dependence on one’s husband. Not surprisingly, the more reliant a woman was on her husband, the less independent she was and the greater her depression following his death. Because Victorian marriage was grounded in patriarchy and coverture, especially so in the South, most women, save the very wealthy, were highly dependent on their husbands and therefore susceptible to considerable distress following the death of a spouse. Sable, “Attachment, Anxiety, and Loss of a Husband.”

91. GAR, January 23, 1867, p. 189, GA; 1860 Census, Campbellton, Campbell County, Georgia, “Ann Little.” Which son and the cause of his death are not known. Little’s eldest son, Henry, was thirteen in 1860, so it is possible that as a teen he joined the Confederate army and died in battle, though I have not yet been able to document that information. He does not appear in Ann’s or any other Georgia household in the 1870 census. An “H. T. Little,” age 17, from Palmetto, Georgia, located in Campbell County, served in a reserve unit (perhaps because of his young age), then was assigned to Andersonville. Records available at Fold3.com. Another son, Joseph, who was nine in 1860, was too young to have served as a soldier, though he is not living in his mother’s household in 1870 and may have been the child for whom she grieved. 1870 Census, Palmetto, Campbell County, “Ann Little.” Her youngest son, John, con-
continued to be domiciled in Ann's household in 1870. It is also possible that Ann had adult sons who had left her household by 1860. Although institutionalized in 1867, Ann Little was back in her home by 1870.

92. GAR, November 19, 1863, p. 107, GA; 1850 Census, Ringgold, Walker County, Georgia, “David Anderson”; 1860 Census, Catoosa County, “D. S. Anderson”; McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 669–84. Camp had a sixteen-year-old son who may have gone off to war, given his age, but service records are inconclusive.


94. *Southern Watchman* (Athens, Ga.), November 12, 1862; 1850 Census, Oglethorpe County, Georgia, “Woodson Daniel”; 1860 Census, Ogelthorpe County, Georgia, “Woodson Daniel.” Georgia, Wills and Probate Records, 1742–1992, Ogelthorpe, Will Books, D-E, 1835–1903, Woodson Daniel, August 14, 1861, pp. 250–52, Ancestry.com. I am reasonably certain that “John C. Daniel” of Lexington (Ogelthorpe County), Georgia, who enlisted in Echols Battery (a unit formed in Ogelthorpe County), is John Chesley Daniel, the son of Woodson and Mary Daniel, who was aged twenty-three at the start of the war. For John C. Daniel’s service record, consult Fold3.com, http://www.Fold3.com/image/#36011264 (accessed September 3, 2017). He sustained a foot injury in the summer of 1864 and received a thirty-day furlough, after which no military records can be found. He appears to have survived and was living in Ogelthorpe County, Georgia, in 1880 with a wife and children. 1880 Census, Ogelthorpe, Georgia, “John C. Daniel.”

95. [Also Philips]. Microfilm Reel AD #674, SCLA, Physicians’ Record, Patient #1349, August 10, 1863; and, Microfilm Reel AD #677, SCSH Admissions Books, August 10, 1863, SCDAH.


100. Richmond Dispatch, August 20, 1863.


102. Hilde, Worth a Dozen Men, 99.


104. Mackintosh, “Dear Martha,” 9 (December 1861). The local paper reported Galbraith’s death, but listed no cause of death. Yorkville Enquirer, December 5, 1861; 1840

105. GAR, September 1861, p. 37, GA.


107. Microfilm Reel AD #674, Physicians’ Record, Patient #1379, March 28, 1864; SCSH Commitment Files, March 1864; and Microfilm Reel AD #677, SCSH Admissions Books, March 28, 1864, SCDAH. I could not locate her husband’s service records, in part because of the many variations in the spelling of Hardin (Harland, Harlin, Harling, Hardin, Harvin, Halvin, Harbour).

108. Biographical and treatment narrative pieced together from the following sources: letter from three physicians, August 30, 1864, Belton, South Carolina, SCSH Commitment Files; Microfilm Reel AD #674, SCLA Physicians’ Record, Patient #1394, August 30, 1864; and, Microfilm Reel AD #677, SCLA Admissions Books, SCDAH; 1850 and 1860 census mortality schedules; 1850 and 1860 Censuses, Anderson, South Carolina, “Austin Campbell” (Austin, aged twenty-eight, was living with Frances, aged twenty-one, and one child, Charles, aged two, in 1860). Austin’s military service record can be found on Fold3.com, http://www.Fold3.com/search.php?query=Austin+Campbell&f_ancestor_id=hBXltCwCh&df_ancestor_id=Within%3ACivilWar+Soldiers++Confederate++SC (accessed February 13, 2012). The information on Frances’s father and brothers can be found at Family Tree Maker, http://familytreemaker.genealogy.com/users/g/a/m/Robert–W-Gambrell/GENE1-0003.html (accessed February 13, 2012). Service records for Matthew Gambrell (Company D, 4th South Carolina Regiment) and David H. Gambrell (Company G, 2nd South Carolina Rifles) are found at Fold3.com. Frances’s father was Reverend Matthew Gambrell. A letter from one of Frances’s descendants claimed that all nine of Frances’s brothers entered the war and only two survived. I believe this to be incorrect but have only been able to document two brothers’ deaths during the war.

109. Conger, The Widow’s Might, 64. See also the case of thirty-year-old Mrs. T. C. Smith admitted to the Georgia asylum in November 1863. The onset of her mental instability coincided with the death of her husband about one year prior, suggesting a correlation. GAR, November 11, 1863, p. 105, GA. The common surname and use of only the patient’s initials make it impossible to identify her husband in census and service records.

110. GAR, October 21, 1862, p. 74, GA. 1860 Census, Madison County, Florida, “John O. Carroll.” John Oliver Carroll, aged forty when war broke out, married Eleanor Dekle, a widow with three small children, probably in the 1840s. Some reports indicate they married in 1857, but they are domiciled in 1850 and have a child together. 1850 Census, Thomas County, Georgia, “Nancy Bivins,” presumably Eleanor’s mother. They lived for a time in Thomas County, Georgia, but then relocated to Madison County, Florida, where Carroll enlisted in the 5th Florida Infantry in March 1862. Carroll’s service record can be found at Fold3.com. His absence from the home is further suggested by Eleanor’s next-of-kin information in asylum records, listed as Curtis Carroll of Boston, Georgia, the older brother of John. On the marriage of John and Eleanor, see Ancestry.com, http://trees.Ancestry.com/tree/14512445/person/17790986 (accessed April 24, 2012). See a short biographical sketch of John Carroll at Find A Grave, http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GSn=CA&GSfn
Genealogical records note the deaths of two children, but I can document only one. Some list a female child, Missouri, born in 1844, but she does not appear in the 1850 census (perhaps Minerva, not Missouri, who is six in 1850). Amanda, born in 1849, appears in the 1850 census, but not in the 1860 census, and so likely had died by that time, and Emma was alive at the age of nine in 1860, but may have died shortly after that.

111. GAR, April 12, 1872, p. 317, GA. 1870 Census, Coweta County, Georgia, “Julius A. Allen.”

112. Fathers, too, were distraught over their sons going off to war. James Little from North Carolina drowned himself in a well, it was believed, because of the “diseased condition of the country.” “All of his sons were in the army, with one having been wounded and disabled for life.” Sammons, comp., Marriage and Death Notices from Wilmington, North Carolina Newspapers, 131 (May 1864).


115. GAR, March 23, 1862, p. 52, GA. Sons Gabriel and Henry both served in the 60th Alabama Infantry, Company F. Service records obtained at Fold3.com; 1860 Census, Fulton County, Georgia, “Henry Letson.”

116. Microfilm Reel AD #674, SCLA Physicians’ Record, Patient #1328, February 18, 1863; and, Microfilm Reel AD #677, SCSH Admissions Books, February 18, 1863, SCDAH. Service records for Abner B. Jackson, 23rd South Carolina Infantry, found at Fold3.com; 1850 and 1860 Censuses, Marlboro, South Carolina, “George Jackson.” Theresa (Thursey/Thryza) Jackson had two additional military-aged sons, Noah and Samuel, who likely served in the CSA, but this is impossible to verify given the common surname. Over a dozen service records exist for those two names.

117. GAR, June 26, 1866, p. 160, GA. Matilda McCravey’s (also McCravy) next of kin is listed as D. S. McCravey, whom I believe to be her son and whose service records can be found at Fold3.com: 36th Georgia Infantry.

118. [Also Meyers]. Microfilm Reel AD #674, SCLA Physicians’ Record, Patient #1413, February 2, 1865; letter from Dr. W. Patterson to Dr. Albert Myers, December 28, 1864, Richmond County, North Carolina, and letter from Dr. C. B. Coppidge to Dr. Albert Myers, January 28, 1865, SCSH Commitment Files; and, Microfilm Reel AD #677, SCSH Admissions Books, February 2, 1865, SCDAH; 1860 Census, Anson County, North Carolina, “Albert Myers”; 1870 Census, Mount Pleasant, Titus County, Texas, “Albert Myers”; 1880 Census, Anson County, North Carolina, “Albert Myers”; 1850 Slave Schedule; 1860 Slave Schedule.

120. Ibid., 179–87. On the importance of faith in consoling grieving Southern women, see Armstrong, “To Say ‘Thy Will Be Done.’”

121. GAR, March 3, 1863, p. 88, GA; 1860 Census, Hall County, Georgia, “T. Shockley”; Henderson, comp., *Roster of the Confederate Soldiers of Georgia*, Vol. 4, 724. One other brother served in the Confederate army and survived, but he was held as a POW for some time. Application of Mrs. A. J. Shockley, September 30, 1910, for Jeptha B. Shockley, who served in the 24th Georgia Infantry, Confederate Pension Applications, State of Georgia, Georgia’s Virtual Vault, http://vault.georgiaarchives.org/cdm/compoundobject/collection/TestApps/id/348809/rec/1 (accessed July 15, 2014). In due time, however, an improved Elizabeth was released and joined her elderly mother and older sister in tending to the family farm, aided only by three African American servant children. In what would become commonplace in the aftermath of war, Elizabeth had become part of an all-female household that inherited the homestead once headed and operated by men. 1870 Census, Hall County, Georgia, “Elizabeth Shockley.” On the practice of adult sibling co-residence after the war, see Censer, *The Reconstruction of White Southern Womanhood*, 52–54.

122. GAR, September 12, 1863, p. 102, GA; 1860 Census, Danielsville, Madison County, Georgia, “Mary Baxter.”

123. Microfilm Reel AD #674, SCLA Physicians’ Record, Patient #1443, February 20, 1866; and, Microfilm Reel AD #677, SCSH Admissions Books, February 20, 1866, SCDAH. Samuel A. Bird enlisted in 1861 with the 12th South Carolina Volunteers, Company G. He was wounded at the Battle of Gettysburg and had his right leg amputated. Bird’s service record found on Fold3.com.


126. GAR, April 27, 1865, p. 128, GA; 1860 and 1870 Censuses, and 1860 Slave Schedule, McIntosh County, Georgia, “Henry Way.” Henry Way is listed as a private serving in the 1st Battalion of the Georgia Cavalry. Henry Way’s service record found at Fold3.com. Although Hannah Way’s husband served in the Confederate cavalry, asylum attendants failed to consider his service as a contributing cause of her mental illness.

127. GAR, April 9, 1866, p. 152, GA.


130. On the fear of invasion as well as the ensuing looting and destruction that Southern women sometimes faced, consult Massey, *Bonnet Brigades*, 221–27; Stowell, *Notes to Chapter 2* 303

131. GAR, November 26, 1867, p. 224, GA. There are no service records for Malachi Busey [Bussey]; however, a census undertaken by the state of Georgia in 1864 to determine the eligibility status of its able-bodied men reveals Malachi had received an exemption for an undisclosed “disability.” 1864 Census for Re-organizing the Georgia Militia, Ancestry.com. Still other records show he died of a gunshot wound in a Confederate hospital in Savannah in 1864 and was buried there. Savannah, Georgia, Cemetery and Burial Records, 1852–1939, entry for Bussy, December 11, 1864, Ancestry.com. Even though asylum records show the patient’s name as “Mrs. Eliza Busey,” her name is listed in the 1860 and 1870 censuses as Mary E. Bussey: 1860 Census, Zebulon, Pike County, “Malachi Bussey,” and 1870 Census, Pike County, “Mary E. Bussey.” I believe these two people to be one and the same based on the following: asylum records list her age in 1867 as forty-three; in the 1860 census, she is thirty-four, not an exact matchup, but close. In the 1870 census, Mary E. Bussey is forty-nine, “insane,” and living with several children, who appear on the census ten years earlier. Various records on Ancestry.com have Malachi Bussey married to Mary Elizabeth Brown in 1850 and list seven children (although asylum records indicate eight), the youngest of whom was born in 1863, which corresponds with asylum records that state her youngest in 1867 was aged four. Two marriage records have the two married in Pike County on August 18, 1850. Malachi Bussey and Elizabeth Brown, Georgia, Compiled Marriages, 1754–1850, and Malachi Bussey and Eliza Brower, Georgia, Marriage Records for Select Counties, 1828–1978, Ancestry.com. Led by twenty-seven-year-old Brigadier General James H. Wilson, Wilson’s Raid was a cavalry campaign launched in early 1865 to take key sites in Alabama and Georgia. McPherson, Battle Cry of Freedom, 825. See also Grimsley, The Hard Hand of War, 203. On Sherman’s march generally through Georgia and north through the Carolinas, see Grimsley, The Hard Hand of War, 190–204; Royster, The Destructive War, 321–30; Glatthaar, The March to the Sea and Beyond; Dunkelman, Marching with Sherman; Frank, The Civilian War: Confederate Women and Union Soldiers. On the destruction and threat to private dwellings and spaces, see Nelson, Ruin Nation, 61–102. Jacqueline Glass Campbell details the destructive swath, especially its impact on female civilians in When Sherman Marched North, 38, 58–74, 88–90. Personal recollections on the march can be found in Jones, When Sherman Came. For cases of Virginia women admitted to an asylum because of the presence of federal troops, see McClurken, Take Care of the Living, 122.

132. GAR, August 9, 1865, pp. 131–32, GA. Waiting one year or longer to admit a loved one to an asylum was typical in the nineteenth century. Families generally viewed asylums as the “last resort” option when dealing with a relative who was struggling with mental illness. Tomes, The Art of Asylum-Keeping, 118–28. While the arrival of federal troops in her neighborhood was likely the precipitating factor in Ozburn’s “insanity,” other factors contributed to her decline, including brothers serving in the Confederate army, which, although ignored or overlooked by asylum officials, surely weighed heavily on the young woman as she weathered the escalating strains of war, likely without adult male support. Charles M. Ozburn served in the 44th Georgia


134. Nelson, *Ruin Nation*, 79–81; Barber and Ritter, “‘Physical Abuse . . . and Rough Handling.’”

135. Weiner, ed., *A Heritage of Woe*, 71 (September 8, 1864); 73 (September 25, 1864); 81–82 (November 26, 1864).


137. While 40 percent of Northern and Southern white men of military age combined (thirteen to forty-three in 1860) served in the army, that number reached 61 percent in the South. Of those men who served in the Union army, about 6 percent died compared to 18 percent of Southern soldiers. Confederate soldiers also experienced higher casualty rates than their Northern counterparts: one in six Northern soldiers died compared to one in four Confederate soldiers. Vinovskis, “Have Social Historians Lost the Civil War?,” 7–10. Jeffrey W. McClurken, in his study of Pittsylvania County–Danville, found an astonishingly high 79 percent of the area’s military-aged males serving in the military, a figure that increases to 83 percent if reserve, home guard, and arsenal production units are factored in. McClurken, *Take Care of the Living*, 14–15. McCurry claims 75–85 percent of Southern men served the Confederacy compared to the Union’s 50 percent. McCurry, *Confederate Reckoning*, 152. The point is, the deaths and casualties that resulted from the Civil War did far greater harm to the South than the North because of its smaller population base.

138. Bailey, “This Rash Act,” 129. Studies indicate that men are more likely to die when engaged in suicidal behavior, whereas women engage in more self-destructive behavior, though it is less often lethal.


4. [Hopley], *Life in the South*, 183.
5. Bell, *We Shall Be No More*, 201–46.
15. Hayden, “On the Distribution of Insanity in the United States,” 180. Whites outside the South proved susceptible to this trope, even expressing envy of the perceived carefree lives of slaves. Abraham Lincoln remarked how, when traveling on a steamboat with newly purchased slaves, separated from their families and homes, the slaves “were the most cheerful and apparently [sic] happy creatures on board.” Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, Vol. 1, 260.
17. [Hopley], *Life in the South*, 183. Jeff Forret’s work in census materials shows that insanity was the least common disability among the enumerated enslaved population denoted in the 1850 census. Nonetheless, he found that mentally disabled slaves were regularly housed in county almshouses, hospitals, jails, and asylums. Forret, “Deaf and Dumb, Blind, Insane, or Idiotic,” 512–14, 526–34.
18. *Alexandria Gazette*, April 15, 1861, p. 3.
19. Pro-slavery thought advanced a larger slate of naturalized biological characteristics intended to differentiate blacks from whites as a means to justify slavery. Notably, pseudo-scientists like Samuel Cartwright and Josiah Nott asserted that African
Americans were impervious to suffering, lacked familial affection, and were intellectually inferior. Fredrickson, *The Black Image in the White Mind*, 51–96. Erin Dwyer’s recent study on emotions in the slave South points to white efforts to depict slaves as “constitutively emotionally different from whites.” Dwyer, “Mastering Emotions,” 38–86, 40.

20. Some cities, like Richmond (1870), Savannah (1803), and Charleston (1821) maintained vital statistics before the twentieth century, but these were exceptions. Most Southern states mandated collection of birth and death records beginning around 1912. Virginia stands alone as an exception. Prior to the passage of a law in 1853, the collection and maintenance of vital statistics was an ecclesiastical function. After 1853, local clerks relied on family members, doctors, and coroners to supply demographic information on deceased members of the community, including cause of death. These annual registers were then forwarded to the Auditor of Public Accounts in Richmond. The law lapsed in 1896 when the legislature abandoned the data collection efforts for financial reasons. Library of Virginia, “Using Vital Statistics Records.”


24. Of the suicides, 86.7 percent were committed by Africans. Walker, “Suicidal Tendencies,” 12; Perez, *To Die in Cuba*, 41.

25. Perez, *To Die in Cuba*, 35. A New York traveler reported his observations on Cuban slaves, whom he believed to be craftier and more revengeful than American slaves. They frequently committed suicide, he shared, over the slightest punishment, for they recognized that the loss of their labor would be a “serious inconvenience, if not a great pecuniary misfortune to their masters.” [Rogers], *Incidents of Travel in the Southern States and Cuba*, 119.


34. Snyder, “Suicide, Slavery, and Memory,” 48–49; Walker, “Suicidal Tendencies,” 12; Piersen, “White Cannibals, Black Martyrs,” 151–52; Littlefield, Rice and Slaves, 13–15; Morgan, Slave Counterpoint, 641; Perez, To Die in Cuba, 35–36. The reputation that the Igbo had for suicidal tendencies may have been linked partially, according to the author, to social and political freedom rooted in the democratic structures of Igbo villages. Gomez, Exchanging Our Country Marks, 116–26, 127–28. It is worth noting that Islam condemned suicide in the strongest terms. Noteworthy, too, is that the groups most commonly associated with suicide—“Igbo/Carabalí/Moku” and the “Coromantee”—came from non-Muslim regions of Africa. My thanks to Sean Kelley for making this observation. I cautiously utilize categories of Africans used by scholars and contemporaries alike that were used to differentiate ethnic groups. I heed Paul E. Lovejoy’s admonition that confusion over geography, ports of embarkation, ethnicity, language, and religion in sources has bled into scholarly analysis. Ethnic backgrounds, he cautions, can be complicated. Lovejoy, “Ethnic Designations of the Slave Trade,” 9–10. James H. Sweet also weighs in, warning these ethnic categories were fluid and largely New World creations that held little (or different) meaning in African. Sweet, Recreating Africa, 19–20; Sweet, “Mistaken Identities.”

35. Snyder, “Suicide, Slavery, and Memory,” 54.


40. Liberator, June 28, 1850.

41. Bell, We Shall Be No More, 206.

42. Walsh, The Career of Dion Boucicault, 63–69.

43. Torrey, A Portraiture of Domestic Slavery, 42–43. See also Snyder, The Power to Die, 1–6; Bell, We Shall Be No More, 217–21.

44. Craft, Running a Thousand Miles for Freedom, 21–22.


47. Berlin, Many Thousands Gone, 106.

48. Gomez, Exchanging Our Country Marks, 120. Terri L. Snyder uses this quotation in particular to argue for the need to “push beyond the resistance model,” which Gomez utilizes, in the study of slave suicide. Snyder, The Power to Die, 16–17.

49. Silkenat, Moments of Despair, 17–18. Other characterizations of slave suicide as a form of resistance include Franklin and Moss, From Slavery to Freedom, 131. See also Perez, To Die in Cuba, 45–47. Perez elaborates that the “act of self-destruction offered a slave a means to deny a planter the service of labor, and indeed in doing so struck at the very raison d’être of the slave system.” “This was,” he concludes, “resistance with a vengeance” (46). Mark S. Schantz argues that slaves often embraced death, including suicide, because it offered a better alternative to living as a slave, which is not inconsistent with my claims here. He hitches ideas about death and suicide among slaves to the notion of “freedom” and considers a wider array of actions as potentially suicidal, like joining the army during the Civil War or staging a rebellion. Choosing suicide as a path to freedom is not necessarily inconsistent with my
argument. Freedom might very well mean escape from a lecherous or abusive master. But he goes beyond an individual’s suffering to see slave suicides as “acts of rebellion against the slave system as a whole.” Ultimately, I think, he is convinced slave suicides were heroic acts of resistance. Schantz, *Awaiting the Heavenly Country*, 126–62, 143.

50. Eugene Genovese stands out for his skepticism on this point. He claimed the “assertion that slaves frequently committed suicide, quaintly put forward by some historians as a form of ‘day-to-day resistance to slavery,’ rests on no discernible evidence.” Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll*, 639.

51. Historical scholarship on everyday slave resistance is voluminous, but one of the earliest works on slavery to call attention to it was Kenneth M. Stampp’s *The Peculiar Institution*, 101–5.

52. Johnson, “On Agency,” 114. Forgoing ideological explanations for slave suicides permits the interrogation of individual circumstances surrounding a slave’s suicide, including mental illness, which does not fit within the heroic resistance model. Viewing slave self-destruction foremost as an act of political resistance presupposes a logical decision-making process in challenging the power and authority of a slave master: a sane, willful slave reasoned that killing himself or herself would deprive his or her owner of both labor and wealth while also ending the owner’s mastery over him or her. What, though, of the slave who was of unsound mind? Not all slaves who ended their own lives were of sound mind.

53. The limitations of labeling slave suicide a political act disconnected from individual circumstances become even clearer when considering post-emancipation suicides of freedpeople. How does one account for suicides of the formerly enslaved when masters no longer sustained a material loss with a slave’s death?

54. My use of the term “neo-abolitionist” reflects my approach to analyzing motives for slave suicide that are rooted in the circumstances and conditions of slavery, in much the same way anti-slavery activists viewed causation. Abolitionists, in their literature, emphasized physical and emotional suffering as motive for the enslaved who voluntarily ended their lives, as do I. For abolitionists, suicide among the enslaved was a measure of suffering. They featured individual cases of enslaved men and women who engaged in suicidal thought or activity as a means to end extreme emotional or physical pain. The resistance explanation, which has been so influential among scholars, offers an ideological analysis, which effectively has hidden the myriad contexts of slave suffering that I aim, in this chapter, to uncover.

55. Snyder, *The Power to Die*, 17. Snyder is the first scholar I have encountered who seriously questions the utility of the resistance model for understanding slave suicide. She provides an extremely thoughtful explication of her thinking (16–18), with which I concur.


57. Genovese offered his impression that most slaves who committed suicide did so to escape capture after running away or to avoid punishment or sale. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll*, 639. See also Perez, *To Die in Cuba*, 40; Lester, *Suicide in African Americans*, 7–8.
58. “Deaths of Outlawed Slaves by Violent or Suspicious Means Noted in the Journals of the Burgesses of Virginia.” The lists of petitions by slaveholders requesting compensation for deceased slaves are taken from the various published journals of the Virginia House of Burgesses from 1619 to 1776.

59. Green, Narrative of the Life of J. D. Green, 19–21.

60. Confederate Union, December 1, 1863, p. 3.

61. Macon (Ga.) Daily Telegraph, April 28, 1860.

62. Keckley, Behind the Scenes; or, Thirty Years a Slave, 30.


64. Glymph, Out of the House of Bondage, 57–58. Glymph’s analysis of slave punishment is informed by the work of Michael Taussig on colonial Peru. Taussig, “Culture of Terror—Space of Death.”

65. New Orleans Bee, April 11, 12, 1834. There are numerous popular accounts of the LaLaurie scandal, and the LaLaurie mansion, purportedly haunted, is a tourist attraction in New Orleans. See for example, George Washington Cable, Strange True Stories of Louisiana, 192–232. A more scholarly treatment of the episode is found in Baker, “Misrecognized: Looking at Images of Black Suffering and Death,” 32–38.

66. One should not discount the severity of physical punishments. Floggings of fifty to seventy lashes were not uncommon. Other forms of punishment included branding, tar and feathering, castration, shackling, mutilation, and confinement in an underground hole. Blassingame, The Slave Community, 263. On slave punishments, see also Johnson, Soul by Soul, 192–93; Eakin and Logsdon, eds., Twelve Years a Slave: Solomon Northup, 179; Jones, Born a Child of Freedom, Yet a Slave, 74–79. Glymph reminds us of the extremes of psychological and physical violence that were employed to control slaves, especially by mistresses. Glymph, Out of the House of Bondage, 32–62.


69. Florida Whig, November 29, 1853, reported in Liberator, December 2, 1853.


71. Grandy, Narrative of the Life of Moses Grandy, 8–9. See Dwyer, “Mastering Emotions,” 162–63, which treats the suicide of Grandy’s brother as a way to discuss children’s reactions to sorrow and anger.

72. Liberator, July 10, 1846.

73. Ibid., June 28, 1850.

74. Ritchie v. Wilson, Supreme Court of the State of Louisiana, Eastern District, 3 Mart. (n.s.) 585 (1825) La. (accessible through the LexisNexis database or through the public site, Historical Archives of the Supreme Court of Louisiana, Earl K. Long Library, University of New Orleans, http://libweb.uno.edu/jspui/handle/123456789/9729 [accessed October 16, 2017]). The aggrieved slave owner withheld his overseer’s wages in 1822 as partial compensation for the drowned slave. Also, Snyder, “Suicide, Slavery, and Memory,” 57.

77. “Inquest on the body of James, a negro, property of Adam Finch,” July 15, 1828, Charlotte County Inquisitions, 1802–1864 Folder, Charlotte County, Misc., Records/Bonds/Commissions/Oaths/Estrays (1774–1785), Coroner’s Inquests, Official Appointments, 1770–1870, Box 141, BC 1012961, State Records Center Annex, LVA. On slave patrols, consult Hadden, Slave Patrols, and Camp, Closer to Freedom, 25–26. Slave women may have also feared sexual assault by patrollers as well as corporal punishment.
78. Liberator, January 18, 1850.
80. Steward, Twenty-Two Years a Slave, 247–48.
82. Liberator, October 22, 1836.
83. Cincinnati Commercial, July 18, 1850, reported in Liberator, July 19, 1850.
84. Roper, A Narrative of the Adventures and Escape of Moses Roper, 74–76. Also, Silkenat, Moments of Despair, 14–15.
86. Charlton, Sketch of the Life of Mr. Lewis Charlton, 5.
87. Liberator, October 20, 1843.
88. New Orleans Courier, February 4, 1855, reported in Liberator, February 16, 1855.
89. Charleston Mercury, November 17, 1862, p. 2.
90. “Inquest on the body of Sam Shaw, a slave,” September 15, 1861, Coroner’s Inquisitions, Court of General Session, Fairfield County, SCDAH.
92. Historians of slavery, of course, struggle with paucity of evidence generally. On archival silences, especially for enslaved women, see Fuentes, Dispossessed Lives.
94. Genovese, Roll, Jordan, Roll, 648–57; White, Ar’n’t I a Woman?, 70–71; Camp, Closer to Freedom, 28–59; Jones, Born a Child of Freedom, Yet a Slave, 62, 165; Stevenson, Life in Black and White, 253–54. Slave women were more likely than men to be truant, that is, absent for short periods of time rather than make a break for freedom in the North. Camp, Closer to Freedom, 35–59.
95. Camp, Closer to Freedom, 58.
96. Colored American, February 17, 1838; Liberator, October 6, 1837.
97. Weisenburger, Modern Medea; Liberator, March 7, 14, and 21, 1856.
98. Syracuse Journal, October 24, 1850, reported in Liberator, November 1, 1850.
100. There is a large, robust scholarship on the importance of family in the slave community. Among the notable works addressing this topic are Genovese, Roll, Jordan, Roll, 450–523; Gutman, The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom; Schwalm, A
Hard Fight for We, 54–55; Joyner, Down by the Riverside, 137–38; Burton, In My Father’s House Are Many Mansions, 237–42; Malone, Sweet Chariot; White, Arn’t I a Woman?; Berry, “Swing the Sickle,” 53–59.


103. This gender disparity might very well reflect a skewing of printed sources, not actual cases of slave suicide. Abolitionists may have preferred the suicidal stories of women, believing they would more effectively tap into the sympathies of their white Northern readership.


105. Weld, ed., American Slavery as It Is, 92. On the psychological impact of enslaved mothers who were separated from their children, see Turner, Contested Bodies, 174–81.

106. “The Domestic Slave-Trade: Report on the Slave Trade,” 99. It is worth considering, too, that in these cases separation from family was compounded by being transported to the Deep South, where conditions reportedly were much more severe. Torrey, A Portraiture of Domestic Slavery, 44–45.

107. Liberator, October 22, 1836.


109. Williams, Narrative of James Williams, 32.


113. Missouri Intelligencer, as reported in Liberator, June 6, 1835. Although the stories are strikingly similar, they do vary in key details. However, it is possible that facts have been confused and the story relates to the same male slave. An enslaved Georgia man hanged himself presumably because his master had ordered him not to visit his wife on a different plantation because of an outbreak of smallpox in Macon. Macon Daily Telegraph, March 3, 1860. An enslaved man from Tennessee likewise took his life after being separated from his family and sold to a planter in the deep South. After the sale had been completed, the slave secured a pistol and “blew his brains out.” Browne, Four Years in Secessia, 156–57.

114. Aughey, Tupelo, 541–43.


118. *Ketchum v. Dew* (Tennessee, April term, 1870), 47 Tenn. (7 Cold), 532, in Coldwell, comp., *Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the Supreme Court of Tennessee*.
121. *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, July 1, 1861; 1860 Census, Richmond, Henrico County, Virginia, “Geo H. Tompkins.” Tompkins likely served as part of a local defense unit. CWSSS.
125. In the spring of 1861, U.S. naval authorities seized an enemy vessel, the *Wanderer*, off Key West, Florida. The sailing ship had a strange history. It had been retrofitted in 1858 for illegal trade in slaves from Africa and, after disembarking its illicit cargo on Jekyll Island, Africans were dispersed for sale throughout the South. Eventually the crew and the masterminds of the operation, including Savannah notable Charles A. L. Lamar, went on trial for violation of the 1807 slave trade ban. A local jury acquitted the slave traders of any major wrongdoing; only a relatively minor charge stuck. Calonius, *The Wanderer*; Wells, *The Slave Ship Wanderer*.
130. Eakin and Logsdon, eds., *Twelve Years a Slave*, 142–43, 194–200 (quotations on pp. 143, 199). Snyder makes the point that the women’s passive approach to suicide in response to abuse—Harriet Jacob’s wishing for death, Patsey’s asking someone else to kill her—would have appealed to a female readership, while overt suicidal acts might have been perceived as loss of moral authority. Snyder, *The Power to Die*, 150–51.
133. Unlike “insane” white Southerners, slaves of “unsound mind” rarely entered antebellum asylums. Consequently, there is very little documentation on the conditions of mentally ill slaves.


136. “Inquest on the body of Easter Bee, a coloured woman,” January 2, 1844, Lynchburg, Misc., Records/Court Records: Various Courts, Coroner’s Inquests (1833–1880); Misc. Papers (1877–1878), Box 640, BC 1014135, State Records Center Annex, LVA.

137. Nashville Banner, November 15, 1861, as reported in Richmond Daily Dispatch, November 21, 1861. A number of insane slaves who did not engage in suicidal behavior appear in the historical record. See that of Rose, a forty-three-year-old who experienced convulsions, headaches, and episodes of “phrenzy.” Her master procured a straitjacket from the nearby asylum in which to restrain Rose, bringing her to the attention of the superintendent of the Eastern Asylum in Williamsburg. [Galt], Practical Medicine, 320. Slave women experienced postpartum complications that resulted in “signs of lunacy,” as was the case with a slave of Charles Friend. Mary developed “childbed” or puerperal fever, which affected her central nervous system, sending her to the insane asylum in Williamsburg. Savitt, Medicine and Slavery, 251. On the causes and manifestations of puerperal fever among slave women, see Schwartz, Birthing a Slave, 199–203. The “unsound minds” of some slaves could sometimes be traced to severe beatings about the head, an all-too common occurrence in slavery. Psychiatric debility manifested in Emily, a slave in her thirties suffering symptoms of brain trauma after being struck on the head by her overseer. The blow literally crushed her skull. She talked incessantly, could not focus, and occasionally experienced “paroxysms of emotional excitement.” McDonald, “Surgical Cases Presented to the Class of Winchester Medical College,” 104–5. In these cases of “deranged” slave women, none attempted self-injury, but they illustrate the effects of physiological and psychological disease and trauma and the toll these could and did take on the mental health of slaves. It is also reasonable to conjecture that cases like these sometimes resulted in suicidal behavior or ideation.

138. “Inquest on the body of Allen, a slave,” September 4, 1858, Court of General Sessions, Greenville County, Coroner’s Inquisition, 1849–1941, Box 1, 1849–1883, SCDAH.

139. “Inquest on the body of Green, a slave of Samuel Garland,” May 11, 1860, Lynchburg, Misc., Records/Court Records: Various Courts, Coroner’s Inquests (1833–1880); Misc. Papers (1877–1878), Box 640, BC 1014135, State Records Center Annex, LVA.

140. “Inquest on the body of Mose, a slave,” November 11, 1851, Coroner’s Inquisition, 1849–1941, Box 1, 1849–1883, Court of General Sessions, Greenville County, SCDAH.

141. “Inquest on the body of Lewis, a slave,” May 21, 1861, p. 46, Edgefield County, Judge of Probate, Coroner’s Book of Inquisitions (1859–1868), SCDAH.

142. “Inquest on the body of Aron, a slave,” June 15, 1862, p. 56, Edgefield County, Judge of Probate, Coroner’s Book of Inquisitions (1859–1868), SCDAH.
143. *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, July 9 and 17, 1861; *New Orleans Daily True Delta*, July 11, 1861. Additional non-white (slave and free) suicides that contain very little personal information can be found among the Charleston Death Certificates, Charleston Death Records, 1821–1955, Charleston County Library, Charleston: Abram M. Ball (July 10, 1819); Edward D. Haig (May 14, 1821); female slave belonging to Peter Danon (September 5, 1822); Tolbert Glover (January 19, 1823); ninety-year-old “Sylvia,” belonging to “Miss Bailey” (October 27, 1851); Mary Ann Burns (June 19, 1853); and “Becky,” belonging to J. M. Gilchrist (February 19, 1855). See also the shooting suicide of Edmond, negro boy of Mr. Watkins, New Orleans, in *Liberator*, June 21, 1844.


148. Snyder comes to this conclusion as well. Snyder, *The Power to Die*, 154.


150. Suicide could also be a manifestation of mental disorders or neurobiological makeup. Kushner, *American Suicide*, 170–77.


Chapter 4


2. Silkenat, *Moments of Despair*, 14–21, 40–51. As with slave suicide, there is no way to quantify suicidal behavior reliably among African Americans in the postbellum period. Mortality records from the period are either non-existent or unsystematic, preventing careful tracking of cause of death over time. Other record types—newspapers, asylum records, census mortality schedules—substantiate suicidal activity in the postwar African American community. But the nature of that evidence limits the kinds of questions that can be asked of those sources. While evidentiary limitations preclude a quantitative study of African Americans and suicide after the Civil War, Southerners did share their impressions about the frequency of black suicide and whether it rose or fell after the war. Anecdotal evidence also helps to construct an understanding of how and if the meaning and experiences of suicide in and outside the African American community changed as a result of emancipation.

3. On postwar concerns about “suicide mania,” see chapter 7, note 125.

5. As with suicidal behavior among the enslaved, accounts of suicide among freedpeople, especially in newspapers, asylum records, census mortality schedules, and coroners’ reports, contain fewer details than sources documenting white suicide. I list in this note black suicides that I do not discuss further herein because I was unable to unearth supporting sources and evidence that would shed additional light on their lives and deaths. The mere numbers, though, offer important proof that African Americans took their own lives after emancipation. Among the suicides/attempted suicides of African Americans after the war about which we know little else other than their names (and sometimes no names are provided) are the following: a “colored man” who shot himself in the head in New Orleans, *New Orleans Times*, April 30, 1866, p. 10; Fanny Watson attempted suicide by stabbing herself with a pocketknife, also in New Orleans, *New Orleans Times*, December 1, 1865, p. 10; and Sadie Price, a mulatto from Charleston, January 23, 1891, p. 85, Charleston County Coroner’s Inquisition Books, Vol. 2 (1883–1893), and Eckerd, Homicide and Serious Assault Records of Charleston County, Charleston Database, County Coroner’s Books, 1878–1895. The 1880 U.S. Census mortality schedules contain the following non-white deaths attributed to suicide: Charles Pivens, aged twenty-two, Chatham, Georgia; Joseph Kennedy/Kendy, aged thirty-one, Chatham, Georgia, by poison; William Beach, aged thirty-one, Muscogee, Georgia, by drowning; Green Frazier, aged twenty-five, laborer from Muscogee, Georgia; Mollie/Millie Jackson, aged eighteen, Muscogee, Georgia, drowning; and Ella Wilson, aged thirty-three, Clarke County, Georgia. In non-census records, note the following: Richard L. Cooney slit his wrist, *Atlanta Constitution*, January 3, 1886; Willy Ledbetter, aged thirty-seven, committed suicide by razor, Death Records, Nashville (1874–1889), TSLA; two men of color committed suicide in the vicinity of Jackson, Mississippi, in September 1875: Gabe Carlisle, of morphine overdose, and Columbus Akinson, in *Weekly Mississippi Pilot*, September 2 and 26, 1875, in Wiltshire, *Mississippi Newspaper Obituaries, 1862–1875*, 203 and 233; Robert C. Moon, aged thirty-three, a clerk and newcomer to Richmond, November 18, 1870, Manuscripts, Richmond City, Department of Health, Register of Deaths, 1870–1912, Vol. 3, BC 1114457, LVA; Sarah Lee, aged thirty, by poison, in Pittsylvania County, Virginia, 1870 Mortality Census Schedule; Presilla Grimes, aged twenty-six, in Mantua, Virginia, 1870 Mortality Census Schedule; Alexander Banks, aged sixty, by gun, Louisa County, Virginia, 1870 Mortality Census Schedule; unnamed female, aged eleven, Richmond, 1880 Mortality Census Schedule; J. D. Baxter, a nineteen-year-old black shoemaker from Charleston, died by his own hand in 1870, in Strickland, Nineteenth Century Death Certificate Database, Charleston Social History Project; and Robert Mickens, a fifteen-year-old Virginia boy of color, took his own life in August 1876. One of at least ten children, Mickens’s father was a tanner. Lowry and Baber, comps., *Hanover County, Virginia, Death Register*, 100; 1870 Census, Hanover County, Virginia, “Ruben Mickens.”


7. Historians, lacking sufficient data to quantify reliably the mortality rates among the formerly enslaved, nonetheless have attempted to do so. Cliometricians Roger Ransom and Richard Sutch, looking largely at survivorship rates, estimate a rate of 1.6 percent excess mortality in the 1860s, a figure they characterized as “enormous,” but relatively so. Contemporaries like General O. O. Howard, superintendent of the
Freedmen’s Bureau, put the rate of African American deaths in the wartime South at between 10 and 25 percent. Ransom and Sutch, “The Impact of the Civil War and Emancipation on Southern Agriculture,” 7–10; Ransom and Sutch, One Kind of Freedom, 53–54. See also McDaniel and Grushka, “Did Africans Live Longer in the Antebellum United States?” Jim Downs resurrects the impressionistic contemporary evidence, namely the 25 percent figure put forth by Howard, who speculated that mortality figures of freedpeople during and shortly after the war were extraordinarily high. Downs, however, does not supply quantitative evidence to support his claim. Thus the mortality rates of African American Southerners after the Civil War remain elusive, and we cannot know with certainty whether and to what extent mortality rates rose in the wake of war. Downs’s study of illness among ex-slaves in the 1860s leaves us with the impression, however, that in some pockets of the South and at certain times, large numbers of blacks perished due to illnesses largely generated by the exigencies of war, namely dislocation and camp conditions, and as the unintended consequences of federal policies. Downs, Sick from Freedom.

8. Williams, Help Me to Find My People.


11. On the challenges slave fathers faced in parenting, see Riley, “This Is the Last Time I Shall Ever Leave My Family,” chapter 2.

12. On select works on slave family and marriage, see chapter 3, note 100. Laura Edwards recounts the centrality of family and marriage to freedpeople. Edwards, Gendered Strife and Confusion, 24–65.


belonging to John N. Wilson. “Inquest on the body of Gabriel Hill,” April 28, 1868, Box 1, Court of General Sessions, Anderson County, Coroner’s Inquiries (1830–1928), SCDAH.

16. *Georgia Weekly Telegraph*, June 4, 1869, p. 3.


18. *Natchez (Miss.) Daily Courier*, June 19, 1866. Also reported in the *New Orleans Times*, July 2, 1866, p.2.


21. Microfilm Reel AD #674, SCSHI Case Histories, 1875–1915, Vol. 3 (September 24, 1875–September 2, 1877), Patient #2875, July 23, 1877, SCDAH.

22. Commitment Files, SCSH, Patient #2820 and #3020, March 27, 1877, June 13, 1878; Microfilm Reel AD #673, SCLA Patient Treatment Records, Vol. 4 (1877–1880), June 13, 1878, p. 70; Microfilm Reel AD #674, SCSHI Case Histories, 1875–1915, Vol. 3, (September 24, 1875–September 2, 1877), Patient #3020 and #2820 March 27, 1877, June 13, 1878; Microfilm Reel AD #677, SCLA Admissions, Books (1828–1947), Patient #3020 and #2820, March 27, 1877, June 13, 1878, SCDAH.


24. Commitment Files, SCSH, Patient #2992, April 9, 1878; Microfilm Reel AD #674, SCCHI, Case Histories, 1875–1915, Vol. 4 (September 6, 1877–August 15, 1879), Patient #2992, April 9, 1878; and, Microfilm Reel AD #677, SCSHI Case Histories, 1875–1915, Vol. 3, (September 3, 1875–September 2, 1877), Patient #2992, April 9, 1878, SCDAH. Another instance of suicidal behavior possibly linked to the marital complications freedmen and freedwomen faced after slavery occurred in Atlanta when an African American woman attempted to kill herself. The pithy newspaper report implied a connection to her husband’s arrest on the charge of bigamy. *Atlanta Daily Sun*, November 29, 1871, p. 1.

25. *Atlanta Weekly Constitution*, September 26, 1871, p. 2; 1870 Census, Columbus, Georgia, “Margaret Crowell.”


27. Microfilm Reel AD #674, SCSHI Case Histories, 1875–1915, Vol. 3 (September 24, 1875–September 2, 1877), Patient #2846 (2840); Commitment Files, SCSH, Patient #2840, April 25, 1877; and, Microfilm Reel AD #677, SCSH Admissions Books, Patient #2846 (2840), April 25, 1877, SCDAH. Graham died the next month. On slave reproductive health, see Long, *Doctoring Freedom*, 20–21.


29. Microfilm Reel AD #674, SCSHI Case Histories, 1875–1915, Vol. 5 (August 17, 1879–April 8, 1881), Patient #3220, October 1, 1879; Microfilm Reel AD #677, SCSH, Admissions Books (1828–1947), October 1, 1879; and, SCSH Commitment Files, Patient #3220, October 1, 1879, SCDAH. On the relationship between childbirth and mental illness, see Rehman, St. Clair, and Platz, “Puerperal Insanity in the Nine-
teenth and Twentieth Centuries”; Appleby, “Suicide during Pregnancy and in the First Postnatal Year”; Miller, “Postpartum Depression.”  

30. Microfilm Reel #673, SCLA Patient Treatment Records, Vol. 4 (1877–1880), May 16, 1878, p. 58; Microfilm Reel AD #674, SCSHI Case Histories, 1875–1915, Vol. 4 (September 6, 1877–August 15, 1879), Patient #3007, May 16, 1878, p. 58; Microfilm Reel AD #677, SCSH Admissions Books (1828–1947), May 16, 1878; and SCSH Commitment Files, Patient #3007, May 16, 1878, SCDAH. For a nineteenth-century medical encapsulation of puerperal insanity, see Conolly, “Clinical Lectures on the Principal Forms of Insanity.”


34. Quoted in Downs, *Sick from Freedom*, 69.


36. Microfilm Reel #AD 673, SCLA Patient Treatment Records, Vol. 4 (1877–1880), July 27, 1878; Microfilm Reel AD #674, SCSHI Case Histories, 1875–1915, Vol. 4 (September 6, 1877–August 15, 1879), Patient #3043, #3189, July 26, 1878, August 7, 1879; Microfilm Reel AD #677, SCSH Admissions Books (1828–1947), July 26, 1878, August 7, 1879; and, SCSH Commitment Files, #3043, #3189, July 26, 1878, August 7, 1879, SCDAH. On the emotional and material importance of children to slave families, see Schwartz, *Birthing a Slave*, 10–12.

37. Microfilm Reel AD #674, SCSHI Case Histories, 1875–1915, Vol. 4 (September 6, 1877–August 15, 1879), Patient #3099, December 18, 1878; Microfilm Reel AD #677, SCSH Admissions Books (1828–1947), December 18, 1878; and, SCSH Commitment Files, Patient #3099, December 18, 1878, SCDAH; 1870 Census, Leavenworth, Darlington, South Carolina, “Jack Campbell.”

38. Microfilm Reel AD #674, SCSHI Case Histories, 1875–1915, Vol. 5 (August 17, 1879–April 8, 1881), Patient #3234, October 23, 1879; Microfilm Reel AD #677, SCSH Admissions Books (1828–1947), October 22, 1879; and, SCSH Commitment Files, Patient #3234, October 22, 1879, SCDAH.


41. *Columbus (Ga.) Daily Enquirer*, July 29, 1866, p. 3.

42. Vagrancy laws in the postwar South were utilized by Southern whites to control the region’s formerly enslaved population and became part of the black codes under presidential Reconstruction. Foner, *Reconstruction*, 200, 593. Vagrancy laws were utilized before the war as well, frequently against poor white Southerners. Merritt, *Masterless Men*, 109–10, 184–86.

43. Miller, “The Effects of Emancipation upon the Mental and Physical Health of the Negro,” 286.


44. Microfilm Reel #AD 673, SCLA Patient Treatment Records, Vol. 4 (1877–1880), July 12, 1878, p. 83; Microfilm Reel AD #674, SCSHI Case Histories, 1875–1915, Vol. 4 (September 6, 1877–August 1, August 15, 1879), Patient #3035, July 12, 1878; Microfilm Reel AD #677, SCSH Admissions Books (1828–1947), July 12, 1878, Patient #3035; and, SCSH Commitment Files, Patient #3035, July 12, 1878, SCDAH.

45. Georgia Weekly Telegraph and Georgia Journal and Messenger (Macon), April 26, 1870.

46. SCSH Commitment Files, Patient #2711, April 14, 1876, SCDAH. The reference to “debility of genital organs” hints that perhaps venereal disease contributed to a declined mental state. Seventeen-year-old Mahaffey was living in the household of Mahala and Thomas Sullivan, aged fifty-five and forty-six, in 1870. 1870 Census, Laurens County, South Carolina, “Thomas Sullivan.” Masturbation, frequently cited as a cause of male insanity in the antebellum period, continued to appear as a contributing factor for psychological disorders in the second half of the nineteenth century, although with less regularity. While no African American man in the South Carolina asylum was identified as a Civil War veteran, it is possible some had served in the military and experienced war trauma symptoms. I could locate only one suicide of a known black veteran, that of Lt. F. C. Cull in Nashville, who had fought “bravely” at Shiloh and Fort Donelson and who was wounded in combat. Nashville Daily Union, February 13, 1865, in Garrett, comp., Obituaries from Tennessee Newspapers, 71.

47. Montgomery, Memoir of Frank Alexander Montgomery, 113.

48. Tri-weekly Sumter (Ga.) Republican, March 2, 1867, p. 2.

49. Atlanta Daily Intelligencer, June 30, 1867, p. 2.

50. Petersburg Index, February 27, 1867.

51. New Orleans Times, June 27, 1867.

52. Savitt, Medicine and Slavery, 248; Forret, “Deaf and Dumb, Blind, Insane, or Idiotic,” 533.

53. Savitt, Medicine and Slavery, 247–79. See also Grob, Mental Institutions in America, 249; Noll, Feeble-Minded in Our Midst, 91; Dain, Disordered Minds, 105–11.

54. Savitt, Medicine and Slavery, 260–64. See also Grob, Mental Institutions in America, 250.

55. Grob, Mental Institutions in America, 250–51; Cranford, But for the Grace of God, 28.

56. Thielman, “Southern Madness,” 261; McCandless, Moonlight, Magnolias, and Madness, 75–77; Hughes, “Labeling and Treating Black Mental Illness,” 439; Grob, Mental Institutions in America, 251, 254. For example, the Columbia, South Carolina, asylum admitted two “colored” females in 1860: Phebe (June 10, 1860) and Violet (July 27, 1860). Microfilm Reel AD #674, SCLA, Physicians’ Record, SCDAH.


58. Grob, Mental Institutions in America, 251.

59. Silkenat, Moments of Despair, 42–43.

60. Grob, Mental Institutions in America, 249.


64. Miller, “The Effects of Emancipation upon the Mental and Physical Health of the Negro,” 287.

65. Ibid., 289.


68. Miller, “The Effects of Emancipation upon the Mental and Physical Health of the Negro,” 290–92. See also Cranford, But for the Grace of God, 45; Haller, “The Physician versus the Negro.”

69. Rice, Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction (1888), 347.

70. Miller, “The Effects of Emancipation upon the Mental and Physical Health of the Negro,” 292. See also “Proceedings of the Association of Medical Superintendents of American Institutions for the Insane” (1892), 251.


72. “Miscellany.” See also Roberts, “Insanity in the Colored Race,” 249. Enrico A. Morselli’s Suicide (1879) is an example of a social scientific approach to the problem of suicide through the lens of modernity and civilization. Other such European studies on this topic include Masaryk, Suicide and the Meaning of Civilization, and Strahan, Suicide and Insanity. Howard I. Kushner reviews this literature in two publications: “Suicide, Gender, and the Fear of Modernity” and “Suicide, Gender, and the Fear of Modernity in Nineteenth-Century Medical and Social Thought.”


74. Green, “Psychoses among Negroes, 699, 702.”

75. Miller, “The Effects of Emancipation upon the Mental and Physical Health of the Negro,” 293.


77. Superintendent’s Report of the Eastern North Carolina Insane Asylum, 14–15. See also Silkenat, Moments of Despair, 41. Popular perceptions reflected professional medical opinion that blacks did not commit suicide. A Georgia newspaper well into the twentieth century published an obituary of a “negro preacher” named Frank Ivey who killed himself and remarked, “Suicide in the colored race is rarely ever known. This is the first in the history of this section.” Butler Herald, March 5, 1912.


80. GAR, GA. The medical histories of African American patients tend to be much more incomplete than those of white patients, so the underreporting of suicide could
well be linked to insufficient information about patient conditions and behaviors. Many blacks arrived (or were dumped on hospital grounds) with very little information. Another explanation could be that caregivers simply were not interested in black patient cases. Or, because they believed blacks as a race were not suicidal, they may not have even asked about suicidal activity. Racial classification here is based on record keeping that denoted “colored” as non-white or African American. No racial designation for patients was interpreted as “white” as was the custom at the time. A roughly three-year gap exists in the years surveyed, so figures do not include 1875–1877. Approximately 176 non-whites and 581 whites were admitted during these years. Designation of “suicidal” is defined as having attempted suicide or expressed a desire to take one’s life before or at the intake session.

82. Green, “Manic-Depressive Psychosis in the Negro,” 620.
83. Green, “Psychoses among Negroes, 703.
86. Some African Americans also believed suicide to be a largely white phenomenon. Newell Ensley, a professor of rhetoric who had been born into a Tennessee slave family, delivered a speech in 1880 in which he identified three ways in which blacks differed from whites: they were neither skeptics nor “infidels,” he claimed. Nor did they commit suicide. Simmons and Turner, Men of Mark, 366; Silkenat, Moments of Despair, 41.
88. It is possible that non-white patients could have been admitted earlier and their races simply went unrecorded.
89. Cranford, But for the Grace of God, 29–34.
91. GAR, March 7, 1868, p. 238, GA.
92. Ibid., April 2, 1868, p. 239, GA.
93. Ibid., August 10, 1867, p. 211, GA.
94. Ibid., July 26 and July 27, 1871, p. 297, GA.
95. Silkenat, Moments of Despair, 44.
96. McCandless, Moonlight, Magnolias and Madness, 219.
99. GAR, June 9, 1868, p. 244, GA.
100. Ibid., December 19, 1868, p. 263, GA.
101. Ibid., November 7, 1867, p. 224, GA.
102. Ibid., September 5, 1867, p. 216, GA.
103. Ibid., July 8, 1868, p. 247, GA.
104. Ibid., September 12, 1868, p. 254, GA.
105. Ibid., August 25, 1868, p. 251, GA.
106. Ibid., July 20, 1868, p. 249, GA.
107. Ibid., July 13, 1868, p. 248, GA.
108. Ibid., September 30, 1867, p. 229, GA.
109. Ibid., July 14, 1868, p. 248, GA.
110. Ibid., March 5, 1868, p. 237, GA.
111. Ibid., March 5, 1868, p. 237, GA.
112. Ibid., November 26, 1867, p. 225, GA. See also the cases of Lewis Griffin and Mary Peeples. Griffin was received in Milledgeville from the Freedmen’s Bureau Hospital in Augusta and had been mentally ill for five years; GAR, September 14, 1867, p. 218, GA. Peeples entered the Georgia asylum having suffered from a psychological malady for six years; GAR, September 13, 1867, p. 217, GA.
114. Record keeping at the Georgia Insane Asylum was much more informal than its counterpart in South Carolina. Moreover, a wider variety of asylum and patient records have been preserved in South Carolina than in Georgia, including orders for commitment, patient treatment records, lists of patients, and admissions and discharge registers, in addition to case histories. Specifically, the South Carolina records permit a more thorough examination of suicidal behavior among African American patients.
115. Figures collected from several asylum sources including Microfilm Reel AD #674, SCSHI Case Histories, 1875–1915; Microfilm Reel #677, SCSH Admissions Books (1828–1947); and SCSH Commitment Files, all in SCDAH. Asylum history forms did not begin a category for diagnosis until September 1875.
118. Commitment Files, SCSH, Patient #2839, April 22, 1877; Microfilm Reel AD #674, SCSHI Case Histories, 1875–1915, Vol. 3 (September 24, 1875–September 2, 1877), Patient #2839, April 22, 1877; and, Microfilm Reel AD #677, SCSH Admissions Books (1828–1947), Patient #2839, April 22, 1877, SCDAH.
119. Commitment Files, SCSH, Patient #3084, November 9, 1878; Microfilm Reel AD 673, SCLA Patient Treatment Records, Vol. 4 (1877–1880), November 9, 1878, p. 123; Microfilm Reel AD #674, SCSHI Case Histories, 1875–1915, Vol. 4 (September 6, 1877–August 15, 1879), Patient #3084, November 9, 1878, SCDAH.
120. Commitment Files, SCSH, Patient #3123, February 13, 1879; and Microfilm Reel AD #674, SCSHI Case Histories, 1875–1915, Vol. 5 (August 17, 1879–April 8, 1881), Patient #3123, February 13, 1879, SCDAH.
121. Microfilm Reel #AD 674, SCSHI, Patient #3181, n.d.; Commitment Files, SCSH, Patient #3181, July 11, 1879, SCDAH.
122. Commitment Files, SCSH, Patient #2901 [2902], September 11, 1877; and Microfilm Reel #AD 674, SCHSI Case Histories, Vol. 4 (September 6, 1877–August 15, 1879) Patient #2902, SCDAH.
“Suitable Care of the African When Afflicted with Insanity,” 69–74; Miller, “The Effects of Emancipation upon the Mental and Physical Health of the Negro”; O’Malley, “Psychoses in the Colored Race.”

125. Commitment Files, SCSH, Patient #2975, March 5, 1878; Microfilm Reel #AD 673, SCLA, Patient Treatment Records, Vol. 4 (1877–1880), March 5, 1878, p. 32; Microfilm Reel AD #674, SCISH Case Histories, 1875–1915, Vol. 4 (September 6, 1877–August 15, 1879), Patient #2975, March 5, 1878; Microfilm Reel AD #677, SCSH Admissions Books (1828–1947), Patient #2975, March 5, 1878, SCDAH. The number of cotton bales Sanders claimed was stolen strains credulity. It is likely Sanders exaggerated, was misunderstood, or was delusional or there was a transcription error.

126. Affidavit to Procure the Examination of an Insane Person, Robert DeGraffenreid, April 15, 1876, Commitment Files, SCSH Patient #2709; and Microfilm Reel AD #674, SCISH Case Histories, 1875–1915, Vol. 3 (September 24, 1875–September 2, 1877), Patient #2709, April 15, 1876, SCDAH.

127. Affidavit to Procure the Examination of an Insane Person, Thomas Allston, Commitment Files, SCSH, Patient #2396, September 28, 1875; and Microfilm Reel AD #674, SCISH Case Histories, 1875–1915, Vol. 3 (September 24, 1875–September 2, 1877), Patient #2396, SCDAH.

128. Microfilm Reel AD #674, SCISH Case Histories, 1875–1915, Vol. 5 (August 17, 1879–April 8, 1881), Patient #3247, November 12, 1879, SCDAH. [Name sometimes spelled Owens.]


130. Green, “Psychoses among Negroes,” 703.

Chapter 5


For works that address the impact of war-related trauma on Civil War soldiers, see Eric T. Dean Jr.’s Shook over Hell and his article “‘His Eyes Indicated Wildness and Fear.’” Several recent studies of Civil War veterans make important contributions in taking seriously the psychological and emotional impact of the war. Jeffrey W. McClurken’s monograph is a study of Confederate veterans and their families from one Virginia county. McClurken, Take Care of the Living, especially 118–42. James Mar-
ten’s work, by contrast, is a broad sweep of Northern and Southern veterans in the Gilded Age. Marten, *Sing Not War*, notably 87–90. Brian Matthew Jordan’s *Marching Home* challenges nostalgic interpretations of Union soldiers’ return home, unmasking the challenges they faced that complicated and impeded reintegration to civilian life. While these monographs touch on mental health issues of veterans, war trauma and its effects are not the main focus of these historical studies. Only Dean’s important book takes as its focus Civil War soldiers and the effects of war on their psychological health, and it is framed as a comparison with Vietnam War veterans. His book, though, is heavily skewed to Northern soldiers and their experiences, leaving us with little understanding of the psychological health and experiences of Confederate veterans. The most recent study of Civil War veterans is Cimbala, *Veterans North and South*. Lesley J. Gordon’s microhistory of a Connecticut regiment finds a number of cases of suicide and insanity among its surviving veterans. Gordon, *A Broken Regiment*, 221–25. Articles considering the psychological impact of the war on Civil War soldiers include Andersen, “Haunted Minds”; Carmichael, “We Shall Never Any of Us Be the Same”; Fleming, “Living Casualties of War”; Bussanich, “‘Will I Ever Be Fit for Civil Society Again?’”; Grant, “Former Confederate and Union Soldiers in Reconstruction,” 173–74; McClurken, *Take Care of the Living*, 132.

2. Rachel Yehuda defines the core traumatic event of PTSD as one that has the capacity “to provoke fear, helplessness, or horror in response to the threat of injury or death.” Symptoms include “major depression, panic disorder, generalized anxiety disorder, and substance abuse.” Yehuda, “Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder,” 108. Erin P. Finley expands on the three categories of symptoms laid out by Yehuda: (1) re-experiencing the event (haunted by memories of the traumatic event), for example, nightmares or flashbacks; (2) avoidance of reminders of the event, for example, emotional distancing or social isolation; and (3) hyperarousal or a heightened responsiveness to one’s environment, which can manifest as insomnia, irritability, impaired concentration, and increased startle reactions. Finley, like most practitioners today, rejects a monolithic definition of PTSD and understands it to be a very complex diagnosis that is fluid and subject to interpretation. Finley, *Fields of Combat*, 2–49. See also Keane, Marshall, and Taft, “Posttraumatic Stress Disorder,” 162; Dean, *Shook over Hell*, 5; Hendin and Haas, *Wounds of War*; Figley and Leventman, eds., *Strangers at Home*; McClurken, *Take Care of the Living*, 132–33; Marten, *Sing Not War*, 103.

Recent studies of war-related injuries further complicate PTSD diagnoses by showing that many symptoms associated with PTSD in soldiers overlap and often mimic those of traumatic brain injury (TBI)—headaches, dizziness, vertigo, cognitive impairment, depression, irritability, and impulsiveness—making a definitive diagnosis even more challenging. DeKosky, Ikonomovic, and Gandy, “Traumatic Brain Injury.” Studies such as Steven T. DeKosky and colleagues’ emphasize the interconnectedness between brain injury and psychological disorders brought on by warfare and suggest multiple causes of complex neurological and psychological impairment, including the concussion of explosives, emotional trauma, and stress brought on by witnessing the horrors of war, rendering “PTSD” at times an inaccurate or incomplete diagnosis. Anderson, “Shell Shock.” Consequently, umbrella terms like “combat stress reaction” (CSR) and “acute stress disorder” (ASD) are preferred when discussing symptoms attributed to battlefield experience. Andersen, “‘Haunted Minds,’” 149.

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5. On the difficulty veterans faced integrating in postwar Virginia, see McClurken, *Take Care of the Living*, 66–71.

6. On the conditions of devastation in the South after the war, see Grant, “Former Confederate and Union Soldiers in Reconstruction,” 166–68. On the economic crisis in the South following the war, consult the contemporary account, “Suicide of War,” *Advocate of Peace*, September/October 1865, p. 329.


10. Some historians argue that it is ahistorical for scholars, equipped with the twentieth-century knowledge of a recently identified psychiatric diagnosis, such as PTSD, to locate its presence in an earlier time period, and they warn against applying “modern categories to past actors.” Hsieh, “‘Go to Your Gawd like a Soldier,’” 552–59 (555); Clarke, “So Lonesome I Could Die,” 254; Gallagher and Meier, “Coming to Terms with Civil War Military History,” 492; Carmichael, “Relevance, Resonance, and Historiography,” 182. Indeed, one must always be sensitive to the particular historical and individual contexts when considering how combat may have affected veterans psychologically, and therefore one should proceed cautiously with making connections between combat experience and mental illness (another term nineteenth-century Americans did not use). Stress-related disorders even today are not easily diagnosed; to think that a historian, on the basis of very limited evidence and over 150 years removed, could somehow diagnose a veteran with PTSD is naïve. But identifying patterns of behavior among Civil War veterans that are consistent with our understanding of the PTSD diagnosis is not the same thing as retroactively applying a PTSD diagnosis to Civil War veterans. Nor does such an approach assume that Civil War soldiers experienced war trauma in the same way as U.S. soldiers did in Vietnam. Undergirding my analysis is the assumption that stress is a universal response to combat regardless of time period. All soldiers experience stress and will respond to that stress in a variety of ways. What differs over time is how they and those around them make sense of that stress. Plentiful primary and secondary sources make abundantly clear that the Civil War triggered psychological disturbances in soldiers. The scholarship of Erin P. Finley informs my thinking on this matter. She concedes that PTSD is a very specific, complex diagnosis that is universally experienced, but that it is also shaped, interpreted, and received by various cultural contexts. Finley, *Fields of Combat*.

11. Similar observations were made in the North. Marten, *Sing Not War*, 87–88. See also Parigot, “Insanity in America” (“despondency and suicides have been frequent in districts where armies have fought”).


14. *Daily Constitutionalist*, February 2, 1865. The asylum superintendent in Mississippi also remarked on the increased number of “cramped and crippled.” Compton, “Proceedings of the Association of Medical Superintendents” (1873), 197. Ten years later, the Mississippi asylum superintendent continued to blame the Civil War for the rise in the asylum population. Rice, *Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction* (1888), 347. The superintendent of a Michigan asylum reported that quite a few Civil War veterans had been “reduced in mental and physical vigor” warranting institutionalization. Palmer, “The Colony System of Caring for the Insane,” 159. Jeffrey W. McClurken makes the point that state-supported asylums after the war figured prominently in providing assistance for mentally ill veterans. McClurken, *Take Care of the Living*, 118–72.

15. Microfilm Reel AD #677, SCSH Admissions Books, Patient #1869, May 2, 1871, SCDAH. Although released soon after, he reentered the South Carolina Lunatic Asylum in November 1872 and was treated for dementia. Microfilm Reel AD #677, SCSH Admissions Books, Patient #2059, November 28, 1872, SCDAH. On soldiers’ exposure during the war, consult Meier, *Nature’s Civil War*, 1, 3, 10–11, 14, 35–38, 46–53, 60, 71, 81–83, 86–87, 93–95, 103–12.

16. Identifying asylum inmates who were Civil War veterans is no simple task. Sometimes hospital officials might reference a patient’s experience as a soldier in admission records if it was deemed relevant, but more often than not, the historian is left to consult additional records to determine a patient’s military records, and, too frequently, those sources are unable to confirm with certainty the military service background of male patients. This figure for the Milledgeville asylum, therefore, surely undercounts the number of veterans admitted there. GAR, April 1865–June 1872, GA.


18. Ibid., November 26, 1866, p. 183, GA.

19. Ibid., March 30, 1867, p. 199, GA.

20. Ibid., August 21, 1871, p. 298, GA. Williams escaped from the asylum in 1873. 1870 and 1880 Censuses, Gwinnett County, Georgia, “John Williams.” Williams was an officer in the 35th Georgia Infantry. On delusions, see Dean, *Shook over Hell*, 100–102. Enhanced startle reaction and hypervigilance for danger are associated with symptoms of PTSD. Keane, Marshall, and Taft, “Posttraumatic Stress Disorder.”

21. *Petersburg Index and Appeal*, July 31, 1875. Pearman’s service role during the war is murky. His widow, Martha, successfully filed a pension application in 1900 in which she falsely listed cause of death as “enlargement of the heart.” She claimed that he had been “sent to Camp Lee,” which functioned as a mustering ground. It is not clear that Pearman actually served as a soldier, though the pension board ruled favorably in his widow’s application. Application of Martha E. Pearman, Petersburg, Virginia, March 7, 1900, Confederate Pension Rolls, Veterans and Widows, LVA, http://image.lva.virginia.gov/CP/html/12862.html. 1860 Census, Dinwiddie County, Virginia, “Joseph E. Pearman”; 1870 Census, Dinwiddie County, Virginia, “Joseph E. Pearman.”


24. Dean, *Shook over Hell*, 151. On other Civil War veterans who committed or attempted suicide, see 154–60. David Silkenat’s work on suicide in postbellum North Carolina finds that at least two-thirds of (white) males who committed suicide after 1865 had served in the military. Silkenat, *Moments of Despair*, 57. For contemporary observations about the postwar rise in suicides, see *Memphis Daily Appeal*, May 4, 1879; *Atlanta Weekly Constitution*, June 20, 1876, p. 1; *Nashville Union and American*, August 6, 1871.

25. GAR, April 1865 to June 1872, GA.


28. *Atlanta Daily Intelligencer*, May 8, 1867, p. 2; *Daily Dispatch*, May 4, 1867. A soldier named Private D. Crawley was interred at Oakwood Cemetery in Richmond, though his regiment and date of death are not indicated on his headstone making identification problematic. Find A Grave, http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=91020178&ref=acom. A Daniel Crowley served in the 21st Alabama, but it impossible to know if he is the man who died by suicide in Virginia in 1867. Multiple spellings of the surname Crawley (Crowley, Canly) further impede a positive identification.

29. “Inquest on the body of Edward Winfield Weeks,” August 28, 1866, Petersburg (city), Misc. Records, Coroner’s Inquests, 1826–1936 broken series, Box 32, unbundled papers, State Records Center Annex, LVA; 1860 Census, East Ward, Petersburg, Virginia, “Edw. W. Weeks.” Two service records exist for an Edward W. Weeks, one serving in the 12th Virginia Infantry, Company B, as a private, and the other in the 41st Virginia Infantry, Company E, as a private (CWSSS and Fold3.com). I believe Weeks enlisted in the 12th Virginia in April 1861, but was discharged for disability almost immediately. Several months later he enlisted in the 41st Virginia. But one year later he was discharged again. He was diagnosed with tertiary syphilis. Weeks married Margaret Thompson in Petersburg in May 1865. Virginia, Select Marriages, 1785–1940, Ancestry.com.


31. GAR, April 26, 1866, p. 153, GA. Sharpe (Sharp) first entered the asylum on July 4, 1862 (p. 63), but was released. On the treatment and experiences of Civil War prisoners of war, consult Dean, *Shook over Hell*, 81–87, and McClurken, *Take Care of the Living*, 121, 124.

32. GAR, June 14, 1866, p. 158, GA.

33. *Columbus (GA.) Daily Enquirer*, April 24, 1866, p. 3; letter from William V. Taylor, M.D., October 29, 1863; letter from W. L. Scott, October 17, 1863; jacket of application for the appointment of examining board in case of Second Lieutenant Thomas Peters, October 17, 1863, Fold3.com.

34. On substance abuse of Vietnam veterans, see Herbert Hendin and Ann Pollinger Haas's *Wounds of War*, 183–99. In their study, 85 percent of Vietnam veterans with PTSD had or had had a serious problem with drugs or alcohol or both after their return (183). Stanton, “The Hooked Serviceman: Drug Use in and after Vietnam.”


37. Maria Louisa Fleet to Fred Fleet, January 25, 1867, in Fleet, ed., *Green Mount after the War*, 23.


40. GAR, October 22, 1867, p. 222, GA. “B. W.” was Benjamin W. Johnson who, in 1870, was no longer listed as head of household, a designation he likely lost because he was deemed “insane” in that census. 1860 Census, Emanuel County, Georgia, “Benjamin Johnson” and 1870 Census, Emanuel County, Georgia, “Benetta Johnson.” Johnson served in the 54th Georgia Infantry and while sick for a time in 1863 served out the war. Fold3.com

41. Ibid., August 25, 1868, p. 251, GA.

42. Ibid., May 9, 1869, p. 272, GA. Dickson (also Dixon and Discon) served in the 63rd Georgia Regiment and was AWOL for a time. Records at Fold3.com.

43. Ibid., March 26, 1873, p. 397, GA.
44. Bonner, ed., The Journal of a Milledgeville Girl, 4; C. Macfarlane, Reminiscences of an Army Surgeon, 73, as quoted in Dean, Shook over Hell, 83 (“pitiable mass”); GAR, March 28, 1867, p. 198, GA (“gentlemanly”).

45. GAR, April 3, 1867, p. 200, GA.

46. Ibid., August 31, 1865, p. 132, GA. Steele served in the 38th Georgia Infantry, Companies C and then M. Henderson, comp., Roster of the Confederate Soldiers of Georgia, Vol. 4, 239, and at Fold3.com.

47. Petersburg Progress, July 27, 1871.

48. Weekly Sumter (Ga.) Republican, May 2, 1873, p. 2. Though his name is listed as Grubb in the newspaper account, in all census listings, the family name appears as Grubbs. 1860 Census, Campbellton, Itawamba County, Mississippi, “Thomas J. Grubb”; 1870 and 1880 Censuses, Atlanta, Georgia, “Thomas J. Grubbs.” See also the Tri-weekly Sumter (Ga.) Republican, May 14, 1870, for a published report on the number of fatalities nationwide linked to intemperance.

49. National Council on Disability, “Section 3: Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) and Traumatic Brain Injury (TBI).”

50. Hishaw, “Concussions and Epilepsy: What Is the Link?”

51. GAR, May 1, 1873, p. 407, GA. Several sets of Georgia service records exist for John Garrett: Company G, 8th Georgia Infantry (mustered in Macon, near his home, Wilkinson County); John M. Garrett, Company K, 57th Georgia Infantry (on list of retired soldiers, Macon), though he enlisted in Savannah, quite a distance from Wilkinson County; and John Mann Garret, Company K, 31st Georgia Infantry, Dawson, Georgia (at Fold3.com).

52. Hickman, The Secret Leprosy, 22.

53. Day, The Opium Habit, 7. Marten, Sing Not War, 111. See also Hickman, The Secret Leprosy, 29, on Day. The popularization of the hypodermic syringe also hastened greater use of the narcotic.

54. Most historians today reject the popular notion that heightened Civil War use of narcotics contributed to the increase in addiction after the war. Hickman, “‘Mania Americana,’” 1270. Forthcoming work examines reflections by physicians on their role in using opiates in medical practice during the Civil War, their responsibility for the opiate epidemic that followed, and their willingness to reform their treatment protocols. Jones, “‘A Mind Prostrate.’”


56. Columbia (Mo.) Herald, November 29, 1872; Nashville Union and American, November 21, 1872; Hancock, Hancock’s Diary, 127, 20. The Missouri newspaper claim Ewing’s leg was amputated at the Battle of Fort Pillow, which would have been April 1864. The Nashville account offered that Ewing had “for years suffered intensely from the effects of a bullet would received defending his life. Exposure in service during the late war greatly aggravated his sufferings, to relieve which he became addicted to the use of opium.” Hancock’s diary mentions Ewing being “very sick” and “low-spirited.” Ewing, Hancock reported, seemed as if he had “just as soon as die as live.” (128) A. G. Ewing was a captain in the 1st (McNairy’s) Tennessee Cavalry Battalion, which later reorganized as the 2nd Regiment, also called the 22nd (Bortoeau’s) Cavalry.
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(Tennessee Civil War GIS Project, http://tnmap.tn.gov/civilwar/unithistoriesvol1/C_McNairy_Cav_Bn.pdf), at Fold3.com; 1850 Census, Davidson County, Tennessee, “Randal M. Erving”; 1860 Census, Seguin, Guadalupe, Texas, “M. V. Ewing.” Nashville city directories from 1867 through 1872 show Ewing living in and around Nashville with various occupations. In 1868, he is listed as watchman for the Fourth National Bank, but in other years he is listed as “E & Company.” In 1872, curiously, he appears as director of the First National Bank of Nashville, though no mention of that title appears in any obituary. U.S. City Directories, 1821–1989, Nashville, Ancestry.com. On the medicalization of opium addiction, see Marcus Aurin’s “Chasing the Dragon.” Aurin points out that addiction and alcoholism were regarded as both signifiers and agents of degeneracy (420).

57. Letter from E. Brown (wife) to Dr. John W. Parker, May 5, 1868, SCSH Commitment Files; and, Microfilm Reel AD #677, SCSH Admissions Books, Patient #1614, May 9, 1868, SCDAH. Given the pithy entry information and his common last name, it is impossible to document his service record.

58. Microfilm Reel AD #674, SCSHI Case Histories, 1875–1915, Vol. 3, Patient #2851, May 27, 1877, p. 210; Microfilm Reel #677, SCSH Admission Books, Patient #2851, May 27, 1877; SCSH Commitment Files, Case 106, Patient #2648, Richland County Estate papers; and, SCSH Commitment Files, Patient #2851, SCDAH. Green, a lawyer and former treasurer of South Carolina College, was tapped in 1850 by the state’s governor to work on South Carolina’s early legislative records. He volunteered for duty during the Civil War and served as quartermaster with the rank of major. Family members blame his deterioration on a “sabre-cut of excruciating, continuing agony.” Green became a judge after the war, but by the 1870s he had become a problem for his family, as he had become addicted to opiates. Green spent six weeks at St. Luke’s Hospital in New York to help him withdraw from opium, but he continued to experience difficulties, especially sleeping, which he appears to have dealt with by turning to alcohol. After an event in 1877 to raise money for a Confederate monument where he took to the stage and acted erratically and inappropriately, his family committed him to the asylum in South Carolina where he remained until his death in 1881. In Lesser, South Carolina Begins, 192–94; Grant, “The Lost Boys,” 242.

59. Atlanta Constitution, April 8, 1881. Although the newspaper account claimed Beach “held a position in the Confederate army,” I could not locate his service record.

60. Atlanta Daily Herald, September 10, 1873, p. 2. Seven sets of Alabama military records exist under the name Thomas Jenkins, so his service cannot be determined with assurance.

61. Atlanta Daily Intelligencer, October 25, 1866, p. 1. A man named Clark Brown served in the 15th Georgia Infantry and was a POW for a time, though there is no way to verify that the two men are one in the same. Fold3.com. See also the case of John Charlton, a veteran of a Louisiana company, who killed himself in 1885 after drinking heavily. He had been separated from his wife and family, had lost his job as a bookkeeper, and had a severe drinking problem. Coski, “‘I Have Some Diaries That I Would Like to Donate’”; John F. Charlton, four pocket diaries, 1860–1865, typed transcripts, Eleanor S. Brockenbrough Library, ACWM.

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63. Emerson, “Hellmira.”


66. Engdahl, Dikel, Eberly, and Blank, “Posttraumatic Stress Disorder in a Community Group of Former Prisoners of War,” 1576, 1579, 1578, 1579; Dean, Shook over Hell, 81. For a historical study on the return of prisoners of war in the wake of defeat and the meaning and impact of their return, consult Biess, Homecomings, especially chapter 3, on the trauma of returned POWs. On the difficulties German POWs faced when returning to their families, see Heineman, What Difference Does a Husband Make?, 115–17.


68. On former Union prisoners in Southern prison camps, see Marten, Sing Not War, 88–89.

69. Microfilm Reel AD #677, SCSH Admissions Books, Patient #1593, February 18, 1868; Microfilm Reel AD #674, SCLA Physician’s Record (1860–1874), February 18, 1868; and, Microfilm Reel AD #673 SCLA Patient Treatment Records, Vol. 3 (1859–1869, 1874), Patient #1593, February 18, 1868, SCDAH. Dean reads his name as Alan F. Festner, which is how the name appears in the Physicians’ Record. Dean, Shook over Hell, 272n9.

70. Correspondence from E. K. Kernison, Charleston, to Dr. Parker, August 6, 1866, SCSH Commitment Files; Microfilm Reel AD #674 SCLA, Physicians’ Record
(186–1874), n.d., but after July 1866 and before November 1866; and Microfilm Reel AD #673, SCLA Patient Treatment Records, Vol. 3 (1859–1869, 1874), August 1866, p.157, SCDAH.


72. GAR, August 9, 1865, p. 130, GA; Company K, 6th Georgia Infantry. Irish-born Keenan, aged twenty-two, lived in a Savannah boardinghouse before the war, so he probably married after the war. 1860 Census, Savannah, Chatham Count, Georgia, “Jerald Cullen.” Keenan’s service records can be found at Fold3.com.

73. GAR, November 26, 1866, p. 183, GA.

74. Ibid., April 13, 1871, p. 294, GA. Smallwood was listed in an 1870 census as “insane.” 1870 Census, Cherokee County, Georgia, “David Garrison.” He was a patient in the asylum as late as 1880. Census, 1880, Baldwin County, Georgia, State Lunatic Asylum. CSA service records list Smallwood as both a conscript and a deserter: 1st Georgia Infantry, in Fold3.com.


80. Rosenburg, “‘Empty Sleeves and Wooden Pegs,’” 204–6.

82. Rosenberg, “‘Empty Sleeves and Wooden Pegs,’” 204–6, 212; Miller, Empty Sleeves, 125–26.
83. McClurken, Take Care of the Living, 49.
85. Ibid., 117; Nelson, Ruin Nation, 161–227.
86. Miller, Empty Sleeves, 120.
87. Ibid., 111; Nelson, Ruin Nation, 179–200.
89. See note 56 above, this chapter, for full reference on Ewing. Columbia (Mo.) Herald, November 29, 1872; Nashville Union and American, November 21, 1872; Hancock, Hancock’s Diary, 128, 19. Ewing’s service records note absences for sickness on three occasions but do not mention injury. Ewing served in the 2nd Tennessee Cavalry. Documents are available at Fold3.com.
93. Daniel, Recollections of a Rebel Surgeon, 32–33. Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain, hero of the Battle of Gettysburg, lived with chronic pain from a war injury, which took a huge emotional toll that adversely affected his marriage, although few outside his close circle realized the full impact of his injury. Handley-Cousins, “Wrestling at the Gates of Death.”
95. GAR, October 9, 1866, p. 176, GA. Seay was readmitted March 6, 1868, p. 237; 1870 Census, Atlanta, Fulton County, Georgia, “Ransom Seay.”
96. Grant, “Former Confederate and Union Soldiers in Reconstruction,” 173.


100. Edwards, Gendered Strife and Confusion, 110.


103. On the implications of emancipation on white men, see Bercaw, Gendered Freedoms, 77–93.

104. Biess, Homecomings, 71.


106. Roper, “Between the Psyche and the Social.”

107. Nashville Republican Banner, September 11, 1866; Atlanta Daily Intelligencer, September 5, 1866, p. 3; Nashville Daily Union and American, September 2, 1866; 1850 Census, Cincinnati, Ohio, “Henry Eenboom.” Eenboom appears in the Memphis directory in 1865 as a cigar maker. In subsequent years, his widow, Mary E./Elizabeth Eenboom, continued to reside in Memphis. U.S. City Directories, 1821–1989, Memphis, Ancestry.com. Eenboom’s service record is located at Fold3.com: Henry Eenboom, Captain Baxter’s Company, Light Artillery, and Captain Bibb’s Company, Tennessee Artillery. It is worth noting that none of the news accounts actually referenced Eenboom’s body, so it is possible that Eenboom never followed through with his suicide. Eenboom is variously spelled as Enboom, Euburg.


109. GAR, August 9, 1865, p. 130, GA.

110. Microfilm Reel #677, SCSH Admissions Books, Patient #2727, May 23, 1876; and SCSH Commitment Files, Patient #2727, May 22, 1876, SCDAH; 1860 Census, Edgefield County, South Carolina, “Nancy Gibson”; 1870 Census, Edgefield County, South Carolina, “Ambrose Gibson.” On Gibson’s Confederate service, see CWSSS (14th Regiment, South Carolina Infantry, Company B).

111. Microfilm Reel #674, SCSHI Case histories, Vol. 3 (September 24, 1875–September 2, 1877), Patient #2757, October 4, 1876; Microfilm Reel AD #677, Admissions Books, Patient #2754, October 4, 1876; SCSH Commitment Files, Patient #2757, October 3, 1876, SCDAH; 1880 Census, Charleston County, South Carolina, “Eugenia Newton.” Henry D. Newton appears not to be residing in the household as he is noted to
be “insane” and in the hospital. On Newton’s Confederate service, see CWSSS (1st Battalion, South Carolina Infantry, Company A). Delusions are a common symptom of PTSD. Dean, Shook over Hell, 100–105.


113. “Inquest on the body of John C. Sturtz,” August 12, 1872, Petersburg (city), Misc. Records, Coroner’s Inquests, 1826–1932 broken series, Box 32, BC 1047087, unbundled papers, State Records Center Annex, LVA. The foreign spelling of Sturtz was construed in a variety of ways throughout documents, so it is impossible to determine whether Sturtz served in the Confederate army, though his age in 1861, twenty-nine, suggests he likely would have served.

114. Petersburg Index, September 1 and 4, 1869; 1860 Census, Richmond, Henrico County, Virginia, “E. J. Hudson.” Hudson’s service records are found at Fold3.com: Ethelbert J./E. J. Hudson, 1st Virginia Artillery Regiment, 5th Virginia Cavalry. Hudson was a graduate of Randolph-Macon College. See “Ethelbert James Hudson, Jr., Student, 1855–1856.” This biographical sketch and the 1860 census identify Hudson as a druggist, but the newspaper account states he was a surgeon. Nothing in the Confederate service records indicates he performed medical duties. Also curious is Captain Garrett’s letter endorsing Hudson’s commission in which he claims Hudson had served in the U.S. Cavalry as an officer. In 1860, Hudson, aged twenty-one, was residing in Richmond with his parents and is identified as a druggist. He purportedly attended Randolph-Macon from 1855 to 1856. It is possible he served in the U.S. Cavalry, which he left to join the Confederate army, but it doesn’t seem likely, especially since he was living in Richmond for the 1860 census.


117. Weekly Sumter (Ga.) Republican, September 24, 1875, p. 2; 1860 Census, Ellaville, Schley County, Georgia, “H. L. French”; 1870 Census, Americus, Sumter County, Georgia, “Hiram L. French.” French’s services records, Company B, 17th Georgia Infantry and 5th Battalion (State Guards), found at Fold3.com. I could not locate son H. B.’s service records, but the newspaper report indicates he died in the war. Burial records seem to confirm his death in February 1862. See “H. B. French,” at Find A Grave website. [Hiram is also denoted as Hiriam and H.L. among sources].

118. Petersburg Daily Post, November 14 and 15, 1877; 1860 Census, Sussex County, Virginia, “Adolphus Herzog”; 1870 Census, Petersburg, Dinwiddie County, Virginia, “Adolphus Herzog.” Herzog, at age thirty-five, served with the Sussex Riflemen for about a year, at which time he was discharged by order of the secretary of war to take a position as postmaster. Fold3.com.

Chapter 6

1. Sandage, Born Losers, 193–95. Also on Southern white men and debt after the war, see Bleser and Heath, “The Clays of Alabama,” 149.
4. Richmond Examiner, August 29, 1866; 1860 Census, Richmond, Henrico County, Virginia, “Sidnum Grady.” Financial ruin was believed the cause of a number of Virginia veterans who entered the Western State Asylum after the war. McClurken, Take Care of the Living, 123–25.
5. Georgia Weekly Opinion, November 19, 1867, p. 2.
6. Atlanta Weekly Intelligencer, February 27, 1867, p. 3.
7. Sandage, Born Losers, 71.
9. Broun Diary, November 10, 1865, p. 47, SHC, UNC.
11. SCSH Commitment Files, Patient #3004, May 7, 1878; Microfilm Reel AD #673, SCLA Patient Treatment Records, Vol. 4 (1877–1880), May 7, 1878, p. 55; and, Microfilm Reel AD #674, SCSHI Case Histories, Vol. 4 (September 6, 1877–August 15, 1879), Patient #3004, May 7, 1878, SCDAH.
12. Microfilm Reel #677, SCSH Admissions Books, Patient #2950, December 26, 1877; Microfilm Reel #674, SCSHI Case Histories, Vol. 4 (September 6, 1877–August 15, 1879), Patient #2950, December 26, 1877, p. 51; and SCSH Commitment Files, Patient #2950, December, 26 1877, SCDAH.
14. GAR, April 6, 1866, p. 151, GA.
15. Ibid., December 26, 1867, p. 228, GA.
16. Richmond Whig, September 1, 1865; Norfolk Post, September 1, 1865; 1860 Census, Petersburg, Dinwiddie County, Virginia, “Joseph H. Burton.” Some Civil War
rosters claim he served in Brooks’ Battalion, but that is unlikely because that unit was composed of former Union POWs. On Petersburg during the siege, see Lebsock, *The Free Women of Petersburg*, 244–46.


18. *Petersburg Index*, April 30, 1869; 1850 Census, Northampton, North Carolina, “Hartwell Harding”; 1860 Census, Northampton, North Carolina, “Hartwell Harding.” James B. Harding, Company D, 54th North Carolina Infantry. Several service records can be found for William Harding (various spellings), but it is not clear whether any of these are Hartwell’s son. Son William was only seventeen when the war broke out, but his military service cannot be confirmed. Both sets of military documents can be found at Fold3.com.

19. *Atlanta Daily Intelligencer*, June 15, 1866, p. 2; *Macon (Ga.) Daily Telegraph*, June 15, 1866, p. 3; *Macon Weekly Telegraph*, June 18, 1866, p. 4; *New Orleans Times*, June 15, 1866, p. 1; 1860 Census, Washington, D.C., “Samuel Hanson.”

20. GAR, February 3, 1865, pp. 124–25, GA; 1860 Census, Randolph County, Georgia, “Lemon Dunn.” Although the 1860 census records no real or personal property for Dunn, his thirty-one-year-old son, Jacob, claimed $2,500 in personal wealth and $1,000 in real property.

21. GAR, December 23, 1866, p. 186, GA.

22. Ibid., January 24, 1867, p. 190, GA.

23. Ibid., June 26, 1867, p. 209, GA.

24. Ibid., December 25, 1868, p. 263, GA.


28. SCSH Commitment Files, Patient #2693, February 12, 1876; Microfilm Reel #677, SCSH Admissions Books, Patient #2693, February 17, 1876; and Microfilm Reel AD #674, SCSHI Case Histories, Vol. 3 (September 24, 1875–September 2, 1877), Patient #2693, February 17, 1876, SCDAH; 1860 Census, Lexington County, South Carolina, “R. Gunter”; 1870 Census, Lexington County, “Rivers Gunter.”

29. SCSH Commitment Files, Patient #2760, October 21, 1876; Microfilm Reel AD #677, SCSH Admissions Books, Patient #2760, October 21, 1876; and Microfilm Reel AD #674, SCSHI Case Histories, Vol. 3 (September 24, 1875–September 2, 1877), Patient #2760, October 21, 1876, SCDAH.

30. SCSH Commitment Files, Patient #3023, June 19, 1878; Microfilm Reel AD #674, SCSHI Case Histories, Vol. 4 (September 6, 1877–August 15, 1879), Patient #3023, June 19, 1878, p. 124; Microfilm Reel AD #677, SCSH Admissions Books, Patient #3023, June 19, 1878; and, Microfilm Reel AD #673 SCLA, Patient Treatment Records, Vol. 4 (1877–1880), SCDAH.
34. *Gardner v. Lamback*, 47 Georgia 133 (July 1872), WL 2805 (accessed through Westlaw, February 5, 2009). This case arises from a challenge to the sanity of Lamback at the time he drew up his will. Delusional fears about losing fortunes due to the war were not restricted to Southern men. In 1862, E. P. Christy, founder of “Christy’s Minstrels,” jumped out of a window in his New York home, driven to insanity by worries that his $200,000 fortune would be lost with a Confederate invasion. *Nashville Dispatch*, May 17, 1862. Robert C. Kenzer relays a similar story of the wealthiest planter in Orange County, North Carolina, who complained bitterly of his diminished wealth following the Civil War. Although he groused that his family had been impoverished and that he was “hardly able to take care of” himself, by most contemporary standards he was still very well-off. A relative who seemed irked by his pronouncements of poverty wondered if he ought “not to be ‘real poor’ just for [a] while to see how it feels.” Kenzer, *Kinship and Neighborhood in a Southern Community*, 103–4. McClurken identified veterans in Virginia’s Western State Asylum whose delusions centered on wealth and money. McClurken, *Take Care of the Living*, 130.
35. SCSH Commitment Files, Patient #3093, November 30, 1878; Microfilm Reel AD #674, SCSHI Case histories, Vol. 4 (September 6, 1877–August 15, 1879), Patient #3093, November 3, 1878, p. 194; Microfilm Reel AD #677, SCSH Admissions Books, Patient #3093, November 3, 1878; and, Microfilm Reel AD #673 SCLA Patient Treatment Records, Vol. 4 (1877–1880), November 30, 1878, p. 132, SCDAH.
36. Microfilm Reel AD #677, SCSH Admissions Books, Patient #2710, April 17, 1876; Microfilm Reel AD #674, SCSHI Case Histories, Patient #2710, April 17, 1876; and SCSH Commitment Files, Patient #2710, April 17, 1876, SCDAH.
37. Microfilm Reel AD #677, SCSH Admissions Books, Patient #2351, June 11, 1875; and SCSH Commitment Files, Patient #2351, June 4, 1875, SCDAH; Census 1870, Oconee County, South Carolina, “A. McAlister.”
41. On ex-Confederates coping with the loss of the war, see McClurken, *Take Care of the Living*, 51.

42. Evans, comp., *Baldwin County, Georgia, Newspaper Clippings (Union Recorder)*, Vol. 9, 278 (February 4, 1868); Kilbourne, comp., *Terrell County, Georgia, Newspaper Clippings*, Vol. 1, 93 [newspaper not identified] (Thursday, February 8, 1868).

43. *New York Times*, May 9 and 17, 1867; *Sacramento Daily Union*, May 11, 1867.

44. Evans, comp., *Baldwin County, Georgia, Newspaper Clippings (Union Recorder)*, Vol. 9, 255 (August 13, 1867); *Daily Intelligencer*, August 7, 1867, p. 2; 1860 Census, St. Peter’s Parish, Beaufort County, South Carolina, ‘Benjamin Thompson’; Microfilm Reel AD # 673, SCLA Patient Treatment Records, Vol. 3 (1859–1969), August 4, 1867, p. 202; and, Microfilm Reel AD # 674, SCLA Physician’s Record (1860–1874), August 5, 1867, SCDAH.

45. *Macon (Ga.) Telegraph*, April 7 and 10, 1865; *New York Times*, May 1, 1865. Numerous sources, including the Florida state archives (http://dos.myflorida.com/florida-facts/florida-history/florida-governors/john-milton) report the quotation as part of his final message to the state legislature, though I have not been able to confirm the original source. See also Brown, “The Civil War, 1861–1865,” 245.

46. Evans, comp., *Macon, Georgia, Newspaper Clippings (Messenger)*, Vol. 9, 122 (Wednesday, May 22, 1867). See also Evans, comp., *Baldwin County, Georgia Newspaper Clippings (Union Recorder)*, Vol. 9, 242 (Tuesday, May 21, 1867). The account published in the *Georgia Weekly Telegraph*, May 17, 1867, however, makes no mention of political reasons but points to a belief that Taylor was edging toward insanity and chose death rather than being committed to an asylum.


49. *Atlanta Weekly Intelligencer*, February 1, 2, and 3, 1870.

50. Hacker, “A Census-Based Count of the Civil War Dead.”


53. In 1990, Maris A. Vinovskis asserted that about 258,000 Southern soldiers died fighting for the Confederacy, or about 18 percent of Southern white males between the ages of thirteen and forty-three. Vinovskis, “Have Social Historians Lost the Civil War?” 6–7. Both James M. McPherson and Gary W. Gallagher believe this figure too low, with McPherson speculating the rate closer to 31 percent and Gallagher about 25 percent. Faust, *This Republic of Suffering*, 274n2. Hacker demurs from proffering
an estimate of Confederate dead, explaining that the split loyalties in border states and migration make estimates quite unreliable. Hacker, “A Census-Based Count of the Civil War Dead,” 342–43.

54. McClurken, Take Care of the Living, 51–52.

55. Letter from Malvina Bates to Dr. Parker, superintendent of asylum, July 1, 1867; declaration of insanity, signed by Drs. Lockwood and Horsay (sp.?), Charleston, June 18, 1867; acknowledgment of financial responsibility for Edmund Bates’s continued hospitalization, October 5, 1870, SCSH Commitment Files, June–July 1867, October 1870; Microfilm Reel AAD #677, SCSH Admissions Books, June 25, 1867, SCDAH. According to Malvina Bates, their only son, Henry, died near Petersburg during the war.


58. Weekly Sumter (Ga.) Republican, July 15, 1870.


61. *Atlanta Daily Intelligencer*, April 18, 1866, p. 2; 1860 Census, Augusta, Richmond County, Georgia, “Henry H. Cumming.” Two family accounts of the Cummings were penned in the postwar years: Joseph Bryan Cumming, Henry’s son, authored *A Sketch of the Descendants of David Cumming and Memoirs of the War between the States*, and Joseph Bryan’s wife, Katharine Hubbell Cumming, authored *A Northern Daughter and a Southern Wife*. The service records for the Cumming sons are available at Fold3.com: Alfred, Companies F and S, 10th Georgia Infantry, promoted to brigadier general in 1862; Thomas, Company K, 20th Georgia Infantry and 16th Georgia Infantry; Joseph B., Companies A and I, 5th Georgia Infantry; Harford M., Company A, 5th Georgia Infantry, transferred to medical department; and Julian, Companies F and S, 48th Georgia Infantry. On wartime Augusta, see Whites, *The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender*, especially 133, on Henry H. Cumming.


63. *Columbia (S.C.) Daily Phoenix*, June 21, 1872; 1860 Census, Nacogdoches, Texas, “Mark Ridgell”; 1870 Census, Nacogdoches, Texas, “Marcus Ridgell”; 3rd Brigade, Texas State Troops, Company B, Fold3.com; 1850 Census, Lexington County, Leesville, South Carolina, “Joel Ridgell”; 1860 Census, Lexington County, Leesville, South Carolina, “Joel Ridgell”; 1870 Census, Lexington County, Batesburg, South Carolina, “Joel Ridgel.” Service records for Ridgell brothers at Fold3.com: Norris Thomas Ridgell, 19th South Carolina Infantry, Company F; A. Felix Ridgell, 14th South Carolina Infantry; Tutor/Tudor/T. T. Ridgell, 14th South Carolina Infantry [As of December 1864, Tudor was alive and in the army, but there is no evidence of his status in 1865. Family records claim he was killed during the siege of Petersburg, which would have to have been early 1865. Tudor cannot be located in census records after 1860. Still, his death cannot definitively be situated during the war.]; John B./J. B. Ridgell, 7th South Carolina Infantry; Daniel Ward/D. W. Ridgell, 1st Regiment and 7th South Carolina Infantry; William C./W. C. Ridgell, 7th South Carolina Infantry, Company E. Ridgell Family records found at Family Tree Maker, http://familytreemaker.genealogy.com. Family sources claim Tudor died at Petersburg, but I cannot verify his death. His service records do stop before the end of the war, but no records indicate his death during the war. Family records also date the death of patriarch Joel Ridgell at 1870. Burial records confirm his death in 1870. Find A Grave, http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GSln=Ridgell&GSman=1&GSst=43&GRid=24347695&. On “survivor’s guilt” during the Civil War, consult Grant, “Former Confederate and Union Soldiers in Reconstruction,” 173.

64. Microfilm Reel AD #673, SCLA Patient Treatment Records, Vol. 3 (1859–69, 1874), July 4, 1866, p. 153; and, Microfilm Reel AD #674, SCLA Physicians’ Record, July 4, 1866; Microfilm Reel AD #677, SCSH Admissions Books, Patient #1468, July 4, 1866, SCDAH.


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Chapter 7


2. For just one example see Andrews, *The Women of the South in War Times*.


5. Eggleston, *A Rebel’s Recollections*, 74. On the belief that women had suffered more than men as a result of the war, consult Gardner, *Blood and Irony*, 111.


12. An excellent summary of white Southerners’ reaction to defeat can be found in Wyatt-Brown, *The Shaping of Southern Culture*, 230–54.


16. Broun Diary, September 21, 1867, p. 49, SHC, UNC.
17. Quoted in Gardner, Blood and Irony, 39.
21. Quoted in Culpepper, All Things Altered, 16.
23. Ibid., Folder 48, May 3, 1876, pp. 31–33.
25. McDonald, A Woman’s Civil War, 242 (August 1865).
27. Culpepper, All Things Altered, 47.
28. Jeffrey W. McClurken has calculated the economic impact of the war on veteran households in one Virginia county and found that the value of real and personal property dropped nearly 82 percent from 1860 to 1870. McClurken, Take Care of the Living, 46.
29. Otey Diary, February 8, 1868, p. 139, SHC, UNC. Also on the state of the postwar Southern economy, consult Marten, Sing Not War, 62–64. One measure of the extent of deprivation in the postwar years is the number of people reliant on public or private support for food. Officials in Montgomery, Alabama, in 1867, for example, received food requests from over 40,000 people. Culpepper, All Things Altered, 58.
30. On the extent of starvation in the postbellum South, see Wyatt-Brown, The Shaping of Southern Culture, 250.
31. McDonald, A Woman’s Civil War, 239 (June 1865); 241–42 (August 1865); 244 (October 1865).
32. Ibid., 239 (June 1865).
33. Marszalek, ed., The Diary of Miss Emma Holmes, 485 (February 7, 1866).
34. Weekly Sumter (Ga.) Republican, December 5, 1873, p. 4; Kilbourne, comp., Terrell County, Georgia, Newspaper Clippings. Vol. 2, Sumter Republican, December 4, 1873, 98; 1860 Census, Americus, Sumter County, Georgia, “George Davis”; 1870 Census, Americus, Sumter County, Georgia, “Jarret J. Davis.”
35. Otey Diary, Folder 47, February 12, 1871, p. 16; February 16, 1871, p. 18; May 13, 1876, p. 37, SHC, UNC. See also Folder 47, January 27, 1871, p. 11; February 16, 1871, p. 18.
36. Crabtree and Patton, “Journal of a Secesh Lady,” 713 (June 26, 1865). Edmondston’s father, Thomas P. Devereux, died in March 1869 nearly $300,000 in debt.
37. Otey Diary, Folder 48, May 13, 1876, p. 37, SHC, UNC.
38. Ibid., Folder 48, June 5, 1876, p. 47.
39. Wyatt-Brown, The Shaping of Southern Culture, 257. Real estate taxes increased markedly following abolition in order to make up lost revenue.
40. Otey Diary, Folder 47, February 9, 1871, pp. 14–15, SHC, UNC. See also Folder 43, February 22, 1868, p. 147.
41. Marszalek, ed., The Diary of Miss Emma Holmes, 455 (June 15, 1865).
42. GAR, May 29, 1872, p. 321, GA; 1860 Census, Heard County, Georgia, “Ann C. Reese.” Reese and many women like her suffered psychiatric disorders stemming from events during the Civil War but were not institutionalized or actively suicidal.
until after the end of the war. Treatment was routinely delayed for one of a few reasons. For one, women as the sole caregivers of their families, emotionally taut or not, may have tried to hold on until the end of the war when their male kin returned to offer much-needed relief. Once their husbands returned, overwrought wives collapsed under the weight of four years of wartime stress. A second possibility is that, as before the war, families considered asylums to be the option of last resort. Families made do, to the best of their abilities and resources, and tried to manage psychologically distressed family members within the household. Once a family member’s condition grew severe or uncontrollable, or symptoms became violent in nature, institutionalization might have been unavoidable.

43. GAR, entry date June 1867, p. 209, GA; 1860 Census, Marion County, Georgia, “A. Passmore.” Her physician husband, Abner, enlisted in the army in May 1862, but was home on a sick furlough that fall. He was eventually discharged when he furnished a substitute in June 1863. Service records at Fold3.com: Abner Passmore, 5th Georgia Infantry (State Guards) and 59th Georgia Infantry. Noted in passing, but not linked in any way to her mental illness, was that she had given birth to two children, both of whom had died, at least one, but likely two, during the war.

44. GAR, April 9, 1866, p. 152, GA.


46. GAR, December 6, 1867, p. 225, GA.


48. Ibid., 41.

49. GAR, May 14, 1869, p. 273, GA.

50. Otey Diary, Folder 47, February 23, 1871, pp. 21–22; March 6, 1871, pp. 26–27; March 7, 1871, pp. 27–28, SHC, UNC.

51. Ibid., Folder 43, January 1, 1868, p. 124; March 5, 1868, p. 153; March 17, 1868, p. 158; April 1, 1868, p. 161; March 2, 1867, p. 88. On white women and the new postwar domestic arrangements, see Censer, *The Reconstruction of White Southern Womanhood*, 51–90.


54. Whites, *The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender*, 145.

55. Ibid., 145–48.

56. Murthy and Lakshminarayana, “Mental Health Consequences of War.” In some postwar societies nearly two-thirds of the population manifested symptoms of stress. One study found that over three-quarters of its subjects had experienced at least one traumatic stress-related symptom. Recent research indicates that women may suffer for years following the end of a war from war-induced health problems. Kastrup, “Mental Health Consequences of War.”
57. Catherine Edmondston explains that her failure to write in her diary from April to October 1865 was because of her depression about the fall of the Confederacy. Crabtree and Patton, eds., “Journal of a Secesh Lady,” 720 (October 4, 1865). See also Gardner, Blood and Irony, 42–43.

58. Ibid., 716 (July 28, 1865); 695 (April 16, 1865).


61. On the wartime refugee experience, consult Silkenat, Driven from Home.


63. Letter from Drs. L. Brooker and W. W. Rills, Windsor, South Carolina, November 6, 1865; letter from John G. Smith, magistrate, November 9, 1865; letter from B. F. Brown, secretary and treasurer, Board of Commissioners of the Poor from Barnwell District, South Carolina, November 10, 1865, SCSH Commitment Files; Microfilm Reel AD #677, SCSH Admissions Books, Patient #1754, January 4, 1870, and [late] 1870; and, Microfilm Reel AD #674, SCSHI Case studies, Vol. 3 (September 24, 1875–September 2, 1877), January 4, 1870, SCDAH. Fold3.com service records: Matheny served in the 7th South Carolina Infantry, discharged July 15, 1862. 1850 Census, Edgefield County, South Carolina, “Daniel Matheny”; 1860 Census, Graniteville, Edgefield County, South Carolina, “N. D. Matheny”; 1870 Census, Graniteville, Edgefield County, South Carolina, “Daniel Matheny.” Lucinda’s mother’s maiden name was McDaniel, and there are quite a few listed among the census records of Barnwell County, including William McDaniel, whom I suspect may have been an older brother. 1860 Census, Silverton, Barnwell County, South Carolina, “William McDaniel.”

64. Letter from her family doctor, Moffattsville, South Carolina, to Dr. Griffin, SCSH Commitment Files, Patient #3059, September 20, 1878; Microfilm Reel #677, SCSH Admissions Books, Patient #3059, September 20, 1878; and, Microfilm Reel #674, SCSHI Case histories, Vol. 4 (September 6, 1877–August 15, 1879), Patient #3059, September 20, 1878, p. 160, SCDAH; 1850 Census, Anderson County, South Carolina, “Henry Gable”; 1870 Census, Anderson County, South Carolina, “J. Berry"
Newton”; 1860 Census, Anderson County, South Carolina, “Joel B. Newton.” Fold3.com Confederate service records: Joel B. Newton, Orr’s Rifles, South Carolina; James Ashbury Gable, 32nd Mississippi Regiment [A number of ancestry reports suggest he died in Tennessee in 1864. He was discharged in 1862 for chronic bronchitis. He may, however, have transferred to join two of his brothers in the Moreland’s Cavalry Division, Alabama. Those records indicate a James A. Gable from Iuka, Mississippi, was captured near Huntsville, Alabama, in December 1864; died from scurvy; and was buried in May 1865]; Henry Stacey Gable (identified in service records as S. H. Gable), also from Iuka, Mississippi, enlisted in Moreland’s Cavalry Regiment (Alabama) [ancestor records indicate he died in 1867]; George Smith Gable, 26th Mississippi Infantry [died in 1863 in Grenada, Mississippi, of asthma and general debility caused by exposure following release as a POW]; Levi Franklin Gable (L. F. Gable) of the 7th Alabama Cavalry. The State vs. Joel B. Newton information appears in the Anderson (S.C.) Intelligencer, August 30, 1877; September 20, 1877; and February 21, 1878. My thanks to Carl Gable for sharing with me his genealogical research, which provided additional information about the Newton and Gable families.

65. Hacker, “A Census-Based Count of the Civil War Dead,” 341. Hacker’s analysis is based on deaths by state of birth, a rough indication of sectional impact. Using this method, the traditional figure of 258,000 Confederate dead increased by about 20 percent, suggesting more than 300,000 CSA dead, if one includes border state figures. The National Park Service claims 194,000 Confederate soldiers were wounded, not all of whom made it home (https://www.nps.gov/civilwar/facts.htm).

66. Miller, Empty Sleeves.

67. Culpepper, All Things Altered, 40–41.


69. Woodward, ed., Mary Chesnut’s Civil War, 643 (September 19, 1864).


72. McClurken, Take Care of the Living, 48–49.

73. Weekly Sumter (Ga.) Republican, May 21, 1875; 1860 Census, Elbert County, Georgia, “James G. Eberhart”; 1870 Census, Elbert County, Georgia, “James G. Eberhart.” Service records for James G. Eberhart, 38th Georgia Infantry and 15th Infantry, at Fold3.com. It appears that Eberhart enlisted in 1861 but was discharged due to a urological ailment in September 1861. He may have been subsequently conscripted and suffered multiple ailments that again resulted in his discharge in 1863. The Georgia militia census shows an overseer exemption for James G. Eberhart in 1864. 1864 Census for Re-organizing the Georgia Militia, at Ancestry.com.


75. McClurken, Take Care of the Living, 50.

76. Atlanta Weekly New Era, May 24, 1871, p. 3.
77. “Inquest over the body of Margaret Doyle,” December 12, 1872, Richmond (city), Misc., Coroner’s Inquests, Executions, 1872, Box B5, 1860–1925, BC 1048050, State Records Center Annex, LVA; December, 11, 1872, Manuscripts, Richmond City, Department of Health, Register of Deaths, 1870–1912, Vol. 9, BC 1114464, LVA; 1860 Census, Richmond, Henrico County, Virginia, “Jno Doyle”; 1870 Census, Richmond, Henrico County, “John Doyle.” The 1860 census lists John’s age as thirty-six, but ten years later his age is sixty-nine. “Peggy” is listed as aged thirty-six as well in 1860, but sixty-five in 1870. The Richmond death register puts her age at death at about sixty. Yet, their daughter’s age in 1860 is six and in 1870 is seventeen. It is not clear whether John Doyle could have served in the army given his age. There are near twenty records for men named John Doyle who served in a Virginia unit, so it is impossible to document his military service. Fold3.com


79. Microfilm Reel AD #674, SCSHI Case histories, Vol. 4 (September 6, 1877–August 15, 1879), Patient #3090, November 28, 1878, p. 191; and SCSH Commitment Files, Patient #3090, November 24, 1878, SCDAH; 1860 Census, Merrittsville, Greenville County, South Carolina, “Betsy Dill” [Abram Dill in household, aged thirteen]; 1860 Census, Merrittsville, Greenville County, South Carolina, “Elisha Pruitt”; 1870 Census, Saluda, Greenville County, South Carolina, “Elizabeth Dill” [A. J. W. Dill, aged twenty-two, with (first) wife, Sarah, aged seventeen]. In 1900, Huldia Dill, listed as having married in 1875, was living with her brother, General Pruett, and his family in Henderson, North Carolina. 1900 Census, Henderson, North Carolina, “Genail [General] Pruett.” Hulda’s name appears variously as Mahulda(h), Huldah, Huldia. Dill’s name appears as Abram and Abraham. In 1900, Dill was living with Mandia [Amanda] Price, who listed as a “boarder” in his household but certainly the mother of some of the children in the household. Dill is listed as married; Price, single. 1900 Census, Saluda Township, Greenville County, South Carolina, “Aberhamb Dill.” A. J. Dill served in the 16th South Carolina Regiment, Company D. Service records at Fold3.com.

80. GAR, July 21, 1868, p. 249, GA. Smith probably married about the time the Civil War started because she is listed in the 1860 census as Cornelia Dancy, aged eighteen, living with Marco Phinizy of Athens, Georgia, likely her stepfather, who is also listed as her contact person with the asylum. Presumably, the Smiths spent little time together as husband and wife before he went off to war. Her mental state was greatly aggravated by the “treatment of her husband,” 1850 and 1860 Censuses, Athens, Clarke County, Georgia, “Marco Phinizy.”

81. GAR, April 13, 1867, p. 203, GA. “Fannie” was domiciled with husband Wesley in 1860, 1870, and 1880, so her husband’s abandonment of her was not permanent. A variety of records document his attachment to the 5th Georgia Cavalry Regiment. 1860 Census, Reidsville, Tattnall County, Georgia, “Wesley Cobb”; 1870 Census, Reidsville, Tattnall County, Georgia, “Westley Cobb”; 1880 Census, Cobb Town, Tattnall County, Georgia, “Wesley Cobb.” Fannie Cobb’s contact person in the asylum documents is listed as Charles Bishop, a shoemaker from Newton County, Georgia. Cobb’s relationship to Bishop is not known, but he was likely a male relative. Wesley Cobb applied for an indigent pension application in 1905 and claimed he was assigned to the


83. Ibid., August 30, 1871, p. 6.

84. GAR, April 12, 1872, p. 317, GA. 1870 Census, Coweta County, Georgia, “Julius A. Allen.”

85. *Richmond Dispatch*, March 25, 1872; Virginia, Deaths and Burials Index, Lucy H. O. Farley, March 22, 1872, Richmond, ancestry.com; 1850 Census, Caswell, North Carolina, “William A. Farley”; 1860 Census, Halifax County, Virginia, “William H. Farley”; 1870 Census, Richmond, Henrico County, Virginia, “Julia O. Farley”; “Inquest on the body of Miss Lucy Farley,” March 23, 1872, Richmond (city), Misc., Coroner's Inquests, Executions, 1878–1879/Official Oaths, 1860–1925, Box B5, 1860–1925, BC 1048050, LVA; March 22, 1872, Manuscripts, Richmond City, Department of Health, Register of Deaths, 1870–1912, Vol. 10, LVA; Confederate service records for Richard G./R. G. Farley, 13th Battalion Light Artillery, 3rd Cavalry, and Addison A./A. A. Farley, 1st Battalion Virginia Cavalry, at Fold3.com. The relationship of Lucy and her mother to the two adult women with whom they lived is not known, but it was not unheard of for postwar families to live in the households of adults to whom they were not related. McClurken, *Take Care of the Living*, 54. There are over a dozen William Farleys from Virginia who served in the Confederate army, so there is no way to ascertain William’s, Lucy’s father’s, identity.


93. Multiple spellings of Devers include Devor(s), Dever(s), Deaver(s), Deavor(s), Devore, Daver. U.S. Federal Census Mortality Schedules, 1850–1885, Seddon, Bland County, Virginia, 1870, Rachel Devor, age sixteen, died of suicide April 30, 1870, and George Devor, age one month, died of croup in April 1870 also, at Ancestry.com; Staunton (Va.) Spectator, May 17, 1870; 1860 Census, Wythe County, Virginia, “Henry Deaver”; 1870 Census, Bland County, Virginia, “Henry H. Devor”; 1880 Census, Rocky Gap, Bland County, Virginia, “H. H. Devor”; 1860 Census, Wythe County, Virginia, “James Deaver”; CSA service records at Fold3.com for James W. Devor, 51st Virginia Infantry, and/or James W. Deavers, 45th Battalion Virginia Infantry; Selected U.S. Federal Census Non-Population Schedules, 1850–1880, Elizabeth Devor, Bland County, Virginia, 1870. Episodes of suicidal young women and girls dot the postbellum Southern landscape, but typically elicited little public commentary or explanation; consequently, they are not well documented. Since I could not situate any of these females directly in a Civil War context, I chose not to include them in the text, but I suspect some are directly connected to war-related suffering, especially those whose events take place right after the war: Susan Grubb (aged twenty), a single woman from Virginia, committed suicide in July 1870 by ingesting strychnine. Bristol (Va.) News, July 22, 1870. A New Orleans girl (aged seventeen) identified only as Miss Martin committed suicide in that city in June 1866. No reasons were offered for “the rash act.” New Orleans Times, June 27, 1866, p. 3. Emeline Harwell of Cartersville, Georgia, entered the state asylum multiple times beginning in 1866, after being insane for about a year. En route she asked for a knife with which to kill herself. GAR, July 5, 1866, p. 161; November 1867, p. 224; November 11, 1869, p. 278, GA; 1870 Census, Bartow County, Georgia, “John F. Harwell.” Lizzie Mason (aged sixteen), “a beautiful and accomplished young lady” from Wetumka, Alabama, killed herself by taking strychnine following the death of her father in June 1869. Petersburg Index, June 18, 1869. Mary Marshall (aged twenty-two), daughter of a well-to-do Tennessee farmer, hanged herself in September 1866. Family members acknowledged she had been sick and “rather low spirited for some time” but would not concede she had experienced any “serious mental derangement.” Brother John served in the 50th Tennessee Infantry but escaped after the Confederate surrender at Fort Donelson and shows up in these records again. Family histories state that he died in February 1865, though that claim is not verified. An eight-year-old younger brother may have died in December 1861, but that cannot be verified, either. Ancestry.com; Nashville Republican Banner, September 30, 1866; Clarksville (Tenn.) Weekly Chronicle, September 28, 1866; 1850 Census, Montgomery, Tennessee, “H. D. Marshall”; 1860 Census, Montgomery County, Tennessee, “H. D. Marshall”; 1870 Census, Montgomery, Tennessee, “Horace D. Marshal.” Kate Grapper of Memphis drowned herself in the Mississippi River in June 1868, leaving a note behind that said, “I am tired of life.” Atlanta Weekly Intelligencer, June 17, 1868; New York Times, May 31, 1868; 1860 Census, Memphis, Tennessee, “Calvin Heckle”; 1870 Census, Memphis, Tennessee, “Leopold Goepel”; Memphis, Tennessee City Directory, 1866–1920, in U.S. City Directories, 1821–1989, at Ancestry.com (accessed June 9, 2014).

94. Holly Springs (Miss.) Reporter, July 14, 1871; Wiltshire, comp., Mississippi Newspaper Obituaries, 1862–1875, 100; Vicksburg Daily Times, July 18, 1871; 1850 Census, Marshall County, Mississippi, “William B. Cox”; 1860 Census, Marshall County,
Mississippi, “William C. Cox”; 1870 Census, Marshall County, Mississippi, “G. W. Cox.” Elizabeth (Bettie) Cox resided in the household of G. W. Cox, aged thirty-six, in 1870. Presumably, this was her brother George W. (age matches the 1860 census of William’s household). If so, the George W. Cox who died in Richmond in 1862 may not have been her brother. These documents appear contradictory. For the service records of John C. Cox, 7th Arkansas Infantry, and Benjamin F. P. Cox, 11th Mississippi, see Fold3.com. The reference to the oral history of John C. Cox’s abduction by U.S. soldiers is found at the Cox Family homepage, http://www.kencox.us/family/genealogy/Our%20Cox%20Family%20Civil%20War%20experience.pdf (accessed June 6, 2014).

95. Holly Springs (Miss.) Reporter, July 14, 1871.
96. Thielman, “Madness and Medicine,” 33–40; Foster, Ghosts of the Confederacy, 17–18; Wyatt-Brown, The Shaping of Southern Culture, 262. On the gendered consumption of opiates, consult Jones, “‘So Dreadful an Evil.’”
101. Otey Diary, Folder 45, December 17, 1868, p. 82, SHC, UNC.
105. GAR, April 13, 1867, p. 203, GA.
107. McClurken, *Take Care of the Living*, 48; on the options widows faced, see 55–57. War created thousands of widows. Estimates in Alabama, just one example, put the number of war widows at 20,000 and the number of orphans at 60,000. Culpepper, *All Things Altered*, 47.

108. GAR, March 5, 1866, p. 143, GA; 1860 Census, Marengo County, Alabama, “Thomas C. Deloach”; Alabama Select Marriages, 1816–1957, Thomas C. Deloach and Jane Morrisette, June 25, 1855, Marengo, Alabama, at Ancestry.com (accessed June 16, 2014). I was unable to ascertain whether Thomas Deloach served in the CSA as a soldier or physician. 1870 Census, Shiloh, Marengo County, Alabama, “Sarah Deloach” [“insane”].

109. GAR, November 27, 1868, p. 262, GA. Mary Kimbell was discharged in 1869 but cannot be located in any subsequent census records. 1850 Census, Henry County, Georgia, “Christopher Kimbell”; 1860 Census, Henry County, Georgia, “Christopher Kimbell.” Service records of Mary’s four sons can be found on Fold3.com: both Christopher J. and George W. Kimble served with the 8th Louisiana Infantry, “Minden Blues.” Christopher died August 19, 1864, in Richmond from an arm wound, and George of disease in November 1862. See also Agan, *Echoes of Our Past*, 45. John K. Kimbell was discharged from the 44th Georgia Infantry in December 1862 due to “defective eyesight.” William L. Kimbell, aged forty when the war broke out, served in the 85th Georgia Militia. Family histories of the Kimbells claim Christopher Sr. died in 1866 and Mary in 1870, but offer no supporting documentation. Ancestry.com.

110. Maria Louisa Fleet to David Fleet, May 10, 1873, in Fleet, ed., *Green Mount after the War*, 104–5.
111. GAR, January 7, 1869, p. 264, GA.


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1st South Carolina Cavalry, and A. B. [Augustus] Cobb, 1st South Carolina Cavalry; Carrie Cobb’s obituary appears in Abbeville Press and Banner, October 1, 1879, p. 3.


116. GAR, May 6, 1866, p. 153, GA.

117. Otey Diary, Folder 43, March 22, 1867, p. 99, SHC, UNC.

118. Ibid., Folder 43, April 22, 1867, p. 9.

119. Ibid., Folder 43, April 1, 1868, p. 1.

120. Ibid., Folder 45, November 17, 1868, p. 61.

121. Ibid., Folder 45, November 16, 1868, pp. 60–61.

122. Ibid., Folder 48, June 5, 1876, p. 47.


125. Compton, “Proceedings of the Association of Medical Superintendents” (1873), 197; Rice, Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction (1888), 347. The superintendent of the Western Lunatic Asylum claimed in June 1865 that the war was causing a rise in insanity. Jones, Intimate Reconstructions, 93. On reports of postwar suicide mania, see Tri-weekly Sumter (Ga.) Republican, May 12, 1870, p. 2. For additional postwar newspaper accounts commenting on the increase of suicides and describing them as epidemics or mania, see the Thomasville (Ga.) Times, May 3, 1879, and August 5, 1876; Weekly Sumter (Ga.) Republican, October 1, 1875; Albany (Ga.) News, February 28, 1873; Columbia (S.C.) Daily Phoenix, April 17, 1868; Savannah Daily News and Herald, February 11, 1868; Charleston News and Courier, July 10, 1883; National Police Gazette, October 26, 1867, p. 23; Macon (Ga.) Telegraph, August 2, 1865; New Orleans Times, July 12, 1866. Additional sources that commented on the rise of suicides include Mathews, “Civilization and Suicide,” 470, 477; DuBose, “Suicide—Its Causes and Cures,” 36.

126. See also McClurken, Take Care of the Living, 52.


128. Ibid., 108.


130. Gertrude Thomas journal, as quoted in Whites, The Civil War as Crisis in Gender, 153, 153–56.

131. Schantz, Awaiting the Heavenly Country, 12.

132. GAR, December 4, 1865, pp. 145–146, GA; 1860 Census, Upson County, Georgia; “J. L. Worthy”; 1870 Census, Upson County, Georgia, “J. L. Worthy.” See also the case of Susan Foshee, whose psychological health spiraled out of control in 1878. Melancholic, she threatened to burn down her house and to kill herself by cutting her throat. Her medical history makes clear that the death of both of her children, the youngest an infant, played a role in her ill health as well as her wish to die. SCSH Commitment Files, Patient #3088 [3087], November 19, 1878; Microfilm Reel #677, SCSH Admissions Books, Patient #3087, November 19, 1878; and, Microfilm Reel AD #674, SCSHI Case histories, Vol. 4 (September 6, 1877–August 15, 1879), Patient #3087, November 19, 1878, p. 188, SCDAH. Foshee died in spring 1879 in the asylum, from consumption.

133. GAR, May 17, 1871, p. 295, GA; 1860 Census, Gibson, Glascock County, Georgia, “Elisha Hattaway”; 1870 Census, Glascock County, Georgia, “Eliza Hataway”;


136. SCSH Commitment Files, Patient #2946, admitted December 18, 1877; Microfilm Reel AD #673, SCLA Patient Treatment Records, Vol. 3 (1859–1869, 1874), Patient #2946, December 18, 1877; Microfilm Reel #677, SCSH Admissions Books, Patient #3063, October 3, 1878; and, Microfilm Reel AD #674, SCSHI Case histories, Vol. 4 (September 6, 1877–August 15, 1879), Patient #2946, December 18, 1877 and (re-admitted) Patient #3063, October 3, 1878, SCDAH; 1870 Census, Edgefield County, ‘Amanda Padgett’.

137. GAR, August 7, 1866, p. 167, GA; 1860 Census, Macon, Bibb County, Georgia, “Alexander M. D. Cawley.”

138. Microfilm Reel #673, SCLA Patient Treatment Records, Vol. 3 (1859–69, 1874), Patient #1424, June 9, 1865, p. 149; Microfilm Reel AD #674, SCLA Physicians’ Record, Patient #1424, June 9, 1865; Microfilm Reel #677, SCSH Admissions Books,
June 9, 1865; and Microfilm Reel AD #677, SCSH Admissions Books, June 9, 1865, SCDAH.

139. GAR [n.d., but February or March 1866], p. 146, GA.

140. SCSH Commitment Files, Patient #3207, September 5, 1879; Microfilm Reel AD #677, SCSH Admissions Books, Patient #3207, September 5, 1879; and, Microfilm Reel AD #674, SCSHI Case Histories, Vol. 5 (August 17, 1879–April 8, 1881), Patient #3207, August 23, 1879, p. 16, SCDAH.

141. SCSH Commitment Files, Patient #3199, August 21, 1879; Microfilm Reel AD #677, SCSH Admissions Books, Patient #3199, August 21, 1879; and Microfilm Reel AD #674, SCSHI Case Histories, Vol. 5 (August 17, 1879–April 8, 1881), Patient #3199, August 21, 1879, p. 8, SCDAH.

142. SCSH Commitment Files, Patient #3061, September 26, 1878; Microfilm Reel #677, SCSH Admissions Books, Patient #3061, September 26, 1878; and, Microfilm Reel AD #674, SCSHI Case Histories, Vol. 4 (September 6, 1877-August 15, 1879), Patient #3061, September 26, 1878, p. 162, SCDAH. Census records confirm Catharine Martin lived in her father’s (James) household in Piercetown, South Carolina, in 1850 and 1860. The 1850 census shows (brother) William living in the Martin household. 1850 and 1860 Census, Piercetown, Anderson County, South Carolina, “James Martin.” Ancestry records indicate that William Martin died in the Confederate army at age twenty-three (which would line up with his age in census records); however, I have not been able to verify that information because of the many South Carolina soldiers with the name William Martin. Fold3.com shows forty-three separate records for South Carolina soldiers named William Martin. This does not include the names listed with only the initial W.

143. Otey Diary, Folder 43, January 20, 1868, p. 133, SHC, UNC.

144. Jones, Intimate Reconstructions, 103–57.

145. Ibid., 94–99.

Chapter 8


There was a bit of a dust up at the end of the century when a former Confederate general, who was present for the firing on Fort Sumter and who sought to set the record straight, claimed in print that Ruffin did not fire the first shot as widely believed. Ruffin’s son Julian, having none of it, shot back citing an excerpt from his father’s diary and half a dozen newspaper reports. “Who Fired the First Gun at Sumter? Letter from General Stephen D. Lee, Reply of Juliam M. Ruffin,” Southern Historical Society Papers 11 (November 1883): 50–04.

3. Southern Christians in the Civil War era primarily associated with one of three denominations: Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian, encompassing 94 percent of all churches located in the Confederate states. See Stowell, Rebuilding Zion, 12. The classic survey of religion in the South before the Civil War is Mathews, Religion in the Old South. See also Sparks, “Religion in the Pre–Civil War South,” and Snay, Gospel of Disunion. On Southern Baptists after the Civil War, consult Harvey, Redeeming the South.


7. [Fisher and Erskine], An Essay towards an Easy, Plain, Practical and Extensive Explication of the Assembly’s Shorter Catechism, 106 (all quotations). See also [Green], Lectures on the Shorter Catechism of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, 198–99; Plumer, The Law of God as Contained in the Ten Commandments, 408–12, 566, 589; Brown, An Essay towards an Easy, Plain, Practical and Extensive Explication of the Assembly’s Shorter Catechism, 244–49. Colonial statutes against suicide can be traced to early English history. Burgess-Jackson, “The Legal Status of Suicide in Early America,” 61–65. On earlier religious views on suicide, as well as those outside America, consult Watt, “Calvin on Suicide”; Jansson, “Suicidal Murder in Stockholm”; MacDonald and Murphy, Sleepless Souls, 15–23, 31–44; Paperno, Suicide as a Cultural Institution in Dostoevsky’s Russia, 49–53; Chevalier, Remarks on Suicide; Winslow, The Anatomy of Suicide, 36–44; O’Dea, Suicide, 67–95. I have been unable to discern appreciable differences among the major Protestant denominations’ positions on suicide. On the religious landscape of the Old South, consult Mathews, Religion in the Old South; Snay, Gospel of Disunion; Heyrman, Southern Cross.

8. Presbyterians were vastly outnumbered by other denominations in the Old South. On the eve of the Civil War, Baptists and Methodists numerically constituted the strongest Protestant denominations in the South, constituting about 80 percent of the churchgoing population. Cooper and Terrill, The American South: A History, Vol. 1, 264. Protestant denominations seem to have differed little or not at all on their doctrinal positions on suicide.

9. Miller, The Guilt, Folly, and Sources of Suicide, 15, 34. On Miller, see Kushner, American Suicide, 31–32, and Bell, We Shall Be No More, 1, 22–23, 30, 33, 37. Richard Bell notes that Miller’s diatribe against suicide differs from colonial clerical denunciations by seeing a broader, societal negative impact, largely a “challenge to community integrity and social order” (23). For other early nineteenth-century denunciations of


11. For an illustration of an anti-Universalist tract in the late antebellum period, see Tenny, *Suicide Profitable; or, A Good Bargain Soon Made*. On the rift between Universalists and mainstream Protestant denominations over suicide, see Bell, *We Shall Be No More*, 160–200. On the Universalist challenge to Protestant orthodoxy in the South, consult Fox-Genovese and Genovese, *The Mind of the Master Class*, 603–12. The Universalist challenge to Protestant denominations was strongest in the Northeast.


15. Religious restraints served as a powerful, though not absolute, deterrent against suicide in the nineteenth-century South. Secular cultural codes, especially that of honor, coexisted uneasily at times with religious precepts and offered a counter narrative for suicide, or at least what some viewed as a form of suicide, dueling. Prevailing Christian tenets, such as forgiveness, kindness, silent suffering, meekness, and humility, stood at odds with chivalric and martial values, such as display, bravado, retribution, and status, which were at the heart of the code duello. This “tortured relationship between Protestantism and popular ethics,” to quote Bertram Wyatt-Brown, crystallized during the early republic when, in an effort to combat a flurry of dueling deaths, especially after the infamous Aaron Burr–Alexander Hamilton duel in 1804, ministers and others began challenging the code duello by attempting to redefine dueling as a unique hybrid of homicide and suicide. Wyatt-Brown, “God and Honor in the Old South,” 283. In this rendering, dueling was a cowardly, not an honorable, act, as its defenders claimed. For example, Virginia minister Samuel Low denounced dueling in 1810 as “suicide of the highest grade, and in the first degree.” Low, *A Discourse on Dueling*, 18, cited in Bell, “The Double Guilt of Dueling,” 398. On the
Burr-Hamilton duel, see also Freeman, Affairs of Honor, 159–98. Richard Bell notes that other nineteenth-century reformers employed suicide rhetoric in their campaigns as well, for example, those targeting temperance and gambling. Bell, “The Double Guilt of Dueling,” 388. In an effort to stigmatize duelist and thus discourage the practice of dueling, there were legal attempts in the eighteenth century to treat participants as suicides, for example, executing the survivor as a murderer and then driving a stake through his heart. Thomas Jefferson in 1779 proposed an anti-dueling measure that included a provision for confiscating the property of the deceased, which had been the English practice. Wells, “The End of the Affair?” 1815, 1817–18. The association of dueling with suicide remained potent through the 1830s, when the language of murder began to supersede that of suicide in an attempt to deter the practice. Bell, “The Double Guilt of Dueling,” 407–8.

16. Early modern European punishments of suicide, which included postmortem desecration and confiscation of the victim’s property, had largely disappeared in the United States by the nineteenth century. On early punishments for suicide, see Snyder, “What Historians Talk about When They Talk about Suicide,” 658–64; Burgess-Jackson, “The Legal Status of Suicide in Early America,” 76–80; Kushner, American Suicide, 19–23; Guernsey, Suicide, 17–31. By contrast, in England suicide victims were still prosecuted posthumously for felony until 1870. If convicted, they were declared civilly dead and their property forfeited to the Crown. Anderson, Suicide in Victorian and Edwardian England. Until 1882, a suicide’s body had to be buried by police in unconsecrated ground late at night and without benefit of religious rites. Bailey, “This Rash Act,” 67. As late as 1792, in Amsterdam the body of a suicide victim was ordered to be hanged by the legs in the gallows field, “to be consumed by the air and the birds.” Bosman, “The Judicial Treatment of Suicide in Amsterdam,” 9. On suicide in the medieval period, see Seabourne and Seabourne, “The Law on Suicide in Medieval England.”


18. On English clerical practice on burial rites for suicide victims, see Anderson, Suicide in Victorian and Edwardian England, 269–82; MacDonald and Murphy, Sleepless Souls, 44–50; Bailey, “This Rash Act,” 67. On the burial restrictions for suicide victims in England and thirty-one other countries, see Guernsey, Suicide, 18, 20–31.

19. Because Taylor was born in 1834, I estimate that this incident occurred sometime in the 1840s. Taylor, “The Burial of Ophelia,” 163. On Russian burial practices of suicide victims, see Paperno, Suicide as a Cultural Institution in Dostoevsky’s Russia, 52, 54, 58, 64–65, 227n87, 228n94.


21. Late nineteenth-century theologians continued to defend their harsh view of suicide as a sin. See, for example, “Suicide” (Methodist Review) and DuBose, “Suicide—Its Causes and Cure.” The 1894 Westminster Catechism continued to classify suicide as self-murder and therefore a violation of the Sixth Commandment. The Westminster Shorter Catechism, 30. Despite the relaxation of harsh popular attitudes toward suicide, some lay Southerners continued to believe that suicide was a mortal sin. When a rebuffed suitor of a Virginia woman threatened to kill himself in 1879, she
responded in a letter explaining, “If a man dies in the state of mind that you are in, and especially if he takes his own life, that state of sin will follow him into the grave and beyond it.” Letter from Eleanor Miller to Edward Becker, July 7, 1879, Edward C. Miller Papers, 1863–1890 (Folder 1863–1879), Duke University Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Special Collections, PLDU (hereafter Miller Papers).


26. Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 64; Rable, *God’s Almost Chosen Peoples*, 178–79. Drew Gilpin Faust suggests that the Civil War created a religious crisis that caused many, though not all, Americans to redefine or reject their faith. Others, however, relied heavily on their faith as a survival mechanism that enabled them to resist succumbing to psychological collapse. Faust, *This Republic of Suffering*, 171–210. See also Faust, “‘Without Pilot or Compass’”; *Flynt, Alabama Baptists*, 112–56.

27. Bradley, “The Cause and Cure of Suicide.” See also Williams, “‘The Power to Kill and Make Alive.’”

29. Mangum, *Myrtle Leaves; or, Tokens at the Tomb*.
30. Sermon, August 30, 1855, p. 3, William McKay Papers, 1865–1906, Record Group, Box 2, Folder—Sermons, John Bulow Campbell Library, CTS (hereafter McKay Papers).
32. Sermon, August 30, 1855, p. 14, McKay Papers, CTS.
37. Sermon, August 30, 1855, p. 2, McKay Papers, CTS.
39. Sermon #10, “Funeral Discourses,” p. 15, Burrows Papers, Box 9, Item 9.197, SBHLA.
41. Rable, *God’s Almost Chosen People*, 171; Sermon, December 29, 1847, “He That Overcometh [. . .],” William Anderson Crawford Papers, Sermons Folder, John Bulow Campbell Library, CTS.

43. A melancholic was defined by the medical field as one who possessed “no present enjoyment, no hope, no confidence,” for whom “everything wears a gloomy
aspect, every contemplation is sad and nature, with all its loveliness, is somber darkened and cheerless.” Woodward, “Observations on the Medical Treatment of Insanity,” 19.

46. On colonial views of melancholy (depression) as resulting from temptations by the devil, see Kushner, American Suicide, 16–17; Shryock, “The Beginnings,” 4–7. For an antebellum Northern case study of a religious woman’s battle with depression and suicidal thoughts, see Tomes, “Devils in the Heart.” On the medieval roots of conceiving of depression (melancholia) as sinfulness, see Jackson, Melancholia and Depression, 325–27; Porter, Madness, 17–28; Lawlor, From Melancholia to Prozac. For a recent treatment of the history of depression, consult Shorter, How Everyone Became Depressed.
47. Dickson, Plantation Sermons, 137.
48. Tomes, “Devils in the Heart,” 364; Walsh, Religion and Health, 254–64. Few ministers and laypeople in the nineteenth century continued to believe that demonic possession was the cause of insanity. Dain, Concepts of Insanity, 187. On the relationship between melancholy and ideas of sinfulness in the early modern world consult Schmidt, Melancholy and the Care of the Soul.
49. Bethell Diary, April 2, 1861, p. 61; April 29, 1862, p. 80; June 4, 1863, p. 99; May 15, 1863, p. 98, SHC, UNC.
50. Quoted in Whites, The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender, 36.
51. Otey Diary, Folder 48, May 3, 1876, pp. 31–33, SHC, UNC.
52. Christian Index and Southwestern Baptist, March 28, 1867, p. 54, col. 2.
53. Anais to “My Dear Husband,” April 29, 1863, quoted in Faust, Mothers of Invention, 182. For other illustrations of women whose faith sustained them, see 180–84.
54. Weiner, ed., A Heritage of Woe, 73 (September 25, 1864) and 81–82 (November 26, 1864). On Elmore during the war, see also Faust, This Republic of Suffering, 192; Faust, Mothers of Invention, 194–95.
55. The Georgia insane asylum, which first opened its doors in 1842, was severely taxed by the increase in patients after the war, although most of its patients were civilians. Thomas Green, superintendent and resident physician of the asylum, reported in 1867 that the facility was “greatly crowded” and filled “to its utmost capacity.” In the final year of the war it housed a total of 275 patients. Green, “Report of Superintendent and Resident Physician to Board of Trustees, October 2, 1867,” 5. The large number of Union soldiers deemed “insane” were centrally hospitalized at the Government Hospital for the Insane in Washington, D.C. The superintendent of the Washington asylum consequently noted an increase in the number of military patients in the facility. During the fiscal year 1864–1865, for example, 83 percent of the inmates were military patients. Deutsch, “Military Psychiatry,” 383.
61. Christian Index and Southwestern Baptist, March 15, 1866, p. 45, col. 7. On war-era representations of the hereafter, see Schantz, Awaiting the Heavenly Country, 38-69; Paludan, “Religion and the American Civil War,” 30-31; Christian Index and Southwestern Baptist, March 15, 1866, p. 45.
63. Dickson, Plantation Sermons, 136.
65. Otey Diary, Folder 43, December 5, 1868, p. 180, SHC, UNC.
66. Faust makes this point about soldiers becoming fixated with death as a form of relief from war and suffering. Faust, This Republic of Suffering, 176-77. See also Berends, “Confederate Sacrifice and the ‘Redemption’ of the South,” 111.
67. Piatt, “At the Grave of a Suicide,” 76.
68. Silkenat, Moments of Despair, 11.
69. New Orleans Daily Picayune, April 2, 1865.
70. Atlanta Weekly New Era, May 24, 1871, p. 3. David Silkenat observes this change in suicide obituaries in North Carolina newspapers as well. Silkenat, Moments of Despair, 25-32.
72. Atlanta Weekly Sun, July 26, 1871, p. 3.
74. New Orleans Times, May 25, 1866.
76. Weekly Sumter (Ga.) Republican, December 12, 1879, p. 4. For other obituaries noting sympathies for the suicide victims’ families, see Weekly Sumter (Ga.) Republican, May 24, 1878, p. 3; Dallas Weekly Herald, October 27, 1866.
77. “Inquest on body of Simon Taylor,” March 14, 1808, Frederick County, Misc. Records, n.d., Inquests on Dead Bodies, BC 1016883, State Records Center Annex, LVA.
79. “Inquest on body of Fred Dollfender,” July 9, 1883, Charleston County, Coroner’s Inquisition Books, 1878-1912, Vol. 2 (1883-1893), SCDAH.
80. “Inquest on the body of H. B. Sullivan,” August 13, 1866, Court of General Sessions, Anderson County, Coroner’s Inquisitions, 1830–1928, Box 1, SCDAH.

81. Petersburg Index and Appeal, July 31, 1875.

82. To be clear, even though the ecclesiastical proscription against suicide was increasingly challenged after the war, the strict doctrine condemning self-murder continued to influence popular ideas about the sinfulness of suicide in some quarters. For instance, one report of a thwarted suicide cites, “Our church teaches that one who dies in a suicide may never reach heaven.” Weekly Sumter (Ga.) Republican, March 31, 1876, p. 1. A Virginia newspaper denounced suicide as not a “brave or manly way of getting out of the world.” Bristol (Va.) News, September 23, 1879. News of a suicide led a Georgia paper to assure its readers that the sin of self-murder insured retribution in the next world. Thomasville (Ga.) Times, December 6, 1873, p. 2. A Southern woman rebuffed the romantic overtures of a male friend who subsequently threatened suicide and chided him that he would pay for his sin eternally in the hereafter. Letter from Eleanor Miller, Chesterfield, Virginia, to Edward Becker, July 7, 1879, Miller Papers, PLDU. And a Mississippi man who served as a chaplain in the army, which may account for his conservative views on suicide, confessed that he had twice “started” to commit suicide before realizing his actions would ensure “eternal fire.” E. Augustus Harrison Journal, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. I am grateful to Sarah E. Gardner for sharing this research note with me.


84. Petersburg Daily Post, November 14, 1877.


86. Howe, History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina, 416–19. My thanks to Peter N. Moore for sharing this citation. On Richardson’s death, see Moore, “The Mysterious Death of William Richardson.” Richardson died under a cloud of suspicion—some thought he committed suicide, others insisted he was murdered by his wife. Conflicting accounts no doubt can be explained by the stigma surrounding suicide in the eighteenth century and constituted an attempt to mask cause of death. Howe concluded that Richardson had in fact taken his own life in 1771. He had been found dead in his study with a bridle around his neck, which persuaded many at the time that Richardson had committed suicide. Richardson had, the official story went, “died an untimely death, by what instrumental cause we cannot determine, and the delicacy of the case forbids a conjecture.” Howe, History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina, 418.

Clerical dissent from denominational orthodoxy on suicide such as this was not limited to the South. In 1880, Pennsylvanian clergyman J. H. Hopkins published a piece on suicide suggesting that “each person must give answer for himself” regarding
when suicide is justifiable. He continued, “Every individual is sole judge of the circumstances which justify a surrender of life.” Hopkins, “A Consideration of Suicide,” 802.

Conclusion

2. Additional Northern obituaries for Ruffin include *Ripley (Ohio) Bee*, June 28, 1865; *Weekly Vincennes (Ind.) Gazette*, June 24, 1865; *Liberator*, July 7, 1865; *New York Times*, June 22, 1865. Southern obituaries for Ruffin can be found in *Louisiana Democrat*, August 9, 1865; *Charleston Daily Courier*, June 30, 1865, and July 10, 1865; *Louisville Daily Journal*, June 25, 1865; *Alexandria Gazette and Virginia Advertiser*, June 21, 1865; *Atlanta Daily Intelligencer*, July 2, 1865; *Atlanta Daily Constitutionalist*, June 29, 1865.
9. Craven, *Edmund Ruffin, Southerner*. Ironically, the fabricated story of Ruffin wrapping himself in a Confederate flag before killing himself proved so pervasive and accepted in the twentieth-century South that a Connecticut-born entrepreneur and fan of the Confederacy relocated to the South and started a flag-making company headquartered in a small town in Georgia. The company, Ruffin Flag Company, was named for Edmund Ruffin. The company even designed a T-shirt emblazoned with Ruffin’s diary quotation professing his “unmitigated hatred to Yankee rule.” Horwitz, *Confederates in the Attic*, 292–94.
13. Bell, *We Shall Be No More*. 

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17. *Tri-weekly Sumter (Ga.) Republican*, May 12, 1870, p. 2. For additional postwar newspaper accounts commenting on the increase of suicides and describing them as epidemics or mania, see the *Thomasville (Ga.) Times*, May 3, 1879, and August 5, 1876; *Weekly Sumter (Ga.) Republican*, October 1, 1875; *Albany (Ga.) News*, February 28, 1873; *Columbia (S.C.) Daily Phoenix*, April 17, 1868; *Savannah Daily News and Herald*, February 11, 1868; *Charleston News and Courier*, July 10, 1883; *National Police Gazette*, October 26, 1867, p. 23; *Macon (Ga.) Telegraph*, August 2, 1865; *New Orleans Times*, July 12, 1866. Additional sources that commented on the rise of suicides include Mathews, “Civilization and Suicide,” 470, 477, and DuBose, “Suicide—Its Causes and Cures,” 36.