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Catholic Southerners, Catholic Soldiers: White Creoles, the Civil War, and the Lost Cause in New Orleans

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CATHOLIC SOUTHERNERS, CATHOLIC SOLDIERS:
WHITE CREOLES, THE CIVIL WAR, AND THE LOST CAUSE IN NEW ORLEANS

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ABBREVIATIONS

AANO	Archives of the Archdiocese of New Orleans
LSU	Hill Memorial Library, Louisiana State University Press
LHAC	Louisiana Historical Association Collection, Tulane University

ABSTRACT

Roman Catholics lived in the antebellum South, fought for the Confederate States of America, and participated in the postwar Lost Cause tradition. They encountered a Protestant-dominated South, but retained their minority religious identity. The creation of a southern brand of Catholicism, therefore, required that both Catholics and Protestants identified with some nondenominational attributes of southern culture. An examination of a white Creole regiment, the Orleans Guard, and their Catholic chaplain, Father Isidore Francois Turgis, challenges the historiographical omission of southern Catholicism from American religious history. As southerners, the Creoles of New Orleans reinforced the white supremacist, honor-driven cause of the Confederacy. They joined the predominantly Protestant Confederate Army, in which Catholics and Protestants fought and died for the same causes. As Catholics, the Confederate soldiers valued the accompaniment of a priest for sacramental and spiritual guidance. The experience of combat energized their religious sensibilities, but they did not express their religion in the same ways as Confederate evangelicals. After the war, Catholic southerners participated in the remembrance of the Lost Cause. Yet in addition to focusing on the standard Confederate icons of Robert E. Lee and Jefferson Davis, they emphasized the memory of ordinary soldiers, their brothers-in-arms. Moreover, they transformed the figure of Turgis into a hero of the South, acceptable even to non-Catholics, despite his position as a recent French immigrant and an anti-slavery advocate.

INTRODUCTION

CATHOLICS IN SOUTHERN CULTURE

In 1956 John Tracy Ellis wrote the standard history of Catholics in America, aptly entitled *American Catholicism*.¹ The University of Chicago Press published the second edition in 1969 as an accompaniment to Nathan Glazer's *American Judaism* and Winthrop Hudson's *American Protestantism*.² The editor publicized the trilogy as a broader interpretation of American religious history. He also posed two major questions to Ellis: "How 'American' has Catholicism become in America? In what ways has American life been most intimately touched and most largely shaped by Catholicism?"³ Ellis took these questions as an opportunity to challenge his Catholic colleagues to study Catholicism as an American institution.⁴ It was also a chance for scholars and laypeople, Catholics and non-Catholics, to conceptualize Protestants, Jews, and Catholics in American religious history.

In 2002 Jay Dolan wrote another history of Catholics in America, aptly entitled *In Search of an American Catholicism*. After forty-five years, the same important question remained: what was American Catholicism? Also after forty-five years, at least one answer remained: not the South. Historians, from Ellis to Dolan, have failed to adequately portray the experiences of Catholic southerners in their narratives of American Catholic history. They have been unable to think outside Ellis' two-part model of American Catholicism as either republican or immigrant. Throughout the periods of colonialism and the early republic, Catholics in Maryland appropriated the republican ideas of liberty, independence, and the Enlightenment; American Catholicism was republican Catholicism. However, as immigration increased during the antebellum period, Maryland lost its republican flavor to a more European, ultramontane form; American Catholicism was immigrant Catholicism. Consequently, Catholicism in the South did not fit into Ellis' model.

A review and criticism of scholarship on Catholics in the South exposes flaws in current models of interpreting Catholics in America. Studies of regionalism and religion have shown that Roman Catholicism was not a numerical force in the South.⁵ Samuel Hill expressed regret at the omission of Catholics from his book *Southern Churches in Crisis*, but he justified his

decision on the fact that “no single feature of the southern religious picture is more revealing than the absence of pluralism and diversity from the popular denominations—and to a large extent from the other white Protestant bodies also. It is the homogeneity of that picture which marks southern religious history as distinctive.”⁶ Most historians have since retained Hill’s characterization of the South as a solid religious region. An analysis of American Catholic historiography from 1969 to 2002 demonstrates a general agreement with the notion that Catholics in the South were too few to merit inclusion in narratives of American religious history. Moreover, historians have maintained the thesis that southern Catholics lived in a state of “cultural captivity,” wherein they assimilated into southern culture by denying their religious sensibilities in the face of evangelicalism’s cultural hegemony.⁷ This historiographical examination, however, argues against the simplistic assimilationist theory. Instead, Catholics preserved their religious identity despite pressure from evangelicals, while simultaneously contributing to the creation of southern culture. Catholics and Protestants shared a southern identity based upon the cultural attributes of white supremacy, honor, gender, and class. The regional influence of evangelicalism was undeniable, but it was not strong enough to exclude Catholics from the broader southern culture. In observing Catholic-less southern scholarship with southern-less Catholic scholarship, the hope is that both schools of thought will recognize the value in more inclusive religious and regional perspectives.

Ellis identified three strains of Catholicism during the American colonial period—Spanish, French, and English. Spain and France shared similar experiences because of their common Latin brand of Catholicism. The pope supported strong church-state relationships in order to Christianize and civilize the “red man.”⁸ Yet Ellis admitted the tendency of some missionaries, explorers, and conquerors to abuse their power. Spanish and French Catholics managed to start a few European settlements in the colonial South, including New Orleans, Mobile, Pensacola, St. Augustine, and Bardstown. However, Ellis disregarded them as a “strange amalgam of Catholic life on the distant American frontier.”⁹

He chose instead to emphasize the third strand of Catholicism. For Ellis, Maryland Catholicism was the exemplar of American Catholicism during the colonial and revolutionary periods. “What a different world one enters,” Ellis wrote, “when he turns to the English settlements along the Atlantic Coast!”¹⁰ The Maryland world was different from the Spanish and French worlds because of its Anglo-Catholicism and religious tolerance. The Latin colonies did

not subscribe to religious freedom because their “Catholicism was unchallenged by any but the pagan Indian cults.”¹¹ Maryland’s insignificant Catholic population, however, had to contend with an anti-Catholic bias, and thus resorted to the creation of a society based on religious freedom. Charles Carroll, the first Catholic congressman of Maryland, and John Carroll, the first bishop of the United States, became the harbingers of Catholicism in the new republic. Consequently, “the favored position of Catholics in Spanish and French colonies was not the source from which the main stream of American Catholic life took its rise.”¹²

Ellis’ characterization of the antebellum period, despite his reliance upon the model of Maryland Catholicism, included a few experiences of Deep South Catholics. First, Ellis commended the Catholics of Charleston for their uncommon appropriation of American ideas. Bishop John England applied democratic and constitutional theories to the organization of his diocese encompassing South Carolina, North Carolina, and Georgia. Second, Ellis recognized the issue of slavery as a common link between Catholics in the North and South. In his chapter on the Civil War, Ellis expressed the unfortunate choices made by the American bishops to not oppose the institution of domestic slavery. He isolated white Catholics in the cities of New Orleans, Natchez, Richmond, Charleston, and Baltimore as particularly strong proponents of slavery. He also mentioned the 100,000 anti-slavery African-American Catholics living mostly in Maryland and Louisiana.

American Catholicism has framed the discussion of southern Catholics for over forty years. Maryland Catholicism *was* American Catholicism during the colonial, revolutionary, and republican periods. European immigration was not an issue in the South before or after the Civil War. The Civil War was the only historical event in which southern Catholics contributed to the history of American Catholicism. Afterwards, from 1865 to 1968, Ellis expressed no interest in the experiences of Catholics below Baltimore. Through the periods of immigration (1852-1908), “maturing Catholicism” (1908-56), and the “changing church” (1956-68), American Catholicism was a northern, urban, and episcopal institution.

The University of Notre Dame Press posthumously published Thomas McAvoy’s *A History of the Catholic Church in the United States* in 1969, the same year Ellis released the second edition of *American Catholicism*.¹³ McAvoy, a longtime archivist of Notre Dame, reiterated Ellis’ designation of Maryland as “the cultural nucleus of American Catholicism” during the colonial and early republic periods.¹⁴ He then extended his discussion of slavery to

include Catholics south of Maryland. “Before the Civil War in one sense,” McAvoy admitted, “the Catholic minority [of America] was socially a southern group.”¹⁵ Catholics did not oppose the continuation of domestic slavery because of their predominantly southern outlook and minority status in a country dominated by white Anglo-Saxon Protestants. After the Civil War, McAvoy demonstrated the continuation of southern Catholic prejudices through reference to their unsuccessful attempts to welcome former slaves into the church. The participation of southern Catholics in McAvoy’s institutional history effectively ended with the nineteenth century rise of Irish immigration. “Some events,” McAvoy warned, “must be overlooked to give perspective to the narrative.”¹⁶ Like Ellis, the experiences of southern Catholics after the Civil War did not fit into his narrative of American Catholicism.

David O’Brien, a history professor at Holy Cross College, joined Ellis and McAvoy in their ongoing discussion of American Catholic history. He believed that the events of the 1960s—the election of John Kennedy, the Second Vatican Council, and the social and political upheaval of the Vietnam War and the Civil Rights movement—created a “period of crisis” for American Catholics.¹⁷ In 1972, he wrote *The Renewal of American Catholicism* to further explain his notion of crisis.¹⁸ “I have no intention,” O’Brien explained in the introduction, “of making detachment or objectivity the hallmark of this study. Rather I would like to help sharpen the issues in such a way that my words will eventually contribute to actions I think are necessary and desirable.”¹⁹ He wanted to use history to provoke a renewal of post-conciliar American Catholicism. In the process, he simply reinterpreted the same people, places, and things studied by previous historians. His fresh historical outlook did not require new material, just new ways to use the old material. The experiences of Catholics in the South remained outside his “new” American Catholic history. O’Brien did not identify southern Catholicism as a useful component of renewal.

James Hennessey opened the 1980s with his book *American Catholics: A History of the Roman Catholic Community in the United States*.²⁰ In the forward, John Tracy Ellis expressed his pleasure that Hennessey “has not been so beguiled by the contemporary trend described as ‘history from the bottom up’ as to neglect the essential role played by those at the top.”²¹ Hennessey clarified Ellis’ remarks in the introduction: “while not neglecting the story of bishops and clergy, of structures and institutions, we must be more concerned with the people who *were* the community we study.”²² The experiences of Catholics in colonial America, according to

Hennesey, began with the Spanish and French explorations. Spain created an arc of domination from Florida to California, while France established colonies along the Mississippi River. As a result of this cultural convergence, Hennesey dedicated an entire chapter to Louisiana, “the most cosmopolitan and heterogeneous region of either Spanish or French America.”²³ The “American” period, however, did not begin until English Catholics arrived at Maryland in 1634. Maryland Catholicism remained the frontispiece of American Catholicism until 1829, the beginning of the immigrant period. During the eras of English colonialism and American republicanism, Catholics in the South suffered from a shortage of ecclesiastical support.

Like McAvoy, Hennesey reiterated the strong southern patriotism of Catholics before and after the Civil War. Unlike McAvoy, he extended his discussion of southern Catholicism to the end of Reconstruction in 1877. He framed his discussion of the postwar situation within the ecclesiastical proceedings of the second plenary council of 1866 and the First Vatican Council of 1869-1870. The issue of freed black evangelization dominated and disrupted the plenary council of American bishops at Baltimore. Bishops Augustin Verot of St. Augustine and Patrick Lynch of Charleston took the greatest strides toward an effective missionary plan, but to little avail. Hennesey then cited Albert Raboteau’s argument that the austere style of Catholic worship was not conducive to the physical and vocal attributes of black worship.²⁴ Some southern bishops also played a raucous role at the First Vatican Council. Verot became known as “the *enfant terrible* of the council,” while Edward Fitzgerald of Little Rock was one of two prelates to vote against papal infallibility.²⁵ After Reconstruction, Hennesey identified “the South’s leading churchmen”—James Gibbons of Baltimore, John Keane of Richmond and first rector of the Catholic University of America, and John Kain of Wheeling. He also recognized that the South remained a sparsely populated missionary field, except in pockets of Catholic settlements along the Gulf Coast.

Hennesey, despite his promise to focus on the lay community, wrote an ecclesiastical history of American Catholicism. He did so, however, with sensitivity toward the relationship between the Catholic Church and American culture. He captured the Catholic leaders’ struggle to keep their church intact amidst the social, political, cultural, military, and economic forces of American history. For every response to non-Catholic American institutions, Catholicism became more American. Racial segregation was one such institution appropriated by the Catholic Church in America. Hennesey described the frustrated attempts of bishops in New

Orleans and Lafayette, Louisiana, to integrate churches and schools in the face of a “resistance deeply rooted in Louisiana’s history and culture.”²⁶ Moreover, he was willing to admit some of the unfortunate realities of religious life in the United States. As far as Hennesey was concerned, an intentionally glorified picture of American Catholic history was not responsible history.

In 1983, Randall Miller and Jon Wakelyn did what no historians had done before; they took southern Catholicism seriously. In their edited collection of essays *Catholics in the Old South*, Miller described the current study of southern religion as partial, incomplete, and provincial.²⁷ Miller attributed the cursory coverage to the historical fact that Catholics lived as a minority group outside the mainstream of southern religious culture. He also recognized two scholarly perspectives not conducive to the incorporation of Catholics in to southern history: “the narrow geographic range of good Catholic scholarship and the evangelical Protestant orientation of Southern religious scholarship.”²⁸ In part one, Randall Miller, Raymond Schmandt, Richard Duncan, Frances Jerome Woods, and R. Emmett Curran provided insight into the institutional developments of Catholicism in the Old South. In part two, Randall Miller, Gary Mills, Dennis Clark, and Jon Wakelyn contributed essays on racial, ethnic, and class distinctions within southern Catholicism. Miller expected the essays to address the need for a more inclusive study of “Catholic culture within a Protestant regional culture, but in limited terms.”²⁹ The essays were not meant to provide a comprehensive interpretation of Catholicism in the Old South. Rather, the book tried to make “a pioneering effort to treat Southern Catholicism in functional and symbolic terms and to relate Catholicism to regional culture.”³⁰

Taken as a whole, the essays of *Catholics in the Old South* provided a framework for studying southern Catholicism. First, the essayists argued that the Catholic Church in America was a predominantly southern institution until the rise of immigration in the mid-nineteenth-century. Consequently, many Catholics assimilated into southern culture. Second, the historians denied previous models of thinking about southern Catholicism as restricted to Maryland. Instead, they identified Maryland *and* Louisiana as the two major subregional sources of Catholicism in the South. And third, they exhibited the diversity of southern Catholic experiences based on race, ethnicity, gender, and class. Wakelyn concluded the book with an admission that the essays had only begun the process of interpreting Catholicism in the Old South.³¹ It was his expectation that historians would finally study outside Ellis’ aging model of American Catholicism

Jay Dolan released the historical narrative *The American Catholic Experience* in 1985.³² His book has since remained the premier social history of American Catholicism. Dolan began with a brief overview of Spanish and French missions during the colonial period from 1500 to 1780. The southern gulf coast, however, received only partial consideration; Spain explored Florida, but France barely made it out of Canada. Dolan went on to portray English Catholicism in colonial Maryland as a precursor to “something new in the history of Roman Catholicism, an American Catholic Church.”³³ The American Revolution provided the final impetus for the inclusion of Catholics into the new republican atmosphere of religious pluralism. The once persecuted minority group had become “an American model of religious life” dedicated to the individualistic principles of freedom and independence.³⁴ However, with the death of Bishop John Carroll in 1815 and the rise of immigration in the 1830s, Maryland-American Catholicism succumbed to a more European model of religious expression. Dolan described the immigrant brand of worship as “grounded in a monarchical view of authority, moral rigorism, elaborate devotionism, and an exaggerated loyalty to the Papacy.”³⁵ This cultural clash marked a transition in American Catholic history from a Maryland-centered Catholicism to an ethnic immigrant church. Thereafter, Dolan saw no reason to incorporate southern Catholics into his narrative, despite the fact that “Catholicism still remained a southern church” even after Maryland’s deterioration.³⁶

Dolan chose not to integrate any of Miller and Wakelyn’s contributions to American Catholic historiography. In a single paragraph he admitted that “the southern flavor of pre-1820 Catholicism is often overlooked... Colonial Catholicism was clearly a southern institution... Yet, even after the Revolution, Catholics remained heavily concentrated in the upper South; Maryland and Kentucky were key centers... attached to the slave-based economy of the South.”³⁷ However, despite his admission, Dolan still did not consider the southern Catholic experience to be significant enough for his “new history of Roman Catholicism in the United States.”³⁸ For all its merits, Dolan’s social history provided the shallowest study of Catholics in the South since O’Brien’s *The Renewal of American Catholicism*. As “the first step in the writing of a new social and religious history of American Catholicism,” Dolan expected other historians to pick up where he stopped.³⁹

Dolan edited *The American Catholic Parish* in 1987 as an opportunity for historians to describe the parish life of particular regions in the United States.⁴⁰ Michael McNally wrote a

general parish history of the Southeastern states of Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, and the District of Columbia. From 1850 to 1980, McNally argued that the Southeast remained missionary in character despite consistent growth. Charles Nolan contributed an essay on the South Central states of Alabama, Arkansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Oklahoma, Tennessee, and Texas. Using the same periodization as McNally, Nolan provided a theory of southern parish development: a Catholic individual or family settled; the laity set up a communal station; a priest established a mission; and finally a priest permanently resided at a church. While they did find common historical attributes of Catholic parishes in the South, McNally and Nolan did not extend any of the ideas proposed by Miller and Wakelyn. Their conclusions were heavy on generalizations and light on analytical interpretations. As a result, the two essays did not conceptualize the South within the larger idea of American Catholicism.

In the same year, Philip Gleason edited *Keeping the Faith: American Catholicism Past and Present*.⁴¹ The book included essays written after the Second Vatican Council, when Catholic historians like David O'Brien focused on the interaction of past and present.⁴² Gleason attributed the post-conciliar fixation on presentist history to the sociological process of marginalization. Catholic historians, as believers and scholars, found "themselves uneasily straddling the frontier where two cultures meet and overlap... set between an old and a new interpretation of the nature of the Church."⁴³ He then gave his "methodological confession of faith," wherein he challenged his fellow Catholic historians to "keep the faith," drop their apologetical, political, and social goals, and instead study the past on its own terms.⁴⁴ Gleason's theoretical and historiographical concerns did not warrant a retelling of American Catholic history, much less an inclusion of southern Catholic experiences. Nevertheless, he demonstrated the willingness of some Catholic historians to join non-Catholic, non-Christian scholars in their search for historical accuracy.

David O'Brien returned in 1989 to examine how American Catholics mediated between church and society. His book *Public Catholicism* joined five other works commemorating the bicentennial history of the Catholic Church in America.⁴⁵ In the editor's preface, Christopher Kauffman vouched for the rigorous historical methodology of each contributing historian. In the author's preface, O'Brien reiterated his belief in the usefulness of history to interpret present circumstances. Yet despite his presentist agenda, he made a compelling argument for the

distinction between American culture and Catholic religion. He identified three strands of Catholicism in America—republican, immigrant, and evangelical. Like his predecessors, he characterized republican Catholicism as Maryland Catholicism and immigrant Catholicism as the destroyer of republicanism. He used the word “evangelical” to describe the personal, communal, and public attributes of the Catholic Worker movement’s commitment to social justice. The only inclusion of non-Marylander southern Catholicism fell under his description of the Civil War and “industrial” Catholicism, a subtype of immigrant Catholicism. He distinguished between the experiences of African-American Catholics and white proslavery Catholics in the South. “Southern Catholicism,” O’Brien argued, “produced no antislavery prophet and, nationally, Catholic opinion was more uniform than that of any other religious denomination.”⁴⁶ Catholic leaders in the southern cities of Charleston, Mobile, St. Augustine, and Natchitoches epitomized the American and Catholic positions on slavery.

Southern Catholicism did not fit into O’Brien’s typology of public Catholicism. He provided no evidence to link the Civil War with his ambiguous idea of industrial Catholicism; and he did not incorporate southern Catholicism into the other categories. According to O’Brien, the experiences of Catholics in the South were not republican, immigrant, evangelical, industrial, liberal, reform, or social in style. They were neither public nor American. Southern Catholicism was an anomaly unfit for inclusion in the narrative of American Catholicism. Yet behind his inadequate renewal of public Catholic models, O’Brien took a significant step in the direction toward a more inclusive understanding of Catholicism in the United States. He identified two types of pluralistic tensions: an external experience of American pluralism and an internal experience of Catholic pluralism. The former point was not new to historians; Catholics had always struggled to reconcile their religion with American culture. The latter point, however, was an important admission. American Catholicism was not a monolithic institution; all Catholics shared an experience of intra-religious diversity. If anything, O’Brien’s typological breakdown demonstrated the diversity of ideas and actions within the American Catholic Church.

Jay Dolan released the most recent narrative of American Catholicism in 2002. The title was not surprising: *In Search of an American Catholicism: A History of Religion and Culture in Tension*.⁴⁷ He appropriated W.E.B. Du Bois’ experience of “twoness” to interpret the historical tension between the religion of Catholicism and the culture of America. He separated his

“conflict” history into four periods: the age of democracy (1780-1820), the age of immigration and Romanization (1820-1880), the age of Americanism (1880-1920), and the post-immigrant age of public Catholicism (1920-2001). Moreover, five themes—democracy, devotional life, national identity, Americanization of doctrine, and gender—shaped his discussion of each period. The experiences of Catholics in the South, however, merited only limited coverage during the era of democracy (1780-1820). Dolan identified the Marylanders Charles Carroll and John Carroll as exemplars of republican Catholicism. The republican brand of American Catholicism incorporated American notions of liberty, democracy, and the Enlightenment. Yet by the 1820s Dolan detected a European style of Catholicism fracturing the marriage of republicanism and Catholicity in America. He used the example of “Kentucky Catholicism” to demonstrate the tension between the republican and European forms.⁴⁸ French clergymen like Ambrose Marechal, Stephen Badin, Charles Nerinckx, and Benedict Flaget recreated American Catholicism on the Kentucky frontier into an ultramontane, Tridentine, monarchical institution based on strict moralism and a pessimistic view of human nature. The rise of European Catholicism marked the end of the republican era and the beginning of the immigration period. For Dolan, it also indicated the end of a southern role in American Catholic history.

In Search of an American Catholicism was in many ways a simplified version of *The American Catholic Experience*. Dolan reemphasized the distinction between the republican form of American Catholicism and the European form of immigrant Catholicism. In doing so, he refined O’Brien’s notion of a pluralistic Catholicism. He identified a “culture of Catholicism,” wherein Catholics commingled their religious beliefs with their American and European cultural traditions.⁴⁹ Tensions developed both within and without the Catholic Church. Since “conflict has been an enduring trademark of American religious history,” conflict had also played a part in the maturity of American Catholicism.⁵⁰ Dolan exemplified the idea of intra-Catholic tension in his portrayal of Kentucky Catholicism. As French priests entered the western frontier, they encountered resistance from both a republican-minded clergy and the independent mentality of lay frontiersmen and women. Without making it his expressed intention, Dolan recognized the importance of regional Catholicism. The culture of Kentucky, and thus Kentucky Catholicism, was in some ways different from other parts of America. All of the forms of Catholicism enumerated by O’Brien—republican, immigrant, evangelical, reform, industrial, liberal, social—applied to the experiences of Catholics on the frontier; they just played out in diverse fashions.⁵¹

From 1969 to 2002, from Ellis to Dolan, the participation of southerners in the history of American Catholicism remained insignificant at best, nonexistent at worst. The Maryland form of republican Catholicism defined American Catholicism from 1634 (the founding of Maryland) to 1820 (the beginning of the immigration period). Spain and France influenced the formation of Catholic cultures along the Mississippi River and the Gulf Coast, but their non-republican styles of authority and worship placed them outside the realm of American Catholicism. The Civil War represented the only incident in which American Catholic history demanded an inclusion of southern experiences. However, as historians invested themselves in the study of immigration and the Americanist Crisis, attention quickly shifted to major urban centers in the North.⁵² It was not until the Civil Rights movement that Catholicism in the South made a brief appearance in the twentieth century.⁵³ The most prominent narrators of American Catholic history—John Tracy Ellis, David O'Brien, Thomas McAvoy, James Hennesey, and Jay Dolan—marginalized an entire region of North America despite their consistent acknowledgment that American Catholicism was a principally southern institution prior to the period of immigration. Miller and Wakelyn tried to instate southern Catholicism into the narrative of American Catholic history, but their arguments fell on deaf ears. Consequently, very few historians have found it necessary to understand what it meant to be Catholic in the South.

Ellis and Dolan asked what it meant to be Catholic in America. Miller and Wakelyn asked what it meant to be Catholic in the South. Hill recognized both questions, but saw no need to answer them within the context of the homogenous evangelical South. Yet despite the dissimilarities between the three viewpoints, the historiography of American Catholicism agrees that Catholics assimilated to the cultural pressures of the region, and thus somehow lost their religious identity to Protestant evangelicalism. Fred Hood, a historian of religion in the South, typified the general agreement upon the assimilationist theory in his description of Kentucky Catholicism.

Uncharacteristically southern, however, is the fact that Kentucky's second largest religious population is Catholic. Surprisingly, much of that is rural Anglo-Saxon; the remainder is centered in the urban areas of Covington and Louisville and made up of the descendents of the German and Irish who migrated to Kentucky before the Civil War. These people blend into the Kentucky cultural landscape with scarcely a discernable difference except for their Catholicism.⁵⁴

Hood then proceeded to treat Catholics as culturally Protestant, thus requiring no special consideration. Miller and Wakelyn succumbed to the same oversimplification. They assumed the “southernness” of Catholics without explaining how or why Catholics accepted many of the cultural idiosyncrasies of the South. The narrators of American Catholic history failed to think in regional terms, only in the “American” model prescribed by Ellis. They treated Catholic southerners as anomalies in their otherwise cogent ideas of American Catholicism. The assimilationist theory provided historians with an insufficient basis for denying the contribution of Catholicism to the formation and maintenance of southern culture. They failed to recognize the retention of a Catholic identity within a Protestant-dominated region. They failed to see that some Catholics chose to live by the cultural mandates of the South without losing their religious distinctiveness. Southern Catholics, in short, were not cultural captives; they were cultural contributors. They were not culturally Protestant, but they were culturally southern.

The historiographical blindness toward southern Catholics begs a second, more fundamental question: how to study Catholicism in the South? First, historians must extend Jay Dolan’s exclusionary concept of “social” history to include the entire United States. Dolan’s *The American Catholic Experience* was a breakthrough in the study of “the people” in American Catholic history. He shifted sole attention from the bishops and priests to the laity. He did not, however, shift attention beyond the limited scope of Ellis’ dual model of republican Catholicism and immigrant Catholicism. In 2002, Dolan went again in search of an American Catholic experience, but failed again to conceptualize the South as a vital region in both the institutional and social history of the church. He did not heed the advice of Miller and Wakelyn to broaden the geographic range of scholarship into the region of the solid evangelical South. Consequently, the few historians who have engaged the subject of southern Catholicism have done so without the guidance of an inclusive narrative of either American Catholicism or southern religion. Michael Namorato, a historian of Catholicism in Mississippi, expressed concern about his chosen field of study. “Perhaps the most serious problem one has to face addressing the issue of the Mississippi Catholic Church’s role in southern Catholicism is that there is no paradigm or model to use... There is a dearth of scholarly studies on the southern Catholic Church.”⁵⁵ Namorato, as well other church historians of the South, have not conceptualized a paradigm because they have been looking for answers within the Ellisonian pattern. A solution to the deficient conceptualization of southern Catholicism, therefore, requires a reconsideration of the idea of

“American Catholicism” within the scope of southern religious scholarship. It requires a recasting of Ellis’ original question in southern terms: “How ‘southern’ has Catholicism become in the South? In what ways has southern life been most intimately touched and most largely shaped by Catholicism?”

After augmenting the otherwise restrictive Ellisonian model, historians must extend the fact that the Catholic Church in America was always a minority group. They must study the minority experiences of Catholics in the South just as they studied the minority experiences of Catholics in the urban North. With the rise of immigration during the nineteenth century, Sydney Ahlstrom recognized that “the Roman Catholic church in the United States ceased to be a persecuted, numerically insignificant body and became the largest church in the country.”⁵⁶ Yet in spite of the Catholic Church’s numerical insurgence, most narrators of American religious history agreed with Catholic historians that “Americanization is the grand theme in the history of the Catholic Church in the United States.”⁵⁷ Catherine Albanese described the process of Americanization in the most provocative terms: “Roman Catholicism was giving way to *American* Catholicism and, if you will, to Protestant-American Catholicism.”⁵⁸ R. Laurence Moore joined the few Catholic historians willing to subordinate the Americanization thesis to the idea “that culture, scarcely a monolith, was just as much an arena in which other Americans had to respond to the actions of Catholics.”⁵⁹ The intense minority experiences of Catholics in the Protestant South, however, have not entered narratives of American religious history. It has been difficult for historians to look beyond Roger Finke and Rodney Stark’s observation that “Catholics make up only a tiny proportion of the populations of southern states, other than Louisiana.”⁶⁰ It is no secret that “as Catholics have been such a minority for much of [the South’s] history, it is easy to see why they have been previously ignored.”⁶¹ This is partly due to the fact that only a few historians have treated the region of the South as a vital component to the grand narrative of religion in America.⁶² More to the point, the limited scope of American religious history is due to the reliance upon dominant motifs such as “mainstream Protestantism” and “Catholic Americanization.” Thomas Tweed challenged these predominant interpretations in the introduction to *Retelling U.S. Religious History*, wherein he identified the themes of “contact, boundary, and exchange,” as a first step in recasting the history of religion in America.⁶³ Catholics encountered a Protestant-dominated South where each religious tradition contributed to the other’s conception of culture. In the process, however, Catholics did not

become Protestant southerners; they remained Catholic and contributed to the formation of a southern culture. The creation of a southern brand of Catholicism, therefore, required that both Catholics and Protestants identified with some nondenominational attributes of southern culture.

Catholic southerners retained their minority religious convictions while choosing to cultivate a non-Protestant cultural identity of the South. In every region and time period, Catholics in America felt some sense of alienation in the dominant Protestant culture. Catholics in the South were no exception. After the Second Great Awakening and the Civil War, Catholics sensed what Flannery O'Connor described as a region not so much Christ-centered as it is Christ-haunted.⁶⁴ Eli Evans, a southern Jew, described his encounter with the southern Jesus as "a constant presence, a real, honest-to-goodness anthropomorphic personification of the Son of God Himself perched on the shoulder of every believer... The Southern Jesus walked among us... a haunting righteous figure."⁶⁵ Evangelical southerners expressed their creation of the southern Jesus through their appropriation of the language of Canaan and their submission of mind, heart, and will to God. According to Christine Heyrman, "such was the essence of evangelical faith."⁶⁶ Catholics did not identify with the religious experiences of their fellow-southerners, but they did nonetheless recognize the presence of what Donald Mathews called the "Evangelical style."⁶⁷ Yet despite Protestant evangelicalism's envelopment of southern culture, Catholics still related to the nondenominational notions of honor, class, gender, and race. The strength of these cultural constructions permitted Catholics and evangelicals to align their respective religious identities behind or against the institution of white supremacy, dependent upon the color of their skin.

Race was a defining characteristic of the South. "Particular racial traditions and practices have served as the cement for the South's cultural cohesion," Samuel Hill argued. "Wherever the South exists as a specifiable culture, the pattern of white supremacy, whether aggressive or residual, stands as its primary component."⁶⁸ Other factors contributed to the creation of "southernness," but ideas of race consolidated them. Evangelicalism entered the South at the start of the nineteenth century as a loose organization of Protestant denominations—particularly Methodism, Baptist, and Presbyterianism. Followers of the religious movement imposed their ideas of moral rectitude upon the largely irreligious population of the South, including racial egalitarianism. By the end of the antebellum period, however, southern evangelicals succumbed to the imbedded cultural notion of white supremacy. Donald Mathews called this shift in racial

attitude “the tragedy of southern Evangelicalism.”⁶⁹ Only afterwards did evangelicals saturate the South with a personification of Christ and an intensity of religious conviction. The diffusion of evangelicalism, however, took at least two distinct paths—one white and the other black.⁷⁰

Catholics, whether born in or immigrated to the South, ascribed to the region’s concepts of race in one of two ways. Either they succumbed to cultural pressure just like the evangelicals, or they supported the implementation of white supremacy apart from regional norms. Most historians have interpreted the participation of Catholics in the southern brand of white supremacy as a product of cultural captivity and assimilation; Catholics denied their moral convictions and embraced the ways of the South in order to avert religious persecution.⁷¹ However, despite the dominant historical interpretation, the large majority of Catholics entered the region, whether at birth or by ship, already acclimated to a white supremacist worldview. During the colonial period, French, Spanish, and English Catholics implemented the institution of slavery in North and South America under the sanction of the popes.⁷² After the American and French Revolutions, some European countries made slavery illegal. Rome responded with an ambiguous pronouncement against the slave trade.⁷³ American bishops then construed the papal decree to mean a ban on the Atlantic slave trade, not the domestic slave trade as sanctioned by the United States government.⁷⁴ Moreover, some American bishops refused to criticize the institution of slavery in public, while others defended the institution of slavery on moral, theological, and practical grounds.⁷⁵ The Catholic laity of the South, therefore, based their white supremacist viewpoints on both ecclesiastical sanction and regional norms. The American Civil War marked the final transition of Catholic and evangelical coalescence in a culture of white supremacy. Southern Catholics and southern evangelicals fought under the same Confederate banner, for the same causes, with the same intentions. White supremacy was not the only motivating factor, but it was a significant one.⁷⁶ After the South lost, Catholics and Protestants joined in the public remembrance of the Lost Cause, as well as the implementation of Jim Crow after Reconstruction.⁷⁷ Unlike the African-American community of the South, white Catholics never considered a mass exodus from the region.⁷⁸ The southern Jesus still presented himself to Catholics as a fascinating and, at times, dangerous embellishment of religious fervor, but their common dedication to racism perpetuated their common existence in the South. Many Catholics did not assimilate into a fixed southern culture; they helped create it.

The sub-region of New Orleans and South Louisiana represented the one place in the South where historians have identified a strong Catholic influence from the colonial period to the present.⁷⁹ They have not been willing, however, to give the topic much thought beyond admitting its exceptional status. Edwin Gaustad discounted the experiences of southern Catholics because “on the whole Catholicism is on the fringes, so to speak, of southern culture: the fringes of Maryland to the North, Florida to the South, Louisiana and segments of Texas to the West.” Moreover, “Catholicism shows little evidence of a strong colonial stamp except for France’s Louisiana... [where] French Catholicism gained a foothold never lost.”⁸⁰ John Blassingame fortified Gaustad’s findings with his admission that New Orleans was “the most ‘non-American’ of American cities.”⁸¹ To be sure, historians who characterized the Crescent City as more European or Caribbean than American, more Catholic than Protestant, too liberal or immoral to be a part of the South, did not misinterpret the historical and cultural evidence entirely. They did, however, fail to frame their understanding of the strange city within the common dimensions of race and white supremacy. Catholics of New Orleans were able to situate themselves at the center of southern culture because, as Virginia Dominguez put it, “race is the issue in Louisiana.”⁸² New Orleans, as “the capital city of the slave South,” cultivated an atmosphere of white supremacy distinct from the South only in its heightened magnitude.⁸³ Catholic and Protestant citizens, as a result, did not correlate geographic marginality with cultural marginality, and neither did their slaves. New Orleans maintained its heterogeneous identity while reinforcing the southern conception of white supremacy.

French explorers made forays into the Lower Mississippi Valley during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. They brought the Catholic Church and the institution of slavery with them. Gwendolyn Midlo Hall characterized colonial New Orleans as a permeable frontier village with little social or cultural coherence.⁸⁴ After the Natchez slave revolt of 1729, the importation of slaves ceased and no single group—white Europeans, black slaves, or Native Americans—dominated the fledgling settlement. Each party, according to Daniel Usner, relied upon the other for subsistence in the “frontier exchange economy.”⁸⁵ A “process of creolization” occurred, whereby white slaveholders relied upon the labor of a native born population of slaves.⁸⁶ As “New Orleans became the center for slave life in the lower Mississippi Valley,” slaves and free people of African descent took advantage of the liberal “French ethos” to recreate the “cosmopolitan universe of Atlantic Creoles.”⁸⁷ In 1763, when France ceded Louisiana to

Spain, colonial leaders reinstated the importation of slaves, while at the same time recognizing the integral role of the free black population.⁸⁸ Thomas Ingeroll, however, was careful to indicate the persistent awareness of white superiority among the planter and gentry class.⁸⁹

The Catholic Church did not wield much power in the slave society of New Orleans, despite the fact that a majority of the population—white, colored, and black; free and slave—were Catholic. Contrary to Frank Tenenbaum’s thesis that the Catholic Church and the Spanish legal system curtailed the negative effects of slavery, the brutality of Louisiana’s slave regime increased as foreign slaves replaced creole slaves.⁹⁰ Catholic slaves experienced brutality from their Catholic masters just as Protestant slaves did from Protestant masters.⁹¹ Moreover, the Catholic Church was the single largest slaveholding entity in the colony.⁹² This status did not inhibit the will of some Spanish clerics to transmit liberal social practices and radical French ideas of liberty to their racially integrated churches in the city.⁹³ Such efforts, however, had little effect on the white supremacist culture following the Louisiana Purchase of 1803 and the influx of American migrants. “Racism was a part of every American system that held African slaves and did not disappear when blacks and mulattoes became free citizens and economic and social competitors.”⁹⁴ The Louisiana system of slavery was an organ of the American system, and thus a white supremacist society.

Arnold Hirsch and Joseph Logsdon identified the “massive migration of white Americans to New Orleans during the nineteenth century” as an “American Challenge” to the cultural hegemony of French and Spanish Catholics.⁹⁵ The cultural encroachment of Protestant Americans was slow at first, comprising only eighteen percent of New Orleans’ population in 1810. However, by the 1840s, Creoles realized that “the Anglo-Saxon race have invaded every thing.”⁹⁶ New Orleans, according to Roger Shugg, represented the epitome of the Old Southwest.⁹⁷ Caryn Cossé Bell characterized the product of the American migration as a “new American racial order,” whereby a binary system of racial identity—white and black—replaced a three-tiered caste system—white, colored, and black.⁹⁸ Ingersoll interpreted the situation in a different way. “It was not a question of becoming Americans, but of finally becoming members of the group for which eight decades of North American colonial status had naturally prepared them... The only change in the planters’ condition was that their traditional domination was now improved to the point of absolute supremacy.”⁹⁹ Regardless of the impetus for white supremacy, two racial communities of Creoles developed, one white, the other black, and both Catholic.

Leaders of the Diocese of New Orleans aligned their interests with the conservative white supremacists of the slave regime.¹⁰⁰ By the 1850s, white Creoles and white Protestants coalesced behind a negrophobic and xenophobic front.¹⁰¹ New Orleans, after all, was the slave capital of the South and the second largest immigrant entrepot in the United States.¹⁰² As the presidential election of 1860 approached, people who identified themselves as white, including recent immigrants, formed a bond around the idea of a separate southern nation. The Catholic Church supported its white southern constituency.

The Catholic population of New Orleans and South Louisiana joined the Confederate Army for the same reasons as their fellow Protestant southerners—honor, states' rights, loyalty to home, property rights, the perpetuation of slavery, the preservation of white liberties, and, of course, white supremacy.¹⁰³ “Cosmopolitanism and provincialism certainly rubbed elbows in the Confederacy,” Ella Lonn argued, “when war brought Creoles and the heterogeneous crowds from Louisiana in contact with the country boys from backwoods Georgia.”¹⁰⁴ “It was the French, however,” that John Winters identified as those “who made the greatest show of their patriotism.”¹⁰⁵ Most of the white soldiers from Louisiana were Catholic, but monographs on the participation of Louisiana regiments disregard their religious experiences during the war.¹⁰⁶ Stephen Ochs' book *A Black Patriot and a White Priest* was an exception.¹⁰⁷ Yet instead of studying white Catholic soldiers, Ochs portrayed the racial turmoil in the Archdiocese of New Orleans and the participation of black Catholics in the Union Army. Further interpretations of Catholic experiences in the Civil War were scarce because of the common concern of historians “with the mainstream religion of the overwhelming majority of Civil War soldiers who took an interest in religious matters. That religion happens to be Protestant Christianity.” Steven Woodworth admitted that “there were, of course, a fair number of Catholics, some Jews, and even a few avowed atheists in the ranks, but their number together constituted a small minority of the soldiers, and their beliefs and practices play little role in” the pages of history.¹⁰⁸ Mark Noll reiterated Woodworth's sentiments in the collection of essays in *Religion and the American Civil War*.¹⁰⁹ In the same volume, Randall Miller refused to relegate the history of the Civil War to “mainstream” interpretations. “The Catholic experience has been left off the pages of the enormous literature on the war. Even modern scholarly books on the Irish, Catholics, or immigrants generally skim over the war, as if the central event in American history has no place in ethnic or religious history and culture.”¹¹⁰ Catholic historians have reduced the significance of

Catholic participation in the Civil War because of the unsavory fact that Catholics, from the bishops to the laity, not only tolerated the institution of slavery, but also supported and benefited from it. Madeleine Hooke Rice and Benjamin Blied were satisfied with the assimilationist conclusion that Catholics succumbed to the cultural pressures of the South.¹¹¹ Furthermore, Joseph Brokhage repeatedly defended his belief that “certainly no theologian could have permitted slavery as it frequently existed in America.”¹¹² Yet their evidence, as well as the evidence suggested in Kenneth Zanca’s anthology of primary sources *American Catholics and Slavery*, revealed an intentional white supremacist dimension to the Catholic Church’s relationship with the institution of slavery in the United States.¹¹³

It is at this point in the history of American Catholicism—at the outset of the American Civil War—that this thesis challenges the historiographical omission of southern Catholicism by examining Catholic participation in the Confederate war effort and the postwar Lost Cause tradition. The protagonists include a white Creole regiment, the Orleans Guard, and their chaplain, Father Isidore Francois Turgis. As Catholics, the Confederate soldiers valued the accompaniment of a priest for sacramental and spiritual guidance. As southerners, they fought for the Confederacy and participated in the memorialization and remembrance of the Lost Cause. As Catholic southerners, they transformed the figure of Pere Turgis into a hero of the South, acceptable even to non-Catholics. The Confederate Creoles did all of this, despite the fact that Turgis was a French priest who arrived at New Orleans in 1860 with the original intention to be a slave missionary.

The archives and libraries of New Orleans and Baton Rouge contain primary sources related to the history of Catholic Confederates and the Lost Cause tradition. They include the Archives of the Archdiocese of New Orleans, the Louisiana Historical Association Collection in the Special Louisiana Collections of Tulane University, and the Hill Memorial Library of Louisiana State University. Sources include family papers of the Orleans Guards, organizational papers of various Confederate veterans associations, and archdiocesan papers of the New Orleans clergy. Of special consideration are the letters between Turgis and Archbishop Jean Marie Odin of New Orleans, Odin’s pastoral letters, the war diary of a private in the Orleans Guard, and the family papers of the Orleans Guard commander. Newspaper articles and books written during the post-war era provide insight into the level of Catholic involvement in the Confederacy and Lost Cause. Both Catholic and secular newspapers of New Orleans published

articles on the figure of Turgis. Books written by white Creoles and Catholic clergymen also glorified the French priest, who they characterized as a hero of both the Catholic Church and the Confederacy.

Chapter One sets the stage for Catholic participation in the Confederate Army. The Archdiocese of New Orleans endorsed the cultivation of a white supremacist culture prior to the 1860 election of Abraham Lincoln. When Louisiana seceded from the United States, the archdiocese joined its white constituency in support of the Confederate war effort. The Orleans Guard was a regiment comprised of anti-clerical, racist, Catholics of the elite Creole community. Father Turgis was their chaplain, a man with an abolitionist sentiment and an indifference to the Confederate cause. The immigrant priest followed the white Creoles to Tennessee, where they engaged Union soldiers at the Battle of Shiloh. It was during battle that the traditionally irreligious Confederate Creoles identified the courage and self-sacrifice of Turgis, as well as their own desire for and reliance upon their chaplain for sacramental and spiritual assistance. On the battlefield, Turgis chose not to question the motivation of the soldiers under his care. The soldiers likewise diminished the importance of cause and rarified their thoughts on the basic ideas of life and death. The experience of combat brought the chaplain and the soldier into a relationship driven not by white supremacy or states' rights, but rather by a fundamental requirement to survive or die with a clean conscience. The cause of war diminished while the experience of war produced a temporary respect for religion. Turgis became an instrument of religious fortification in an atmosphere otherwise devoid of religious expression. Chapter One, in short, is a study of religious experience under fire.

Chapter Two describes the return of the defeated Confederate Catholics to New Orleans and analyzes the manner in which they remembered the experiences of the Civil War. The Archdiocese of New Orleans welcomed the Confederate veterans back to a city divided by race. The ex-soldiers coped with the loss in at least two ways—the resumption of their white supremacist agenda and the remembrance of their experiences of war. Their initial response was not to create a civil religion of the Confederate tradition, nor to dwell upon the idea of a “Baptism in blood.” Instead, Catholic veterans successfully petitioned the archbishop to establish a chapel for Turgis and “his boys.” In the veterans’ chapel, around their *bon Père*, Protestant and Catholic soldiers created a place where the memory of the experience of war trumped the cause of war. When they entered the chapel, they were not interested in revitalizing

the Lost Cause. Instead, they remembered their time spent together in camp and in battle, thus reaffirming their camaraderie and heroism before defeat. The veterans' chapel lasted until 1868, the year Turgis died. Thousands of southerners attended the funeral—Protestants and Catholics, generals and privates, women and children. It was the first major communal act of ceremonial bereavement in Reconstruction New Orleans. The New Orleans public, however, did not elevate the memory of Turgis to the same stature as Robert E. Lee, Thomas “Stonewall” Jackson, and Jefferson Davis. He did not become a prevalent fixture in the public understanding of the Lost Cause. Nevertheless, veterans who knew Turgis during and after the war remained indebted to his memory. They carried his memory into the twentieth century, where they remembered him to remember themselves, not the cause. When the veterans died so too did the memory of Turgis.

Two scholarly arguments, represented by Louisiana historians and southern historians, frame the thesis' characterization of Catholics in the South—the meaning of “creole” in Louisiana and the tradition of the Confederate Lost Cause. Settlers of colonial Louisiana used the term “creole” as a casual identification of people of European descent born in Louisiana. The identity retained its ambiguous meaning throughout the antebellum period, including black and white people, Germans and Frenchmen—anyone native to the new American state. However, with the influx of American migrants, some people started to conceptualize a more static understanding of “creole” to match the political insurgence of a biracial agenda. The outset of the Civil War codified the “creole” identity as either black or white natives of Louisiana with French or Spanish ancestry. With the implementation of Reconstruction and the subsequent creation of Jim Crow, supporters of the Confederate cause started a movement to reiterate their “pure white” identity. A creole identity was not an ethnic identity. Instead, it was a cultural manifestation of group identity, constructed by individuals as a means of racial superiority. For the purposes of this thesis, the term “Creole” applies to Spanish and French natives of Louisiana who identified themselves as white.¹¹⁴

The definition of the Lost Cause has produced similar confusion and debate among historians of southern culture. Catholic Confederates of New Orleans did not understand the Lost Cause as described by Charles Reagan Wilson in *Baptized in Blood*.¹¹⁵ To be sure, Catholics participated in public memorials of the Confederate dead, where they found some consolation in defeat. But they did not participate with the same religious conviction as

evangelicals, a requisite for membership in Wilson's conceptualization. They did not understand the Civil War as a baptism in blood, whereby "Southern religion was likewise symbolically baptized, born again in a fiery sacrament that gave [the churches] new spiritual life" and a mandate to create a public religion of the South.¹¹⁶ Instead, Catholic Creoles contributed more to what Gaines Foster described as a "complex of attitudes and emotions that constituted the white South's interpretation of the Civil War... [as] primarily a public memory, a component of the region's cultural system, supported by the various organizations and rituals of the Lost Cause."¹¹⁷ The problem with Foster's discontinuity argument, however, is that his idea of a Confederate "tradition" mirrors many attributes of Wilson's "civil religion." Yet regardless of the terminology, this thesis subordinates the tradition/religion of the Lost Cause to the collective memory of the experience of the Civil War. It attempts to capture the immediate corporate response to defeat, from 1865-1870, a period in which both Wilson and Foster did not recognize a significant level of public memory. There was no cogent popular memory because the veterans were not dwelling upon the causes of war; they were more concerned with the war itself. It was not until at least the 1870s that historians have identified the emergence of a memorial movement. The history of Turgis and "his boys" fills a part of the decade-wide hole in the historical interpretation of the New South. Moreover, it adds a more intimate, less public dimension to the Confederate tradition. Veterans kept the experience of war at the center of their memory, a memory that exceeded the importance of a holy cause. The military experience of the veterans was the fundamental fuel for the post-war recognition of the Lost Cause. It was the recollection of war, not the justification of cause, which energized the memorial movement of the Confederate dead.

An examination of Catholics in the Confederacy exposes some of the inadequacies of American Catholic history and southern religious history. Historians of American Catholicism—David O'Brien, James Hennesey, and Jay Dolan—have excluded regional distinctions from their narratives by following John Tracy Ellis' model of republican Catholicism and immigrant Catholicism. Historians of southern religion—Samuel Hill, Donald Mathews, and Christine Heyrman—have followed Catholic historians in their tertiary consideration of southern Catholicism. Both schools of thought have removed southern Catholics from American religious history for three major reasons. First, historians have dismissed Catholic experiences based on their minority status in a predominantly Protestant region. It was assumed, thereafter, that non-

Protestant religious groups could not fully participate in the “Protestant South.” Second, if Catholics could not contribute to their inhabited region, then they must have assimilated to the evangelical culture; they must have denied their religious tradition to avert ostracism from an otherwise hostile populace. Third, historians have disregarded Catholic contributions based on the thesis that Protestantism dominated all other facets of southern culture. They have conceptualized the region of the South as impregnable to the full participation of non-Protestants. The study of Catholic Confederates serves as a foil to the three misconceptions of previous historiography. Catholicism was a minority religion in the South, but the nondenominational cultural attributes of race, class, gender, and honor were open to Protestant-Catholic interaction. Catholics and Protestants, therefore, shared in the creation and identification of “southernness.” Roman Catholicism may have differed from Protestantism on theological and ritualistic grounds, but the two religious traditions met in a common southern culture.

CHAPTER ONE
THE EXPERIENCE OF WAR

When a man, in sight of a whole nation, and under the eyes of his relatives and friends, exposes himself to death for his native country, he exchanges a few days of life for ages of glory; he sheds lustre on his family, he raises it to wealth and honor. But the missionary whose life is spent in the recesses of the forest, who dies a painful death, without spectators, without applause, without advantage to those who are dear to him,—obscure, despised, characterized as a madman, an idiot, a fanatic, and all to procure eternal happiness to an unknown savage,—by what name shall we call such a death, such a sacrifice?

Viscount de Chateaubriand
*Genie du Christianisme*¹

Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Le Case de l'Oncle Tom* captured the attention of French readers throughout the 1850s and 1860s, inculcating a strong anti-South sentiment among liberal circles. The book "brought about a moral revolution in men's souls," wrote a French literary critic, "that sermons and speeches had never been able to kindle... people everywhere wept. On that day slavery was killed and the unfortunate Negro raised up."² Ignace Francois Turgis, a Roman Catholic chaplain in the French Army under Emperor Napoleon III, was among those who were "deeply upset after reading the American novelist's book."³ He recalled the heroic stories of missionaries and saints in the New World, especially those characterized by Chateaubriand in *Genie du Christianisme*.⁴ Consequently, the fifty-five year old veteran of the Crimean War and anti-slavery advocate "left immediately for America to live among the black slaves of Louisiana."⁵ He arrived at the port of New Orleans in 1860 without a clear notion of what civil conflict awaited the Crescent City on the Mississippi River. He also did not anticipate his appointment to the St. Louis Cathedral. His intention to serve the slaves of Louisiana, however, was not diminished entirely. In 1860, over ten thousand free people of color and over fourteen thousand slaves constituted the most active churchgoing population in the city, many of whom attended mass at the cathedral.⁶ Frederick Law Olmstead observed the "ridiculously absurd idea" of "kneeling women—'good' and 'bad' women—and, ah! Yes, white and black women, bowed in equality before their common Father" in the cathedral.⁷

Olmstead's surprise at the sight of racial equality in the Catholic Church was not representative of the actual situation.⁸ The white clergy and laity of the Archdiocese of New

Orleans had spent the 1850s solidifying their sense of racial superiority. “True civilization,” Archbishop Antoine Blanc wrote in 1852, “is based on order which is essential in society.”⁹ The institution of slavery constituted the social order of New Orleans, North America’s largest slave market.¹⁰ “The most painful sight I saw in New Orleans,” a visiting nun from France recounted, “was the selling of slaves... This spectacle oppressed my heart... But such feelings must be concealed from the Louisianians, as this is a point on which they are sensitive.”¹¹ Another French cleric reacted with dismay at “the brutal abjection and anti-Christianism [sic] in which the black race is kept, [as well as] the negligence of Catholics, even practicing Catholics, in instructing slaves.”¹² Archdiocesan officials, despite the objections of a few priests and nuns, reinforced the subjugation of African-Americans with the publication of two pro-slavery tracts in the church-sponsored newspaper *Le Propagateur Catholique*. Augustine Verot, the bishop of St. Augustine, Florida, gave a “Sermon on Slavery and Abolition,” in which he argued against the “unjust, iniquitous, unscriptural, and unreasonable... assertion of Abolitionists.” He also agreed that there were “conditions under which servitude is legitimate, lawful... and consistent with practical religion.”¹³ Augustus Martin, the bishop of Natchitoches, Louisiana, took a much firmer stand in support of the institution of slavery as “the manifest will of God.” He pled his case on two grounds. First, God had sanctioned slavery as a means of saving the African race of Canaan “from the barbarity of their ferocious customs.” Second, he proposed that abolitionists have “upset the will of Providence and they have used His merciful plans for unrighteous actions.”¹⁴

Martin’s supposition “that there exists a natural difference between negroes and whites” elicited the condemnation of the Roman Congregation of the Index.¹⁵ The Archdiocese of New Orleans, nevertheless, supported its white constituency of Creoles, foreign French, and Irish immigrants. A pro-slavery ideology was one of the few similarities between the confrontational groups. The Creoles and foreign French took pride in their anticlerical and liberal opposition to the conservative archdiocesan hierarchy. Charles Gayarré, a Catholic Creole member of the Know Nothing Party, contended that Creoles in Louisiana were “free from those gross superstitions which you attribute to the church of Rome... We acknowledge no other power in the head of our church than one which is purely spiritual... Louisianians are enlightened Catholics, who would not permit the most distant ecclesiastical interference with politics.”¹⁶ To compensate for the loss of consistent support from the Gallic laity, the archdiocese relied upon

the “Americanized brand” of Irish Catholicism, with its respect for authority and plain-styled ritualism, for some semblance of ecclesiastical order.¹⁷ However, by the late 1850s, the belligerent Catholic groups coalesced in the pro-slavery Democratic Party, “the only [ticket],” according to the archdiocese, “not pledged to religious proscription and hostility to the Catholic Church.”¹⁸ Protestant Nativists in New Orleans commended the Creole and French Catholic community for “hav[ing] never warred against us or our peculiar institutions. No man can say as much of the New England Baptists, Presbyterians, or Methodists.”¹⁹ Orestes Brownson, on the other hand, expressed his dismay that, “having adopted the Southern policy on the slave question, the Democratic [Irish] Catholics followed... their Catholic brethren in the Southern states, and became strong and violent anti-abolitionists.”²⁰

The cultivation of a pro-slavery position prompted the Archdiocese of New Orleans to support the secession of Louisiana and the formation of the Confederate States of America. “Our country... has become involved in a bloody war,” Archbishop Jean Marie Odin announced to the New Orleans public, “justice is on our side... let us fervently beseech the Lord that he may be pleased to shield them with his powerful arm, to protect our rights, and to preserve our liberties untouched.” Like “the Prophets, inspired by the Holy Ghost,” the archbishop also “called the people to fast, to mourn, and to perform all the works of a sincere penance, in order to draw down on their arms that blessing to which success is attached.”²¹ In addition to verbal recognition of the southern cause, the archdiocese assigned chaplains to the many Catholic regiments organized in and around New Orleans.²² Men of diverse nationalities—French, Irish, Spanish, Italian, German, and Polish—enlisted in the Confederate Army. “It is scarcely possible to imagine a more heterogeneous-looking body of men,” wrote an observer of a Confederate camp near New Orleans, “the variety of uniform, of clothing and of accoutrements were as great as if a specimen squad had been taken from the battalions of the Grand Army of 1812. The general effect of the men and of their habiliments is decidedly French, and there is even a small company of Zouaves.”²³ Soldiers of French descent, however, did not comprise the majority of New Orleanian Confederates. The Tenth Louisiana Regiment, for example, earned the name “Cosmopolitan Regiment” for its composition of no less than fifteen different nationalities and ethnic groups.²⁴ The variety of nationalities mirrored the variety of soldierly dispositions. The First Special Battalion, popularly known as the Louisiana Tigers, earned a reputation as the most brutal and lawless military organization from New Orleans.²⁵ In an infamous display of rancor,

the thuggish and intoxicated regiment initiated a conflict with their commanding officers that resulted in twenty-seven casualties.²⁶ The number of Catholics in the Confederate Army, combined with their general indifference to ecclesiastical authority, produced logistical problems for the archdiocese to provide religious leadership in the form of chaplains.²⁷

Amidst the many colorful and unruly regiments was the Orleans Guard, a unit of elite Creoles from New Orleans. Colonel Joseph Numa Augustin, a prominent banker and broker, organized the Orleans Guard Regiment in 1860.²⁸ After Louisiana seceded from the Union on January 26, 1861, P. G. T. Beauregard left his post as superintendent of the United States Military Academy and enlisted as a private in the “battalion of Creole aristocrats.”²⁹ The initial popularity of the Creole regiment raised such enthusiasm that the Archdiocese of New Orleans held a special mass at the St. Louis Cathedral to bless the colors and pray “for the success of the *Bataille des Gardes d’Orleans*.”³⁰ Hundreds of Creole civilians joined the four companies of soldiers at the cathedral where officials expressed concern that “the church will be too small for all of the faithful who wish to attend the attractive ceremony.”³¹ After the celebration, Louisiana militia leaders assigned the Orleans Guard to the state arsenal.³² Creole newspapers excused their troops from not joining the Confederate Army sooner, since it was “impossible for [the soldiers] to obtain for some days the requisite new uniforms. Those which the Orleans Guard had in the city were not suitable for the campaign.”³³ However, the new uniforms never arrived, nor did Richmond send orders for muster into the army. The Orleans Guards remained in their dress blue uniforms at the state arsenal for a year after the solemn mass.

In March 1862, a flurry of military preparations displaced the monotony of guard duty. Ulysses S. Grant’s Army of the Tennessee was threatening the transportation infrastructure of the Confederacy’s western operations. Albert Sydney Johnston and P. G. T. Beauregard, commanders of the Confederate Army of the Mississippi, summoned reinforcements to meet the Federal encroachment in Tennessee. “Creoles of Louisiana,” the New Orleans *Daily Picayune* announced, “arouse! Our Beauregard awaits you; he calls for men in this hour of peril... Haste to his side ere the enemy surround him.”³⁴ The Orleans Guards answered the call, mustering 411 soldiers into the Confederate Army for a ninety day service period.³⁵ Governor Thomas O. Moore commissioned Major Leon Queyrouze, a prominent businessman and Catholic Mason, to lead the battalion.³⁶ Archbishop Odin designated Father Turgis, the anti-slavery, Crimean War veteran, as its chaplain.³⁷ The *corps d’elite* Creoles left New Orleans on March 18, bound for

Grand Junction, Tennessee. They left without a clear notion of what combat awaited them on the fields of Shiloh. They also questioned the competence of their leaders, both militarily and religiously. As Private Edmond Enoul Livaudais put it, “the priest, the officers, etc., etc., were all but simple soldiers in disguise.”³⁸

The Orleans Guards arrived at Grand Junction on March 21. New Orleans Creoles carried their reputation for irreligious and anticlerical behavior with them. Tension developed between diocesan officials and the Creole laity during the colonial and antebellum periods.³⁹ The liberal tendencies of the native Louisianians received significant impetus from the controversial Capuchin pastor of the St. Louis Cathedral, Father Antonio de Sedella.⁴⁰ Problems culminated in the 1840s when the cathedral’s *marguilliers*, or wardens, denounced the authority of Bishop Antoine Blanc in church affairs.⁴¹ Many Creoles also subscribed to the liberal tenets of Freemasonry. Queyrouze, the commander of the Orleans Guard, was a prominent figure in the French Freemasons of New Orleans, an organization characterized by the archdiocese as a “slovenly and scurrilous mockery of Catholicism and deserves to be stigmatized by all men of honour of whatever religious faith.”⁴² The soldiers of the Orleans Guard, consequently, did not consider the reception of the sacraments an important ritual. Many treated the sacraments with total disregard, just as they treated their slaves. “It is certain that slavery as it exists in practice is a public crime,” a priest in Louisiana wrote, “the greatest majority of [slaves] do not approach the sacraments... the slave is a machine to make money. For that matter, [slaves] are as religious as their masters.”⁴³ Moreover, consolation in scripture was not a particularly important source of spiritual sustenance or military justification for the Creoles. They did not subscribe to the “broadly based and widely shared biblicism” of American evangelicalism, and especially southern evangelicalism.⁴⁴ They did, however, agree with the governor of Louisiana, when he said, “I do not think it comports with the honor and self-respect of Louisiana, a slave-holding State, to live under the government of a Black Republican President.”⁴⁵ The Creoles went to battle as they were—as anticlerical, racist, Catholic southerners. God was not the last thing on their minds, but God was definitely not the first thing either.

The green soldiers of the Orleans Guard savored the pre-battle enthusiasm until their first encounter with the death of war. “Our arrival at camp hailed with a thousand hurrahs,” Private Livaudais wrote, “and joy reigned throughout the camps when they learned that we were the Orleans Guards.”⁴⁶ He estimated that more than twenty thousand Louisianians camped at Grand

Junction.⁴⁷ He took heart in knowing that “we Creoles, when they meet one another in a strange region, need usually very little time to make acquaintance.”⁴⁸ Beauregard made a special visit to his friends from New Orleans. “He appeared greatly moved at seeing us. Without a doubt our presence evoked tender memories! More or less he knew us all. He removed his hat and shook our hands.”⁴⁹ During a pass and review, Johnston commented to Queyrouze, “how proud you must be to command such a fine corps.”⁵⁰ The pomp and excitement of camp life, however, ceased at the first encounter with the brutality of war. The Orleans Guards attended the funeral of a fellow-Creole in the Crescent Regiment.⁵¹ Turgis, the only Catholic chaplain available to the Creole soldiers, directed the ceremony. The disabused eyes of the soldiers saw that the dead body “was nothing other than the soldier’s meat ration. Imagine as well our consternation! It was nothing else but beef decayed to such a degree that its stench fouled the air of the camp.”⁵² On the same day, orders passed to the Orleans Guard to prepare for battle.

Turgis followed the thousands of Catholics on the march to Tennessee. He observed the throng of Creoles codify an identity as both natives of Louisiana and white southerners. A spirit of enthusiasm charged the camp atmosphere, but the veteran of the Crimean War steadied his resolve to administer the sacraments to the traditionally uninterested Catholics. As the battle drew nearer, and as the soldiers experienced the first sporadic wave of casualties, the gravity of war struck a religious chord. The Orleans Guards turned to the chaplain—the soldier in disguise—for spiritual reinforcement. “Everyone attended the holy mass last Sunday,” Turgis wrote with pleasure, “and yesterday on the feast of the Virgin I was also able to celebrate the holy mass.”⁵³ The Catholic mass in the camp and on the battlefield became an arena devoid of political and racial ideology. Turgis, though an advocate of Abolitionism, chose not to engage the moral dilemmas of the South; the time to change minds had passed long before he arrived in New Orleans. He also chose not to question the rightness or wrongness of the southern cause. Instead, he talked about the common circumstances of each soldier standing or kneeling before the makeshift altar. His words drove many listeners to tears, not because they reminded them of their pro-slavery and secessionist positions, but because of the moment. Fear and anxiety beset the soldiers prior to battle.⁵⁴ The mass assuaged some of their apprehensions, creating an atmosphere at once receptive to and apart from the realities of war. “I am aware of how you love the Creoles,” Turgis wrote to Odin, “who are returning sincerely to the good Lord on this day of trial.”⁵⁵ The act of returning to God in mass, however, did not produce a feeling of spiritual

revival as described by William Bennett in his 1877 *Narrative of the Great Revival in the Southern Armies*.⁵⁶ The soberness of the ritual gathering placed a premium on the personal religious expression of the soldiers.⁵⁷

The final “Amen” of mass signaled the Catholic soldiers’ full return to the camp, the march, or the battlefield. The Orleans Guards began their final march to battle on April 3, surrounded by “some eighteen to twenty thousand Catholics, all of whom either spoke or understood French.”⁵⁸ For three days the soldiers marched to the sound of distant musketry, “here and there coming across dead horses and pools of blood.”⁵⁹ The cause-blind message of mass succumbed to the definite message of combat. The pre-battle speeches of army generals and regimental colonels rarified the ambiguous southern cause—the perpetuation of state’s rights and the institution of slavery—into a personal encounter with a body of men poised to kill. The enemy was clear. The objective—to kill the enemy—was clear.⁶⁰ “For God and country” fell easily from the mouths of those preparing to enter the battlefield, but it was not the same god petitioned during mass. The god of mass, the god without country and without cause, was lost on the way to battle, except in the person of Turgis and the sacrament of Reconciliation. Turgis rushed from regiment to regiment hearing confessions. “I was the only priest,” he expressed with some exhaustion, “I gave absolutions for forty-eight hours without stopping... [since] the elite of our Creole population would have been exposed to being lost for Eternity.” The Catholic Confederates confessed their personal transgressions—gambling, swearing, drinking—but they did not apologize for the southern cause. It was not up for public debate, nor was it up for personal consideration. The moment shared between Turgis and the repentant soldier produced a temporary moment of innocence. Recognition that this might be the last confession before death served to intensify the exchange with God. Respite in the pre-battle ritual of penance was brief for the soldiers. Turgis, however, did not rest during or after each confession. A sense of duty to his flock compelled the chaplain to remain focused on the souls of each soldier until the units entered the battlefield.⁶¹ Afterwards, he wept for those soldiers unable to receive the sacrament of Reconciliation before combat, but he took some consolation in the words of Chateaubriand: “When nature and our fellow-creatures show no mercy, how delightful is it to find the Almighty ready to forgive! To the Christian religion alone belongs the merit of having made two sisters of Innocence and Repentance.”⁶²

Turgis' resolve to attend the spiritual needs of the soldiers hardened as the Confederate forces prepared to enter the battlefield on the morning of April 6. As the Orleans Guards paused under a line of trees prior to engagement, the gravity of the ensuing combat struck the absolved Catholics:

The few moments we spent there were for us the most dreadful. One could hear a pin drop; throughout the battalion, officers and soldiers were calm and collected, and I believed that, as I each one thought of all on earth who were dear to him, whom perhaps he would never have the good fortune to see again, for we realized that at any moment we would enter in the midst of that destructive barrage and that doubtlessly many among us would never see another day. Those few motionless moments impressed us more than when we found ourselves under fire amid the bullets, the cannon balls and the shrapnel. It was also on that hill that we heard the first bombs whistle!⁶³

Queyrouze then broke their contemplation: "My brave friends, this is the moment to show your mettle; be calm and do not hurry."⁶⁴ The Orleans Guards participated in a number of skirmishes throughout the morning. Livaudais remembered his first encounter with "six or seven of them (the enemy) killed or wounded, among them there were two who appeared to suffer very much and, when they saw us near them, they asked for water to drink which was hastily given them."⁶⁵ Turgis rushed to the aid of the fallen Union soldiers. The Creoles watched with amazement as their chaplain, under fire from the Federal lines, "administered the Last Sacraments and almost fell victim to his devotion to duty."⁶⁶ Later in the day, as the Orleans Guards took their position on the Confederate right wing, "hundreds of bullets plowed the soil on all sides about us and whistled near our ears."⁶⁷ The fire came from the Sixth Kentucky and a Tennessee regiment who mistook the blue-uniformed Creoles for Union troops.⁶⁸ Queyrouze ordered the Orleans Guard to return fire on the mistaken Confederate soldiers. A staff officer informed the major that they were firing on their own men, but Queyrouze retorted: "I know it; but, damn it, we fire on everybody who fires on us."⁶⁹ The confusion of the battlefield subsided long enough for the Creoles to turn their blue uniforms inside out, showing the white cotton of the coats' underside. Nevertheless, two men died under the friendly fire. "Oh! What horror is war!" responded Livaudais to the mishap, "What miseries one experiences therein!"⁷⁰

The intensity of battle increased as the Orleans Guards prepared for an assault on the Union defenses in what would later be called the "Hornet's Nest." Under the command of Colonel Preston Pond of the Third Brigade, the guardsmen watched Colonel Alfred Mouton of the Eighteenth Louisiana Regiment lead his Creole soldiers against the remnants of Major

General John McClelland's Federal forces.⁷¹ The frontal assault failed, after which Queyrouze gave the order to charge. "It was truly horrendous as we ascended the hill," Livaudais remembered, "to see on all sides those unfortunate men of the Eighteenth coming down bathed in their blood." The sight of the dead and the rush of the fight made "each [soldier] vie with the other to thrust himself forward to kill a Yankee. Such unparalleled enthusiasm existed among us!"⁷² The Confederate soldiers concentrated on following orders and avoiding enemy fire. Silent prayers and desperate shouts for God's mercy and strength could not compete with the intention to kill and to avoid being killed. When Queyrouze gave the order to charge, the Creoles did not join in a chorus of prayer up the hill. Instead, they focused on the death around them and the potential for personal death increasing with every forward step. Turgis, less interested in an enemy and more interested in the soldiers under his spiritual protection, was the only person in the engagement capable of training his thoughts on God and the dispensation of the sacraments. "When a gallant soldier fell, he would run to him... he would apply first aid as much as possible... [or] he administered the Last Sacraments and comforted his last moments."⁷³ The wounded Catholic may have wanted the chaplain to perform Extreme Unction—to prepare his soul for death—but Turgis made the decision to be at his side. The chaplain believed that the Catholic, dying on the battlefield, "has ceased to be a creature of this world: he no longer belongs to his native country: all connection between him and society is at an end."⁷⁴ In a final gesture, he anointed the Catholic with holy oil, forgave his sins for the last time, and scanned the field for more injured Catholics. Twenty-five percent of the battalion was either wounded or killed in the attack.⁷⁵ Queyrouze injured his knee, after which Captain Charles Roman, the son of former Governor André Bienvenu Roman, assumed command.⁷⁶ Turgis survived the assault and earned the respect of his Creole flock. "Our chaplain, Father Turgis, was all the time at our side, with unceasing encouragement. During the battle he always maintained remarkable self-control."⁷⁷

Colonel Mouton took command of the Orleans Guard on the morning of April 7. He formed a detachment to recover the wounded on the battlefield, but Federal fire limited retrieval to two bodies. "Everywhere we passed, the ground was strewn with the dead... But the most macabre spectacle was the cadavers of the preceding day; the rain had drenched them the night before and now they were totally decomposed... Never before had I beheld anything such as this."⁷⁸ The remainder of the morning constituted a series of contradictory orders to march and

countermarch resulting in an exhausted group of battle-worn soldiers.⁷⁹ Beauregard, having assumed command of the army after Johnston died the day before, attempted to rally a final offensive by joining the line of Confederate soldiers. “Follow me, my brave men,” the Creole general ordered as he grasped the colors of the Orleans Guard, “one more thrust and the day is ours.”⁸⁰ Colonel Mouton was wounded immediately. Colonel Alfred Roman, the brother of Captain Charles Roman, succeeded in command. Beauregard sensed the hesitancy in the ranks and rushed ahead screaming “Forward!” Colonel Numa Augustin, the former commander of the Orleans Guards, replaced the general and resumed the charge. However, the Federal forces repelled the attack, inflicting heavy casualties. By one o’clock the Orleans Guards were retreating to Corinth, Mississippi.⁸¹

The Orleans Guard incurred thirty-three percent casualties during the Battle of Shiloh, lending credence to Ulysses S. Grant’s contention that “Shiloh was the severest battle fought at the West during the war.”⁸² Private Livaudais would have concurred with the Union general as he walked four days in retreat. The sight of dead and dying soldiers strewn along the trail reminded him of his fallen friends, Prospere de Bouchel and Anatole Avegno. “At those sad recollections, I felt my heart swell within me and tears streamed down my cheeks.”⁸³ On the second day he removed his boots for the first time in a week, after which the swelling prohibited him from putting them on again. He walked barefooted, along with many other soldiers, “offer[ing] a fervent prayer to God and begg[ing] Him to give me the strength and the courage necessary to reach the camp.”⁸⁴ When the soldiers arrived at Corinth, Livaudais fell “on both knees in my tent to thank God for having protected me during those two days of combat and for having heard my prayers in granting me the courage to struggle back to camp.” However, “the camp, once so gay, so joyous, now lay under the pall of death. Everywhere prevailed a mournful silence. No longer did one hear merry singing and no conversation even took place.”⁸⁵ Turgis resumed his duty to provide the Catholic Confederates with the sacraments. He visited five regiments at Corinth and Grand Junction, where he treated the wounded, heard confessions, and performed masses. On at least one occasion, he “preached a sermon which moved most of us to tears.”⁸⁶ He also contracted dysentery and landed in a field hospital. Yet “although ill, he makes [the hospital patients] spend the time cheerfully as he is very gay and relates a thousand comic stories.”⁸⁷ The soldiers heaped praise on their chaplain for his actions and attitude before, during, and after combat. “His conduct on the battlefield was exemplary. Moreover, he

achieved immortal renown among us. Everywhere, on every occasion, he manifested as much sympathy towards our enemies as towards us.”⁸⁸ Turgis responded to such commendation in modest form: “believe nothing that the young men have been able to say misleading about me, *les Gardes d’Orleans* are good to me, but they carry everything to exaggeration.”⁸⁹

More unfortunate news reached the Orleans Guards in late April: New Orleans fell under Federal occupation.⁹⁰ Surviving members of the guard not arrested while on furlough in the city formed Company F of the Thirtieth Louisiana Regiment.⁹¹ They experienced combat at the battles of Baton Rouge, Port Hudson, Vicksburg, Jackson, Mobile, Atlanta, Franklin, and Nashville.⁹² Captain Louis Fortin, the son of a sugar planter, led the Orleans Guard to Atlanta, where the Thirtieth Regiment suffered three-fourths casualties. “I have seen you fall, mutilated and sacrificed, in an unnecessary attack,” Fortin apologized during the defense of Atlanta. “To you who are no more, happier days await you in a better world... To you, poor, wounded comrades, who were abandoned and left behind in the battle-field, heaven send you a prompt return to our midst.”⁹³ Turgis managed the funeral ceremonies of the deceased, including Fortin, who died just weeks after his speech to the nearly destroyed regiment. The chaplain stayed with the Orleans Guards to the end of the war, except during excursions to other Catholic units in need of the sacraments.⁹⁴ “I want to procure an order to leave for eight days,” he would say, “to visit the temporary camps; it seems that it will be another good harvest, because of its four thousand men, nearly all of whom are Creoles, and who want a chaplain to have with them to make them clean.”⁹⁵ Turgis also stood with the Orleans Guard near Meridian, Mississippi, on May 8, 1865, as Brigadier General R. L. Gibson gave his surrender speech.

There is nothing in your career as soldiers to look back upon with regret; our banners are festooned with the emblems of every knightly virtue. The past at least is secure... Comrades! forget not the good and true men who have fallen. No sculptured marble may perpetuate the recollection of their service, but their names shall be enshrined in the remembrance of their grateful countrymen, and you will bear them ever fresh and green in your hearts... You separate, not as friends merely, but as brethren, whom mutual trials, common hopes and aspirations, and equal hardships and disasters have made kinsmen. You must rely one upon another.⁹⁶

Catholics and Protestants returned to New Orleans separated by religion, but united in the common experiences of war. The collective memory of the Civil War supported interdenominational interaction among Confederate veterans. As a result, they subordinated their religious differences to the fraternal bond cultivated on the battlefield. Chapter Two

examines how and why Catholics and Protestants extended their wartime camaraderie to the postwar social situation in New Orleans. First, in the immediate aftermath of defeat, the Confederate veterans celebrated the lives of their deceased friends through funerary ceremonies and public expressions of bereavement. They also shared their memories of war at small group meetings and church functions. The figure of Turgis was central to the veterans' maintenance of fraternal memory. Second, the ex-soldiers used their interdenominational relationships to organize movements against the free black community of New Orleans. White Catholic veterans joined white Protestant veterans to perpetuate their white supremacist agendas against black Catholics and black Protestants. The bond of war combined with the bond of race to produce a southern identity conducive to Protestant-Catholic cooperation.

CHAPTER TWO

THE MEMORY OF WAR

Faith or fidelity was the first virtue of the knights; faith is, in like manner, the first virtue of Christianity. The knight never told a lie. Here is the Christian. The knight was poor, and the most disinterested of men. Here you see the disciple of the gospel. The knight traveled through the world, assisting the widow and the orphan. Here you behold the charity of Jesus Christ...The true religion teaches us that the merit of a man should be measured not by the bodily strength, but by the greatness of soul. Hence the weakest of the knights never quakes in the presence of an enemy; and, though certain to meet death, he has not even a thought of flight.

Viscount de Chateaubriand
*Genie du Christianisme*¹

“During the sufferings and misfortunes of war,” wrote the Confederate veterans of the Orleans Guard, “we have come to know, to love and to respect the good Pere Turgis.”² Consequently, the leaders of the *corps d’elite* Creoles petitioned Archbishop Odin to establish a parish church exclusively for the Catholic veterans and their chaplain. “It is because of [Turgis] that God has forced us to gather in his service,” they argued; “it is extremely important for his presence among us.”³ The prominence of the signatories, which included the likes of Leon Queyrouze and P. G. T. Beauregard, compelled the archbishop and the *marguilliers* to give them the Mortuary Chapel on Rampart Street.⁴ In consideration of Turgis’ poor health, they decided that the chapel would serve as his place of retirement. The chaplain, however, refused to act like a retiree in his new position. “After the war,” remembered a veteran, “he returned to the various families of the soldiers who fell on the field of honor, so that he could offer them some words of consolation, and especially so that he could fulfill the promises made on the fields of battle.”⁵ Kneeling at the sides of mortally wounded Catholics, Turgis promised to care for their wives and children in New Orleans. He became the director of the Southern Hospital for invalid soldiers and the administrator of the Marigny Asylum for the widows and orphans of deceased Confederates. He also started the Children of Mary sodality to raise money for charity.⁶

The establishment of a veterans’ chapel represented a culmination in the archdiocese’s support for the Confederacy. It also epitomized an ecclesiastical disrespect for the black Catholic community of New Orleans. After the white Creoles of the Orleans Guard departed for Shiloh, Odin and the conservative clergy alienated black Catholics for asserting abolitionism and

equal rights. Father Claude Paschal Maistre was the only Catholic priest to support black activism in the archdiocese. Odin suspended the rogue white priest for his actions and placed his black parish under interdict.⁷ The strength of the black Catholic community, however, prevented the archbishop from closing their church, St. Rose of Lima Parish.⁸ Odin also expressed his dismay at the formation of black regiments in the United States Army. When Captain André Cailloux of the First Louisiana Native Guards died at the Battle of Port Hudson, the white Catholic population criticized Maistre for leading thousands of black Unionist mourners in a funeral procession.⁹ By the end of the war, as racial tensions persisted, the archdiocese was essentially broken into a white and black church. Turgis and the white Catholic Confederates, therefore, returned to New Orleans under the pall of both military defeat and a heightened atmosphere of racial hostility.¹⁰ The Creole veterans welcomed the church's promulgation of white superiority, but Turgis faced a dilemma of conscience. He had cultivated a sense of duty to his Creole flock during the conflict. He also recognized the de facto archdiocesan mandate against the empowerment of black Catholics. In the face of both circumstances, Turgis chose not to renew his original intention to serve the black population of Louisiana. Just months after his decision, New Orleans erupted in racial violence. A white mob comprised of policemen and pedestrians stormed a Unionist convention at the Mechanic's Institute on Canal Street, killing forty-six blacks and wounding another sixty.¹¹

It was in this atmosphere of racial hatred and Unionist resentment that Turgis abandoned the black Catholic population that never knew him and accompanied the Confederate veterans in the all-white chapel. Turgis was not the first priest in Louisiana to consider a missionary vocation to slaves and free people of color. Abbé Emmanuel Rouquette, the first native Louisianian to enter the priesthood, expressed his consternation at the treatment of slaves. After some controversy, however, he left the city and became a missionary to the Choctaw.¹² Felix Dicharry, a French priest in Natchitoches, sympathized with Rouquette's moral dilemma. He even went so far as to suggest the formation of a secret religious community for slaves.¹³ Little did Dicharry know that he would become a Confederate chaplain in the Third Louisiana Regiment, "the flower of the most noble Creole families."¹⁴ Maistre was the only priest in Louisiana to extend his private ideas of racial equality into public activism. Though he took satisfaction in supporting the solidarity of a black Catholic community in transition, he also felt the alienation of schismatic status. The pressure was so great, in fact, that he "disavow[ed] all

that has been irregular and condemnable in the exercise of the ministry while laboring under ecclesiastical censures. I submit to the canons and laws of the Church, and to its authority...”¹⁵ Turgis weighed the implications of any action against the cultural and ecclesiastical status quo. Odin’s ambivalence toward the black Catholic community continued as he stalled the post-war institution of black missions.¹⁶ Without the implementation of a missionary system, Turgis decided to maintain dedication to his current flock, the Confederate veterans. He “was essentially a man of duty,” a rebel soldier remembered, “it ruled his brain, fired his heart.”¹⁷ Duty, according to Turgis, constituted a total devotion to whomever or whatever one was ordered to attend. He obeyed the archdiocesan directive to lead the veterans’ chapel. He also obeyed his heart, which had grown to love “his boys” from the battlefield.¹⁸

The Confederate Creoles cultivated an interest in the sacraments during the Civil War, after which they resumed their newfound religiosity at the veterans’ chapel. “He always had grouped around his confessional and the holy communion table the boys who had followed him so faithfully during the war.”¹⁹ However, since their return to New Orleans, the sacraments no longer carried the same gravity and immediacy as on the battlefield. Whereas the intensity of combat produced a craving for the sacraments independent of the chaplain’s charisma, the safer circumstances of civilian life diminished the potency of religious experience. The figure of Turgis, therefore, was the primary reason why “there was scarcely an evening when there were not fifteen or twenty Confederate soldiers in his room.”²⁰ They went to receive the sacraments from *him*. They went to mass to listen to *him*. Quite simply, they wanted to be with him, with or without the dispensation of the sacraments. At night, the meetings moved from the chapel to his personal quarters in the presbytery. The altar and the confessional did not monopolize sacred space; it followed wherever Turgis went. Devotion to Turgis, however, was not devotion to a Catholic saint or a Lost Cause icon. Instead, when the veterans recognized the charisma of Turgis, they reproduced the extraordinary experiences of war, and thus remembered themselves before defeat. The meetings provided an intimate venue, away from public opinion, where veterans went to be with other veterans.²¹

Around Turgis, veterans reinforced the “brotherly love” of the battlefield more than the sacramentality of the Catholic faith.²² The chapel, consequently, became an arena of religious diversity where Confederate veterans remembered the war. The Catholic Creoles of the Orleans Guard were not the only visitors to the chapel. The veterans “represented every creed,” a soldier

of the Point Coupee Battery remembered. “Every one went to him, Catholic, Protestant, Hebrew and Atheist, and all found in him a friend and a helper.”²³ Consequently, Turgis catered his words and actions to the religious diversity of the gathering by focusing on their common experiences of war. “They loved to come to him and talk over with him the days that had so bitterly tried their souls.”²⁴ The common circumstances of fighting, surviving, and mourning during the war impressed a collective memory of experience after the war. The experience of combat intensified the mental and physical dimensions of a soldier’s world.²⁵ Soldiers entered battlefields in close formation. They marched under an officer’s orders. They engaged their assigned targets, often obscured by smoke and impediments. They watched friends fall wounded or dead, then closed ranks. Independent actions resulted in either unwarranted risk or group betrayal. In short, soldiers in combat had very few choices other than to stay together and fight together in order to survive together. Survival included not only a removal of one’s body from the battlefield, but also a continuation of life on marches and in camps. Monotony replaced intensity, but it did not reduce the significance of group integrity. Survival also guaranteed the experience of mourning. Soldiers died on battlefields, many of whom were never recognized again by a friend. When survivors did recover a body, the conditions of war inhibited the austerity of funeral ceremonies. Units did not have the opportunity to memorialize and monumentalize their deceased friends, only to remember them and move out.²⁶ All of these collective experiences converged in the veterans’ chapel. The figure of Turgis stood at the center of their memory of the Civil War.

The experience of war was different from the cause of war. The veterans knew that “before the war was openly declared, [Turgis] advocated peace, for he loved peace and said that it would be a dreadful thing for brother to raise his hand against brother.”²⁷ They remembered how he supported abolitionism and saw no enemy on the battlefield. They respected him as a chaplain, not as a rebel. The chaplain, in turn, treated the veterans not as rebels, but as brothers-in-arms. The same could not be said of most other priests in the South. Many clerics declared their allegiance to the Confederacy through obstructive actions in the face of Union officials. On one occasion, General Benjamin Butler accused an Irish priest of refusing to perform funerals for Catholic soldiers in the United States Army. The obstinate priest responded with sarcasm: “No sir, I would bury you all with pleasure.”²⁸ Bishop William Henry Elder of Natchez made a similar display of stubbornness when Union military officials placed him under house arrest for

offering masses to the Confederate cause.²⁹ Other priests took more direct action in favor of the Confederacy. John Bannon of Missouri, for example, earned a reputation as a zealous, pro-southern, “fighting chaplain” during the war, as well as a “successful Confederate secret agent” after the war in Europe.³⁰ Yet the most famous Confederate priest was Father Abram Ryan, author of the poem “The Conquered Banner.”³¹ In it, the southerner lamented the lost cause of war and the hopelessness of defeat.³² Thousands of southerners related to the priest’s emotional sentiments, including the Orleans Guards.³³ Turgis understood the feelings of his veterans, but he did not mourn with them, he supported them while they mourned. He remained indifferent to the loss, but sympathetic to those who lost. He welcomed the veterans to the chapel as a retreat from the reminders of defeat—the Republican political takeover, free African-Americans, military occupation—and toward the remembrance of honor during the war and before defeat. The ex-soldiers cherished the cause-less atmosphere of the chapel, but, to be sure, they also perpetuated the ideals of the Confederacy everywhere else. In effect, the chaplain and the veterans made a tacit agreement to forget temporarily each other’s disagreements over the rightness or wrongness of the Confederate cause. The common experience of war was too important for them to lose.

The Confederate veterans continued to meet at their chapel until March, 3, 1868, the day Turgis died.³⁴ He had been suffering from stomach cancer and fatigue following the previous year’s yellow fever epidemic. A group of friends gathered around his deathbed—Octave de Armas, Theodore Guyot, Philippe Bernard, and David Glass—where they listened to his final words: “I have seen death so often that I do not fear it now.”³⁵ A loose organization of veterans of the Army of Tennessee assumed the responsibility to plan and fund the funeral. Initially, they voted to construct a monument. The archdiocese accepted their proposal, but Dr. Yves-Rene Le Monnier convinced them that “Father Turgis was too humble and modest” for a grand tomb.³⁶ News of Turgis’ death spread quickly throughout New Orleans and South Louisiana. Confederates as far as Baton Rouge and Point Coupee traveled to the city, some of them in time to see his body laid in state at the Mortuary Chapel. It would be the last time the veterans would see their *bon Père*.

The funeral cortege was “one of the largest ever witnessed in the city,” larger than those of General Albert Sidney Johnston, Colonel Charles Dreux of the First Louisiana Battalion, and Confederate Governor Henry Watkins Allen.³⁷ It started at the veterans’ chapel on Rampart

Street. The pallbearers included prominent Confederate leaders and devoted friends: General P. G. T. Beauregard, General Randall Gibson, Colonel Numa Augustin, Major Leon Queyrouze, L. S. Deloche, John Thibant, Octave De Armas, and Theodore Guyol. Colonel Gustavus Breaux of the Thirtieth Louisiana Regiment served as grand marshal. Thousands of mourners followed the coffin to the St. Louis Cemetery, No. 3 on Esplanade Avenue. “Every class of the population was represented. The wealthiest and the poorest, the most distinguished and the most unknown, all contributed to pay the last tribute of their veneration to his memory.”³⁸ Archbishop Odin watched the pallbearers place the body in a tomb which read “Pere Turgis, Armée du Tennessee, C.S.A. 1861-1864.”³⁹ Edward Lombard, a Protestant officer of the Point Coupee Battery, gave the eulogy.

Father Turgis came to us as a gift from Almighty God in the Great march from Georgia to the Sea... Can I ever forget—can any of us ever forget the frail, delicate form, this brave spirit, moving about amid that scene of carnage and doing the work of the good Samaritan in his dark habiliments, that were torn to rags and shreds. Bless his great, good heart; he knew no danger, he was there as the faithful representative of God—to do his duty and die if need be for his children. And well did he perform that sacred duty. He did not hesitate to minister to all regardless of creeds... We called him ours, nay, everybody’s chaplain.⁴⁰

Many onlookers wept as they listened, “but they were honest tears of which they had no need to be ashamed.”⁴¹ Moreover, they were not ashamed to mingle religious traditions in the name of Turgis. Protestant Confederates respected the chaplain for his dedication to the soldier—any soldier—on the battlefield and in the veterans’ chapel. Editors of the *New Orleans Daily Crescent*, a notoriously anti-Catholic newspaper, admitted in a front page article that “his loss will be deeply regretted, not only by the Catholic population, but by the thousands of other denominations who had opportunities of knowing what a heroic and self-sacrificing spirit he had.”⁴² For the Protestants in the crowd, Turgis’ role as chaplain in the Confederate Army surpassed his role as Catholic priest. While the idiosyncrasies of clerical vestments and Catholic rituals figured prominently in the funeral ceremony, the atmosphere of the event was decidedly Confederate. Thousands of veterans, Catholic and Protestant, wore their Confederate uniforms. The pallbearers in gray surrounded the casket as they walked through the French Quarter. Ex-soldiers in gray lined the streets as they watched Beauregard, the “Napoleon in Gray,” lead the procession. There were as many salutes as there were signs of the cross directed at the chaplain dressed in black. When they focused on the character of Turgis, the crowd remembered a person

who was “no respecter of persons.” Yet when they looked at each other participating in the rituals of defeat, the crowd remembered the Confederate cause.

Newspaper coverage of Turgis’ death and funeral emphasized his meritorious conduct during the war. It was an opportunity for the Confederate mourners to remember the honor and virtue of the South through the person of Turgis. “It would take columns to tell the many interesting anecdotes related to the beloved chaplain,” an anti-Catholic newspaper regretted, “illustrative of his tender sympathy for a soldier, his devotion, his self-denial and his courage, but we have space only for a few.”⁴³ Confederate officers appreciated how Turgis set an example for good behavior in camp. They also expressed amazement and respect for his enemy-less attitude. His dedication to fallen soldiers, “Federal as well as Confederate,” put Turgis in dangerous positions on the battlefield. It was certain, according to the newspaper, that he would have been killed while attending wounded enemy soldiers at Shiloh were it not for the quick shots of the Orleans Guards.⁴⁴ On another occasion, when Turgis was wounded in the head, “he refused to leave the field and kept on, as was his wont on every battlefield.” He always promised to be more careful, “but on the next battlefield he would be again in the midst of strife, calmly engaged in works of mercy and seemingly unconscious of danger.” Away from the battlefield, Turgis remained “indifferent to his own comfort” when he permitted foot-sore soldiers to ride his horse and donated his clothes and blankets to the cold and sick.⁴⁵ “His devotion, his courage, and his wounds,” a veteran remembered, “secured to him the respect and admiration of all who came within his sphere of action. Many a poor soldier... will remember his name with blessings as long as life lasts.”⁴⁶ In death, the Confederate New Orleanians remembered the chaplain as the epitome of Christian virtue. He did not kill an enemy, unlike the Christian soldiers of the Confederacy; he did not even see an enemy. Mourners could not stop reiterating his devotion and duty to all soldiers, as well as his courageous disregard for his own life when another life was at stake. Very few soldiers could say the same of themselves, but they could say they knew someone who did.⁴⁷

Remembrance of Turgis, however, did not end with the characterization of a virtuous war hero. For the first time, newspapers incorporated the idea of Turgis into the nascent popular understanding of the Lost Cause. In the immediate aftermath of the surrender at Appomattox, southerners responded with a heightened sense of anxiety about the loss of honor and the righteousness of cause. The process of giving voice to the Lost Cause, however, was slow to

begin. Instead of dwelling on the “ghosts of the Confederacy,” veterans of New Orleans chose to remember the experience of war with living veterans; Turgis’ chapel was just such a forum of exchange.⁴⁸ The funeral of the chaplain marked the first major memorialization of a hero from New Orleans after April of 1865. It was the first major opportunity for vanquished southerners to triumphalize both the experience and the cause of war. The desire for a virtuous icon of the Lost Cause was so strong that the citizens of New Orleans were willing to transform the causeless actions of the chaplain into patriotic statements about the timelessness of Confederate ideals. “[Turgis] could not forget the cause which he had loved so well,” a newspaper reported, “and his charitable zeal was impressed with the patriotism which had identified him with the Confederate fortunes.”⁴⁹ The white population of New Orleans, Catholic and Protestant, replaced Turgis’ actual motivation for serving the soldiers of the Civil War with an inaccurate representation of patriotism and commitment to the perpetuation of the Confederate cause. “Who will say that such a death, though not sudden and violent, does not merit the martyr’s crown? He is gone, and his memory as a patriot, priest, and martyr will long remain in benediction among the people.”⁵⁰ Turgis did not consider himself a patriot of the Confederate States of America or someone willing to die for its causes; he was a chaplain to the soldiers, not a soldier for a cause. The New Orleans public, nonetheless, reinterpreted his actions as a legitimization of the southern understanding of a worthy cause. Outside the chapel, the memory of Turgis proved stronger than the life of Turgis.

The period of public bereavement, despite the unprecedented size and atmosphere of the funeral ceremony, was short. It is difficult to calculate the degree to which Confederate New Orleanians remembered Turgis for the remainder of the nineteenth century. Based on the lack of newspaper articles and archdiocesan records, it is likely that the memory of Turgis did not extend far into the popular imagination of the Lost Cause. For one thing, there was not a conspicuous monument dedicated to the chaplain, just an ordinary tomb in a corner of a Catholic cemetery.⁵¹ Moreover, by 1868, mourners of the Confederacy had not yet conceptualized a larger purpose for remembering the Lost Cause. New Orleanians understood the figure of Turgis as a significant cultural model for southern honor and behavior, not as a source of cultural renewal.⁵² Like other southerners, they did not identify the potential for an icon of Confederate revitalization until the death of Robert E. Lee in 1870. In spite of Lee’s discouragement of organized memorialization movements and support for reunion and reconstruction, many Confederate veterans tried to use

the memory of Lee to fortify the memory of the Lost Cause. As Gaines Foster put it, “A dead and perfect Lee, of course, made a more useful hero than a live and perfect one.”⁵³ The same could be said of Turgis, just on a smaller scale.

Confederate revitalization movements produced modest results in New Orleans. The primary concern of the Crescent City citizens remained the remembrance of deceased veterans.⁵⁴ After Reconstruction ended in 1877, the Association of the Army of Tennessee and the Association of the Army of Northern Virginia controlled most of the memorialization efforts in the city.⁵⁵ Archbishop Napoleon Perché celebrated the occasion by mandating all churches and chapels in the Archdiocese of New Orleans sing a “Te Deum” “in thanksgiving to God for the pacification of Louisiana which, reinstated in its legitimate rights and governed by a man of its own choice, will henceforth see all its children, without distinction, united in a spirit and one sentiment.”⁵⁶ With the support of the archdiocese, New Orleans became the “headquarters of Confederate sentiment, feeling, and action during the 1880s.”⁵⁷ Fifteen thousand white citizens witnessed the unveiling of the Robert E. Lee memorial in 1884.⁵⁸ Thousands more mourned the death of Jefferson Davis in December of 1889 by attending the largest funeral the city had seen since the death of Turgis.⁵⁹

The nondenominational fraternity of Confederate combatants remained intact in Reconstruction New Orleans. White Creoles joined the veterans’ associations during the 1870s, wherein they participated in the remembrance of deceased soldiers.⁶⁰ They also joined the *Parti Blanc*, or White League, with other Confederate veterans, wherein they instituted a cultural campaign for white superiority. The camaraderie of the battlefield translated into an unexpected degree of cooperation between Catholic and Protestant civilians who identified themselves as white. Leon Queyrouze, the former commander of the Orleans Guard, was among the leadership.⁶¹ J. M. Delery, a former Confederate field surgeon, edited the Creole newspaper *Le Carillon*. It became the primary organ for Creole participation in the white effort to finally replace the ternary system of racial classification—white, colored, Negro—with a binary system—white and black.⁶² “Two races exist,” white Creoles declared, “one superior, the other inferior... their separation is *absolutely* necessary.”⁶³ Confederate Creoles, however, faced a problem in their mission. First, the term “creole” evinced a combination of white and black identity. Furthermore, Creoles of European ancestry developed a reputation for openness to miscegenation during the colonial and antebellum periods.⁶⁴ To remove their association with

“these mixed, weakened populations,” Creoles chose to identify themselves with the “descendants of brave Confederate soldiers.”⁶⁵ They saw the Confederate cause as a white cause. To be a part of it, they deemed it necessary to reiterate their identity as “pure white.” George Washington Cable, a novelist from New Orleans, attempted to foil their goal of white superiority with the publications of *Old Creole Days* in 1879 and *The Grandissimes* in 1880.⁶⁶ He insinuated the racial “impurity” of those Creoles who insisted upon their “pure whiteness.”⁶⁷ Abbé Adrien-Emmanuel Rouquette, a white Creole priest, responded to Cable’s accusations by calling him an “unnatural Southern growth, a bastard sprout.”⁶⁸ He took Cable’s denial of the Creoles’ pure whiteness as an affront to all whites in the South. Charles Gayarré, a prominent historian of Louisiana, also reacted to what he perceived as slander. On one occasion, the Catholic Creole gave a lecture at Tulane University entitled “The Creoles of History and the Creoles of Romance,” during which he made thirty references to “the pure white ancestry of Louisiana Creoles.”⁶⁹

White Creoles supported the institution of racial segregation during the 1890s, culminating in the Supreme Court’s 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision to uphold the “separate but equal” doctrine.⁷⁰ After their white supremacist victory, Creoles relaxed their attention on issues of racial purity and enhanced public awareness of the Confederate tradition. “It is with a pious and filial emotion that we are inclined, at this instance in our history... to faithfully transmit to every new generation of our state” the “military history of the Confederation” and the life of Turgis.⁷¹ Confederate veterans, aging and dying at a more rapid rate, entered the twentieth century with a heightened concern for their legacy. It was time to remind younger generations of the heroism of white Creoles in the Civil War. The Battle of Shiloh was the first and finest example of the “most *anciennes* and distinguished [Creole] families; it is here that the most pure blood of the chivalrous Creoles must have flowed.”⁷² Moreover, after over thirty years of dormancy, Creole veterans included Turgis among the figures of Jefferson Davis, P. G. T. Beauregard, and Leon Queyrouze.⁷³ They had not forgotten the man they had known in the 1860s. Instead, they kept their memory of him while more famous icons entered the ranks of deceased Confederate heroes. New Orleans, as an unofficial capital of the Confederate tradition, followed the greater southern sentiment regarding the remembrance of the Confederacy. The memory of Turgis, not surprisingly, was miniscule in comparison to the regional icons of Robert E. Lee, Thomas “Stonewall” Jackson, and Jefferson Davis. Yet for the veterans who

remembered him on the battlefield and in the chapel, Turgis was an intimate link to what mattered most in old age—the experience of war.

The elderly veterans remembered the life of Turgis just as they knew him in the privacy of their chapel—a person without an enemy and with an indifference to cause. They saw him as a model of bravery and compassion. According to André Lafargue, the vice-president of *la Societe d'Histoire de la Nouvelle-Orleans*, Turgis “participated with the greatest bravery in every engagement of the Army of Tennessee and exposed himself to the fire of the enemy, with no regard for his own death in order to protect and to care for the bodies and souls of both Federals and Southerners.”⁷⁴ When veterans remembered specific instances of the chaplain’s courage, they disclosed their awe at his selfless compassion for the soldier. On one occasion, “we saw the good and holy priest with the wounded lying along the bank, and he himself naked to the waist and tearing his garments into strips while he brought water and bathed the wounds of the suffering men and bandaged them as best he could.”⁷⁵ In addition to expressing their amazement, veterans recognized the life of Turgis as a suitable model for more than just the South. After the Spanish-American War, and especially after World War I, many southerners felt that their actions in the United States military vindicated their defeat in the Civil War.⁷⁶ The reputation of Turgis, consequently, was “not only a matter of southern, but of national history.”⁷⁷ He was a model for all Americans, since “forty and more years have passed and the scars of war are healed... and today we stand a united country, knit together by stronger links and marching onward to nobler heights as a nation and a people.”⁷⁸ Of course, the veterans did not expect much from the publicity—only a few newspapers and books recounted the life of Turgis during the early twentieth century. But they did know that they would never forget their personal experiences shared with the *bon Père* Turgis. As late as June 3, 1933, the Memorial Day of the South, veterans of the Army of Tennessee and the United Daughters of the Confederacy decorated his tomb with flowers and presented arms to his memory.⁷⁹

CONCLUSION

Roman Catholics lived in the antebellum South, fought for the Confederate States of America, and participated in the post-war tradition of the Lost Cause. No doubt, Protestant evangelicalism dominated the religious dimensions of the South after the Second Great Awakening. However, as this thesis has demonstrated, Catholics clearly contributed to the cultivation of a white supremacist culture despite the Protestant hegemony. Regional conceptions of race were arguably the most significant factors in the creation of the American South. Some historians have characterized the Roman Catholic Church as a white supremacist institution wherein the white laity and clergy used their racial identity to suppress the rights and privileges of African-Americans, both inside and outside the church.¹ When white Catholics acted as racists, or when black Catholics responded to racism, they were not submitting their Catholicism to evangelicalism. Instead, each race diminished religious differences in recognition of racial similarities. They retained their religious identities, while at the same time unifying under the umbrella of cultural constructions. The key to understanding the Catholic component of southern culture, therefore, is to think of religious believers as inhabitants of a region in which Protestant influence was but one factor.

Of course, in addition to race and white supremacy, there were other cultural attributes responsible for the South's regional distinctiveness. To say that all conceptualizations of the South were contingent on a single motif would oversimplify the study of regions and cultures in America. However, this simple suggestion—to view regional religions through various cultural lenses—has eluded historians of southern religion for a very simple reason; they have raised the authority of Protestant evangelicalism above all other cultural elements. The study of any non-Protestant tradition in the South requires the subordination of evangelicalism to cultural notions of race, honor, gender, class, ethnicity, and frontier or urban mentalities. Bertram Wyatt-Brown identified a distinctive southern manifestation of honor to provide more thorough evaluations of gender and racism. He also extended his analysis to issues of manhood, violence, and war.² People of different economic classes lived under the cultural mandates of honor and gender. Elizabeth Fox-Genovese and Eugene Genovese charted the discussion of class consciousness in

the South through their characterization of an all-pervasive slaveholding economy.³ The institution of slavery framed the way people thought in the South, regardless of religion, class, or race.⁴ When non-African ethnic groups entered the South, southerners scrutinized ethnic identities based on cultural norms.⁵ More often than not, the encounter between native white southerners and ethnic foreigners occurred in urban areas.⁶ However, many immigrants left the cities and joined the thousands of white southerners and slaves on the southwestern frontier.⁷ Yet whether in the city or the country, Catholics and Protestants lived together under the same cultural strictures of the South. However, a synthesis of religious traditions in southern culture, such as described above, does not exist. Historians of the South, even those who have not relied on specifically religious motifs to define the region, have refused to consider non-evangelicals in an evangelical world. Historians of American Catholicism have not pressed the issue. They have been content in the world Ellis made. Historians of southern religion have made the same decision to exclude Catholics from their interpretations of the South. However, as this thesis has suggested, there was more to American Catholicism than republicanism and immigration, and more to the South than evangelicalism. In short, Catholics contributed to the creation of a non-evangelical South.

The study of white Creoles in New Orleans requires an open dialogue between historians of both southern religion and American Catholicism. By examining Catholic participation in the Civil War and the Lost Cause tradition, it is evident that non-Protestants were not always on the fringes of southern culture. The social and material buildup to war, the war itself, and the aftermath of war, opened the often exclusive culture of the South to any people willing to call themselves white and Confederate. Chapter One examined how and why Catholics justified and supported the Confederate causes, as well as how and why they participated in the war effort. More often than not, Catholics and Protestants agreed upon the reasons for war and shared in the experiences of fighting.⁸ They differed, however, when it came to religious actions during the war and religious beliefs about the war. Samuel Watson, in an extension of Drew Gilpin Faust's ideas, argued that "southern evangelicalism's emphasis on sin, conversion, and salvation through Atonement suited the uncertain circumstances of the battlefield perfectly."⁹ Such may have been the case for Protestant Confederates, but Catholics enacted their religious beliefs much differently. The study of white Creoles offers two amendments to southern historiography's blindness to Catholics. First, since Creoles were customarily indifferent to their Catholic

upbringing, their religious convictions were not an absolute prerequisite to participation in the Confederate army. Creoles joined the Confederacy because they identified with cultural notions other than evangelicalism. Second, it shows how the experiences of combat activated the religious sensibilities of the Creoles, partly out of habit and partly out of desperation. The experiences of revivalism and conversion, as well as ideas of Divine Providence and Atonement, did not bolster the Catholic southerners' will to fight. Instead, they focused on the sacraments of the Eucharist and Reconciliation, and, most importantly, the support of a chaplain.

Ignace Francois Turgis was not the only Catholic chaplain in the Civil War.¹⁰ He was, however, exceptional in his motivation and actions during the war and his status as a Lost Cause icon after the war. The figure of Turgis serves as an excellent foil to the majority of Confederates intent upon the protection of "southernness," as well as to the standard conception of a Lost Cause icon. Turgis was a foreign, anti-slavery, Catholic priest in a violent, white supremacist, honor-driven, predominantly Protestant Confederate army. Sources do not adequately answer why he chose to deny his personal convictions regarding race and war for the spiritual and physical welfare of an all-white army. Neither do they resolve questions regarding his motivation for acting with such courage and selfless dedication to any soldier on the battlefield, Confederate or Federal. The Confederate veterans who knew him, however, interpreted his actions during the war as justification for his position among the pantheon of Lost Cause icons. The veterans focused on his actions instead of his motivation, thus supporting the argument that the experience of war trumped the cause of war. The memory of life on the march, in the camp, and especially on the battlefield, was the driving force behind the emergence of the Lost Cause tradition. The idea of Turgis was at the center of Catholic Creole memory.

NOTES

Introduction: Catholics in the South

- ¹ John Tracy Ellis, *American Catholicism* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1969).
- ² Nathan Glazer, *American Judaism* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1972); Winthrop Hudson, *American Protestantism* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1961).
- ³ Ellis, *American Catholicism*, x.
- ⁴ Ellis first confronted Catholic historians in the essay “American Catholics and Intellectual Life,” *Thought* 30 (August 1955), 351-88.
- ⁵ For proof that Catholicism was not a numerical force in the South, see Wilbur Zelinsky, “An Approach to the Religious Geography of the United States: Patterns of Church Membership in 1952,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 51 (June 1961): 139-93; James Shortridge, “A New Regionalization of American Religion,” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 16, no. 2 (June 1977): 143-54.
- ⁶ Samuel D. Hill, Jr., *Southern Churches in Crisis* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1966), xvii.
- ⁷ Randall Miller, “A Church in Cultural Captivity: Some Speculations on Catholic Identity in the Old South,” in Miller and Jon Wakelyn, eds., *Catholics in the Old South: Essays on Church and Culture* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1983), 11-52.
- ⁸ *Ibid.*, 5.
- ⁹ *Ibid.*, 80.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 18.
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*, 19.
- ¹² *Ibid.*, 41.
- ¹³ Thomas McAvoy, *A History of the Catholic Church in the United States* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1969).
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 1.
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 156.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁷ David O’Brien, “American Catholic Historiography: A Post Conciliar Evaluation,” *Church History* 37 (March 1968): 80-94.
- ¹⁸ David O’Brien, *The Renewal of American Catholicism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972).
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*, xii.
- ²⁰ James Hennesey, *American Catholics: A History of the Roman Catholic Community in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981).
- ²¹ *Ibid.*, ix.
- ²² *Ibid.*, 3.
- ²³ *Ibid.*, 31.
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*, 162. Hennesey cited Albert Raboteau, *Slave Religion: The “Invisible Institution” in the Antebellum South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 87-89, 271-75.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*, 170.
- ²⁶ *Ibid.*, 306.
- ²⁷ Randall M. Miller and Jon L. Wakelyn, eds., *Catholics in the Old South: Essays on Church and Culture* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1983).
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*, 4.
- ²⁹ *Ibid.*
- ³⁰ *Ibid.*, 5.
- ³¹ *Ibid.*, 247.
- ³² Jay Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience: A History from Colonial Times to the Present* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1985).
- ³³ *Ibid.*, 97.
- ³⁴ *Ibid.*, 121.

- ³⁵ *Ibid.*, 120.
- ³⁶ *Ibid.*, 123; Dolan based his identification of the Catholic Church as a southern institution on the fact that most of the prominent American bishops were from the South. As the number of immigrants rose in the urban north, the church all but lost its southern flavor.
- ³⁷ *Ibid.*
- ³⁸ *Ibid.*, 10.
- ³⁹ *Ibid.*, 11.
- ⁴⁰ Jay Dolan, ed., *American Catholic Parish* (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1987). Two essays related to Catholicism in the South: Michael McNally, "A Peculiar Institution: A History of Catholic Parish Life in the Southeast (1850-1980), 117-233, and Charles Nolan, "Modest and Humble Crosses: A History of Catholic Parishes in the South Central Region (1850-1980), 235-345.
- ⁴¹ Philip Gleason, *Keeping the Faith: American Catholicism Past and Present* (Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press, 1987).
- ⁴² In addition to David O'Brien, Gleason also identified John W. O'Malley, "Reform, Historical Consciousness, and Vatican II's Aggiornamento," *Theological Studies* 32 (December 1971), 573-601; O'Malley, "Developments, Reforms, and Two Great Reformations: Towards a Historical Assessment of Vatican II," *Theological Studies* 44 (1983), 373-406; Enrique Dussel, *History and the Theology of Liberation* (New York: Maryknoll, 1976).
- ⁴³ *Ibid.*, 5-6.
- ⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 216.
- ⁴⁵ David O'Brien, *Public Catholicism* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1989). Christopher Kauffman edited the collection "Makers of the Catholic Community," which also included the authors Gerald P. Fogarty, Joseph P. Chinnici, Margaret Mary Reher, Dolores Liptak, and Karen Kennelly.
- ⁴⁶ O'Brien, *Public Catholicism*, 67.
- ⁴⁷ Jay Dolan, *In Search of an American Catholicism: A History of Religion and Culture in Tension* (New York: Oxford, 2002).
- ⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 39.
- ⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 8.
- ⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 7.
- ⁵¹ For a church history of Kentucky Catholicism, see Mary Ramona Mattingly, S.C.N., *The Catholic Church on the Kentucky Frontier, 1785-1812* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1936); for an introduction to primary documents on the Old Southwest, see Anne M. Butler, Michael E. Engh, and Thomas W. Spalding, eds., *The Frontiers and Catholic Identities* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1999), 14-21; for a description of rural Midwestern Catholicism, see Jeffrey D. Martlett, *Saving the Heartland: Catholic Missionaries in Rural America, 1920-1960* (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 2002).
- ⁵² For an analysis of the "Americanist Crisis," see Thomas McAvooy, *The Americanist Heresy in Roman Catholicism, 1895-1900* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1963).
- ⁵³ For an analysis of the Catholic Church's response to racial segregation, see William A. Osborne, *The Segregated Covenant: Race Relations and American Catholics* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1967). Osborne went so far as to describe Lafayette, Louisiana as "the Catholic South."
- ⁵⁴ Fred J. Hood, "Kentucky," in *Religion in the Southern States: A Historical Study*, ed. Samuel Hill (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1983), 101-122. Hill's book is a state-by-state analysis of southern religion.
- ⁵⁵ Michael Namorato, *The Catholic Church in Mississippi, 1911-1984: A History* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998), 244. For other ecclesiastical histories of the Catholic Church in the South, see Rose Gibbons Lovett, *The Catholic Church in the Deep South: The Diocese of Birmingham in Alabama, 1540-1976* (Birmingham, AL: The Diocese of Birmingham in Alabama at Birmingham Publishing Co., 1981); Charles Nolan, *St. Mary's of Natchez: The History of a Southern Catholic Congregation, 1716-1988* (Natchez: St. Mary's Catholic Church, 1992); James J. Pillar, *The Catholic Church in Mississippi, 1837-65* (New Orleans: The Hauser Press, 1965); Thomas Stritch, *The Catholic Church in Tennessee: The Sesquicentennial Story* (Nashville: The Catholic Center, 1987); Roger Baudier, *The Catholic Church in Louisiana* (New Orleans: A.W. Hyatt Stationary Mfg. Co., 1939); Glenn R. Conrad, ed., *Cross, Crozier, and Crucible: A Volume Celebrating the Bicentennial of a Catholic Diocese in Louisiana* (Chelsea, MI: The Archdiocese of New Orleans in cooperation with the Center for Louisiana Studies, 1993).
- ⁵⁶ Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), 555.
- ⁵⁷ Philip Gleason, "Coming to Terms with American Catholic History," *Societas* 3 (Autumn 1973): 305.
- ⁵⁸ Catherine Albanese, *America: Religions and Religion* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1981), 81.

⁵⁹ R. Laurence Moore, *Religious Outsiders and the Making of Americans* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 70-71; Andrew Greeley, *The American Catholic: A Social Portrait* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1977), 16, 21.

⁶⁰ Roger Finke and Rodney Stark, *The Churching of America, 1776-1990: Winners and Losers in our Religious Economy* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1992), 114.

⁶¹ James M. Woods, *Mission and Memory: A History of the Catholic Church in Arkansas* (Little Rock: Diocese of Little Rock, 1993), n.p.

⁶² For inclusions of the South in grand narratives, see Peter W. Williams, *America's Religions: Traditions and Cultures* (New York: Macmillan, 1990), 265-74; Edwin Scott Gaustad, *A Religious History of America*, (New York: Harper and Row, 1990); Catherine L. Albanese, *America: Religions and Religion*, 324-49.

⁶³ Thomas A. Tweed, ed., *Retelling U.S. Religious History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

⁶⁴ Flannery O'Connor, *Mystery and Manners*, (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1961), 44. O'Connor described the irony of southern religion and culture in this passage: "Whenever I'm asked why Southern writers particularly have a penchant for writing about freaks, I say it is because we are still able to recognize one. To be able to recognize a freak, you have to have some conception of the whole man, and in the South the general conception of man is still, in the main, theological. That is a large statement, and it is dangerous to make it, for almost anything you say about Southern belief can be denied in the next breath with equal propriety. But approaching the subject from the standpoint of the writer, I think it is safe to say that while the South is hardly Christ-centered, it is most certainly Christ-haunted."

⁶⁵ Eli N. Evans, *The Provincials: A Personal History of Jews in the South* (New York: Free Press Paperback, 1997), 121.

⁶⁶ Christine Leigh Heyrman, *Southern Cross: The Beginnings of the Bible Belt* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 4.

⁶⁷ Donald Mathews, *Religion in the Old South* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977).

⁶⁸ Samuel S. Hill, Jr., "The South's Two Cultures," in *Religion and the Solid South*, ed. Samuel Hill (Nashville: Abington Press, 1972), 24.

⁶⁹ Mathews, *Religion in the Old South*, 247; for a categorization of southern evangelicalism, see David Edwin Harrell, ed., *Varieties of Southern Evangelicalism* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1981).

⁷⁰ Randall M. Miller, "Catholics in a Protestant World: The Old South Example," in *Varieties of Southern Religious Experience*, ed. Samuel Hill (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988), 115-134.

⁷¹ Randall Miller, the person most responsible for challenging the Ellisonian model, described the assimilation of southern Catholics in "A Church in Cultural Captivity: Some Speculations on Catholic Identity in the Old South," in Miller and Wakelyn, *Catholics in the Old South*, 11-52.

⁷² For analyses of the Catholic Church's abuse of power over black slaves and Native Americans, see Ramón A. Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500-1846* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1991); Thomas Murphy, *Jesuit Slaveholding in Maryland, 1717-1838* (New York: Routledge, 2001); Robert L. Kapitzke, *Religion, Power, and Politics in Colonial St. Augustine* (Gainesville, FL: University Press, of Florida, 2001).

⁷³ Gregory XVI, *In Supremo Apostolatus* (Rome: 1839).

⁷⁴ Bishop John England of Charleston was a leading spokesperson of the Catholic Church in antebellum America. For his pro-slavery opinions, see his *Works*, ed. Sebastian G. Messmer (Cleveland, OH: The Arthur H. Clark CO., 1908), 189; John England, Pastoral Letter of the Third Provincial Council, Baltimore, 1837; John England, Letter to the Editor, *U.S. Catholic Miscellany* (Charleston), 14 March 1840, 25 February 1841.

⁷⁵ For an analysis of the anti-abolitionist position of Archbishop John Hughes of New York, see Walter G. Sharrow, "John Hughes and a Catholic Response to Slavery in Antebellum America," *Journal of Negro History* 75, no. 3 (1972): 261-62. For a copy of the most adamant pro-slavery argument by a Catholic bishop in America, see Augustus Martin, Pastoral Letter on the Civil War, *Le Propagateur Catholique* (New Orleans) 7 September 1861.

⁷⁶ For an analysis of other cultural attributes of the South, see the conclusion of this thesis.

⁷⁷ For interpretations of Catholic involvement in racial segregation, see Dolores Egger Labbe, *Jim Crow Comes to Church* (Lafayette, LA: University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1971); Morris J. MacGregor, *The Emergence of a Black Catholic Community: St. Augustine's in Washington* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1999); Stephen Ochs, *Desegregating the Altar: The Josephites and the Struggle for Black Priests, 1871-1960* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990).

⁷⁸ For the only serious narrative of black Catholic experiences in the New South, see Cyprian Davis, *The History of Black Catholics in the United States* (New York: The Crossroad Publishing Co., 1991). His history of black

Catholics in the South, however, effectively ended when African-Americans began to migrate North after World War I.

⁷⁹ Historians have placed Maryland at the center of their conceptualizations of a republican American Catholic Church. As a result, they have not interpreted the experiences of Maryland Catholics within the regional framework of the South. It is also arguable whether or not Maryland serves as a good representation of southern culture. See Thomas W. Spalding, *The Premier See: A History of the Archdiocese of Baltimore, 1789-1989* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989); Annabelle M. Melville, *John Carroll of Baltimore, Founder of the American Catholic Hierarchy* (New York: Scribner, 1955).

⁸⁰ Edwin S. Gaustad, "Religious Demography of the South," in *Religion and the Solid South*, ed. Samuel Hill, 149.

⁸¹ John Blassingame, *Black New Orleans, 1860-1880* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973).

⁸² Virginia R. Dominguez, *White by Definition: Social Classification in Creole Louisiana* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1986), xiv.

⁸³ Thomas N. Ingersoll, *Mammon and Manon in Early New Orleans: The First Slave Society in the Deep South, 1718-1819* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1999), 315. For another historical interpretation of slavery in New Orleans, see Walter Johnson, *Soul by Soul: Life Inside the Antebellum Slave Market* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999).

⁸⁴ Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, "The Formation of Afro-Creole Culture," in *Creole New Orleans: Race and Americanization*, eds. Arnold R. Hirsch and Joseph Logsdon (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992), 65. See also Hall's *Africans in Colonial Louisiana: The Development of Afro-Creole Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992).

⁸⁵ Daniel Usner, *Indians, Settlers, and Slaves in a Frontier Exchange Economy: The Lower Mississippi Valley before 1783* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1992).

⁸⁶ Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1998), 196.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 200; Jerah Johnson, "Colonial New Orleans: A Fragment of the Eighteenth-Century French Ethos," in *Creole New Orleans*, eds. Hirsch and Logsdon, 12.

⁸⁸ Kimberly Hanger, *Bounded Lives, Bounded Places: Free Black Society in Colonial New Orleans, 1769-1803* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997).

⁸⁹ Ingersoll, *Mammon and Manon in Early New Orleans*, 122, 225, 274.

⁹⁰ Frank Tenenbaum, *Slave and Citizen: The Negro in the Americas* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1947).

⁹¹ Ingersoll, *Mammon and Manon*, 318.

⁹² Stephen Ochs, *A Black Patriot and a White Priest: André Cailloux and Claude Paschal Maistre in Civil War New Orleans* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2000), 22.

⁹³ Caryn Cossé Bell, *Revolution, Romanticism, and the Afro-Creole Protest Tradition in Louisiana, 1718-1868* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1997), 70.

⁹⁴ Hanger, *Bounded Lives, Bounded Places*, 4; Herbert S. Klein, *African Slavery in Latin America and the Caribbean* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 218.

⁹⁵ Hirsch and Logsdon, *Creole New Orleans*, 91.

⁹⁶ Lewis William Newton, *The Americanization of French Louisiana: A Study of the Process of Adjustment Between the French and the Anglo-American Populations of Louisiana, 1803-1860* (New York: Arno Press, 1980), 101, 202.

⁹⁷ Roger Shugg, *Origins of Class Struggle in Louisiana: A Social History of White Farmers and Laborers during Slavery and After, 1840-1875* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1939), 30.

⁹⁸ Bell, *Afro-Creole Protest Tradition in Louisiana*, 65-88.

⁹⁹ Ingersoll, *Mammon and Manon*, 275.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 139.

¹⁰¹ Joseph G. Tregle, Jr., "Creoles and Americans," in *Creole New Orleans*, eds. Hirsch and Logsdon, 169; Leon Cyprian Soule, *The Know Nothing Party in New Orleans: A Reappraisal* (Baton Rouge: The Louisiana Historical Association, 1961).

¹⁰² George B. Tindall, *The Ethnic Southerners* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1976).

¹⁰³ For an analysis of personal motivations for fighting, see Randall C. Jimerson, *The Private Civil War: Popular Thought during the Sectional Conflict* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988), 8-26.

¹⁰⁴ Ella Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1940), 213.

¹⁰⁵ John D. Winters, *The Civil War in Louisiana* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1963), 33.

¹⁰⁶ James P. Gannon, *Irish Rebels, Confederate Tigers: The 6th Louisiana Volunteers, 1861-1865* (Mason City, Iowa: Savas Publishing, 1998); Nathaniel Cheairs Hughes, Jr., *The Pride of the Confederate Artillery: The Washington Artillery in the Army of Tennessee* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1997); Terry L. Jones, *Lee's Tigers: The Louisiana Infantry in the Army of Northern Virginia* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1987); William Miller Owen, *In Camp and Battle with the Washington Artillery of New Orleans* (Boston: Ticknor and Company, 1885).

¹⁰⁷ Ochs, *A Black Patriot and a White Priest*.

¹⁰⁸ Steven E. Woodworth, *While God is Marching On: The Religious World of Civil War Soldiers* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2001), ix.

¹⁰⁹ Mark Noll, "The Bible and Slavery," in *Religion and the American Civil War*, ed. Randall M. Miller, Harry S. Stout, and Charles Reagan Wilson (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 56. Other contributors included Phillip Shaw Paludan, Eugene D. Genovese, Bertram Wyatt-Brown, George M. Frederickson, Kurt O Berends, Paul Harvey, Daniel W. Stowell, Ronald C. White Jr., Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, Drew Gilpin Faust, Reid Mitchell, Christopher Grasso, Samuel S. Hill, and James McPherson.

¹¹⁰ Randall M. Miller, "Catholic Religion, Irish Ethnicity, and the Civil War," in *Religion and the American Civil War*, 262. The standard ecclesiastical history of Catholics and the Civil War is Benjamin Blied, *Catholics and the Civil War* (Milwaukee: 1945). For a history of Catholic nuns in the Civil War, see Mary Denis Maher, *To Bind UP the Wounds: Catholic Sister Nurses in the U.S. Civil War* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1989).

¹¹¹ Madeleine Hooke Rice, *American Catholic Opinion on Slavery* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1944); Benjamin Blied, *Catholics and the Civil War* (Milwaukee, 1945).

¹¹² Joseph Brokhage, *Francis Patrick Kenrick's Opinion on Slavery* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1955), 242.

¹¹³ Kenneth Zanca, ed., *American Catholics and Slavery: 1789-1866: An Anthology of Primary Documents* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1994). See chapters one and two for an extension of the argument that Catholics cultivated a white supremacist identity and agenda.

¹¹⁴ For further consideration of the definition of "Creole," see Dominguez, *White by Definition*, 188; Hall, "The Formation of Afro-Creole Culture," in *Creole New Orleans*, eds. Hirsch and Logsdon, 60; Tregle, "Creoles and Americans," in *Creole New Orleans*, eds. Hirsch and Logsdon, 137.

¹¹⁵ Charles Reagan Wilson, *Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause, 1865-1920* (Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 1980).

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 8.

¹¹⁷ Gaines Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 5.

Chapter One: The Experience of War

¹ Viscount de Chateaubriand, *The Genius of Christianity; or the Spirit and Beauty of the Christian Religion*, trans. Charles I. White (Baltimore: John Murphy & Co., 1868), 558. For an interpretation of Chateaubriand's influence in France, see Thomas Kselman, "State and Religion," in *Revolutionary France: 1788-1880*, ed. Malcolm Crook (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 71.

² For an analysis of France's response to the issue of slavery in the American South, see Serge Gavronsky, *The French Liberal Opposition and the American Civil War* (New York: Humanities Press, 1968), 40-42.

³ Fernand Vatin, *Etude Biographique: I.-F. Turgis (1813-1868)* (Saint-Lo: Les Aleleirs Leclerc, 1934), 35.

⁴ *Ibid.*; Chateaubriand, *Genius of Christianity*, 557-599.

⁵ For Chateaubriand's romantic depiction of French missionaries, see *Genius of Christianity*, 557-599; Vatin, *Etude Biographique*, 35.

⁶ Stephen Ochs, *A Black Patriot and a White Priest: Andre Cailloux and Claude Paschal Maistre in Civil War New Orleans* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2000), 23, 29.

⁷ Frederick Law Olmstead, *The Cotton Kingdom: A Traveller's Observation of Cotton and Slavery in the American Slave States* (New York: Knopf, 1953), 228.

⁸ Joseph Logsdon and Caryn Cossé Bell, "The Americanization of Black New Orleans, 1850-1900," in *Creole New Orleans: Race and Americanization*, eds. Arnold R. Hirsch and Joseph Logsdon (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992), 233-42.

⁹ Antoine Blanc, *Pastoral Letter on Slavery and True Freedom*, New Orleans, 2 February 1852, AANO.

¹⁰ Walter Johnson, *Soul by Soul: Life Inside the Antebellum Slave Market* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 2. For another interpretation of the impact of slavery in New Orleans, see Thomas N. Ingersoll, *Mammon*

and Manon in Early New Orleans: The First Slave Society in the Deep South, 1718-1819 (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1999).

¹¹ Theodore Guerin, Journal, New Orleans, 1844, in *American Catholic and Slavery: 1789-1866: An Anthology of Primary Documents*, ed. Kenneth Zanca (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1994), 117.

¹² Adrien Dicharry to Adrien Rouquette, Natchitoches, LA, 6 December 1852, AANO.

¹³ Augustine Verot, "Sermon on Slavery and Abolition," St. Augustine, FL, 1861, in *American Catholics and Slavery*, ed. Zanca, 202-209; Michael V. Gannon, *Rebel Bishop: The Life and Era of Augustin Verot* (Milwaukee, WI: Bruce Publishing, 1964); Augustin Verot to Jean Marie Odin, St. Augustine, FL, 9 November 1861, AANO; *Le Propagateur Catholique* (New Orleans), 21 December 1861, 4 January 1862.

¹⁴ Augustus Martin, Pastoral Letter on the Civil War, *Le Propagateur Catholique*, 7 September 1861; Maria Genoino Caravaglios, "A Roman Critique of the Pro-Slavery Views of Bishop Martin of Natchitoches, Louisiana," *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia*, LXXXIII (June 1972), 67-81.

¹⁵ The Index censored ideas deemed acceptable or unacceptable to Catholic doctrine by the pope. Congregation of the Index to Augustus Martin, Rome, 15 November 1864, in *American Catholics and Slavery*, ed. Zanca, 221-225. Pope Pius IX's position was quite clear: "It is an evil to deprive [slaves] of freedom and subject them to slavery; it is a violation of a natural right; for this reason people must not commit this evil to obtain good, from which may draw an advantage, since God's purpose does not justify the immoral means of men. [Man] permits the evil to exist in order to derive good, but He [God] does not will the evil; on the contrary, He disapproves of it and punishes it. The true Christian good is the one which does not harm people's rights."

¹⁶ *Daily True Delta* (New Orleans), 18 September 1855; Leon Cyprian Soulé, *The Know Nothing Party in New Orleans: A Reappraisal* (Baton Rouge: The Louisiana Historical Association, 1961), 66.

¹⁷ For more on the relationship between the Irish immigrants and the Archdiocese of New Orleans, see Michael Doorley, "Irish Catholics and French Creoles: Ethnic Struggles Within the Catholic Church in New Orleans, 1835-1920," *Catholic Historical Review* 87, no. 1 (2001): 38-42; Earl F. Niehaus, *The Irish in New Orleans, 1800-1860* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1965).

¹⁸ *The Southern Standard* (New Orleans), 28 October 1855.

¹⁹ A. H. Stevens, *The Southern Standard* (New Orleans), 3 June 1855, in *American Catholic and Slavery*, ed. Zanca, 105.

²⁰ Orestes A. Brownson, *Brownson's Quarterly Review* (October 1862), in *American Catholics and Slavery*, ed. Zanca, 135.

²¹ Jean Marie Odin, Pastoral Letter for the Lent of 1862, New Orleans, 16 February 1862, AANO.

²² For a list of chaplains from Louisiana, see Sidney Romero, *Religion in the Rebel Ranks* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1983).

²³ William Howard Russell, *The Civil War in America* (Boston: G. A. Fuller, 1861), 30; for more on the "Creoles and heterogeneous crowds from Louisiana," see Ella Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1940).

²⁴ Arthur W. Bergeron, Jr., "10th Regiment," *Guide to Louisiana Confederate Military Units, 1861-1865* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989), 95-98; Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 109. Countries of origin included Austria, Corsica, England, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Louisiana, Martinique, Portugal, Scotland, Sicily, Spain, and Switzerland.

²⁵ Bergeron, "1st Special Battalion," *Guide to Louisiana Confederate Military Units*, 149-150.

²⁶ Napier Bartlett, "Army of the West," *Military Record of Louisiana* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1964), 44-46. *Military Records of Louisiana* was first published in 1875.

²⁷ John Henry Elder to Jean Marie Odin, Natchez, 20 February, 12 March 1862, AANO.

²⁸ For a brief biography of Augustin, see Stanley Clisby Arthur, *Old Families of Louisiana* (New Orleans: Harmanson, Publisher, 1931), 52; for information on the militia activities of the Orleans Guard, see Bergeron, "Louisiana Volunteer Troops," *Guide to Louisiana Confederate Military Units*, 181-187.

²⁹ T. Harry Williams, *P. G. T. Beauregard: Napoleon in Gray* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1954), 48. Williams described Beauregard as "an ardent Southerner, and yet, as a Creole, he was in many ways an alien in the Anglo-Saxon Confederacy."

³⁰ "Les gardes d'Orleans a la Cathedrale," *L'Abeille de la Nouvelle-Orleans*, 10 March 1861, reprinted in *L'Abeille*, 21 May 1903. The archdiocese sponsored similar ceremonies for other Creole regiments. See "La benediction du Drapeau de la Legion Francaise," *Le Propagateur Catholique* (New Orleans), 7 September 1861.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² Special Order 207, Headquarters of the Louisiana Legion, New Orleans, 29 April 1861, Queyrouze (Leona) Papers, LSU. During service at the arsenal, Brig. Gen. Trudeau reprimanded the Orleans Guardsmen for

“prevent[ing] Gentlemen and Ladies and other persons from passing on the banquets and sidewalks when the armories are situated and that they arrest them.”

³³ “Les gardes d’Orleans a la Cathedrale,” *L’Abeille*, 10 March 1861.

³⁴ *Daily Picayune* (New Orleans), 9 March 1862; James Lee McDonough, *Shiloh—in Hell before Night* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1977), 63.

³⁵ Bergeron, “13th Battalion (Orleans Guard Battalion),” *Guide to Louisiana Confederate Military Units*, 166-167.

³⁶ Leon Queyrouze Commission, Major, Bataillon Orleans Guards, 8 March 1862, Queyrouze Papers, LSU.

³⁷ Pere Turgis, Biographical Data Form, AANO; “Turgis, J. F.,” *Records of Louisiana Confederate Soldiers and Louisiana Confederate Commands*, compiled by Andrew B. Booth, Commissioner Louisiana Military Records (Spartanburg, SC: The Reprint Company, Publishers, 1984).

³⁸ *The Shiloh Diary of Edmond Enoul Livaudais*, trans. Stanley J. Guerin (New Orleans: Archdiocese of New Orleans, 1992), 22.

³⁹ To get a general sense of the tension between the Creole laity and the archdiocesan officials, see Roger Baudier, *The Catholic Church in Louisiana* (New Orleans: A. W. Hyatt Stationary Mfg. Co., 1939).

⁴⁰ Charles Edwards O’Neill, “A Quarter Marked by Sundry Peculiarities’: New Orleans, Lay Trustees, and Père Turgis,” *Catholic Historical Review*, LXXVI (April 1990), 235-77.

⁴¹ Caryn Cossé Bell, *Revolution, Romanticism, and the Afro-Creole Protest Tradition in Louisiana, 1718-1868* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1997), 151; Patrick W. Carey, *People, Priests, and Prelates: Ecclesiastical Democracy and the Tensions of Trusteeship* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1987).

⁴² *Le Propagateur Catholique*, 12 August 1843; Bell, *Afro-Creole Protest Tradition in Louisiana*, 150; for a list of Catholic Freemasons, see the appendix of Bell, *Afro-Creole Protest Tradition in Louisiana*, 283-294.

⁴³ Unknown priest to the Propagation of the Faith, Louisiana, 26 May 1852, in *American Catholics and Slavery*, ed. Zanca, 172.

⁴⁴ Mark Noll, *America’s God: From Jonathon Edwards to Abraham Lincoln* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 275. For another evangelical interpretation of the Civil War, see Steven E. Woodworth, *While God is Marching On: The Religious World of Civil War Soldiers* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2001).

⁴⁵ Alcée Fortier, *A History of Louisiana*, vol. 3, part 1 (Baton Rouge: Claitor’s Publishing Division, 1985), 257.

⁴⁶ Livaudais, *Shiloh Diary*, 19.

⁴⁷ “Primary group” cohesion was a significant motivating factor in the Civil War. For general characterizations of combat motivation, see Richard Holmes, *Acts of War* (New York: Free Press, 1986); Anthony Kellert, *Combat Motivation: The Behavior of Soldiers in Battle* (Boston: Kluwer Nijhoff, 1982); for a case study, see Omer Bartov, *Hitler’s Army: Soldiers, Nazis, and War in the Third Reich* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).

⁴⁸ Livaudais, *Shiloh Diary*, 51.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ Bergeron, “24th Regiment (Crescent Regiment),” *Guide to Louisiana Confederate Military Units*, 130-132.

⁵² Livaudais, *Shiloh Diary*, 22.

⁵³ Ignace Francois Turgis to Jean Marie Odin, Grand Junction, TN, 26 March 1862, AANO.

⁵⁴ John Keegan, *The Face of Battle* (New York: The Viking Press, 1976), 71-73. Keegan described fear on the American Civil War battlefield: “Fear is something everyone can understand, and fear was what thousands of American soldiers had patently felt on the battlefields of the Civil War, sometimes at moments inconvenient to their commanders. That war had already produced, by the outbreak of the First World War, a remarkable crop of soldiers’ literature, in which battle had been depicted very much from the private’s rather than the general’s angle of vision, and many of the authors had not disguised how frightened they had been.”

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ William W. Bennett, *A Narrative of the Great Revival in the Southern Armies During the Late Civil War Between the States of the Federal Union* (Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen and Haffelfinger, 1877); see also William Jones, *Christ in Camp, or, Religion in Lee’s Army* (Richmond: B. F. Johnson and Co., 1887); for a contemporary analysis of the pervasive atmosphere of revivalism in the Civil War, see Drew Gilpin Faust, “Christian Soldiers: The Meaning of Revivalism in the Confederate Army,” *Journal of Southern History* 53 (February 1987): 64-88.

⁵⁷ “The Life Story of Father Turgis: The Soldier Priest of St. Louis Cathedral,” *The Morning Star* (New Orleans), 6 June 1908.

⁵⁸ Ignace Francois Turgis to Jean Marie Odin, Grand Junction, 16 April 1862, AANO.

⁵⁹ Bartlett, “Louisiana Troops in the West: Journal of the Orleans Guard, during the Movements Preceding and Following the Battle of Corinth,” *Military Record of Louisiana*, 18.

- ⁶⁰ For an analysis of combat motivation and the act of killing, see Richard Norman, *Ethics, Killing and War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Joanna Bourke, *An Intimate History of Killing: Face-to-Face Killing in Twentieth-Century Warfare* (Great Britain: Basic Books, 1999).
- ⁶¹ Turgis to Odin, 16 April 1862.
- ⁶² Chateaubriand, *Genius of Christianity*, 71.
- ⁶³ Livaudais, *Shiloh Diary*, 26.
- ⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 27.
- ⁶⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 28.
- ⁶⁸ Bartlett, Military Records of Louisiana, 18.
- ⁶⁹ Stanley Horn, *The Army of Tennessee: A Military History* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1941), 449-450.
- ⁷⁰ Livaudais, *Shiloh Diary*, 29.
- ⁷¹ *Guide to the Battle of Shiloh*, ed. Jay Luvaas, Stephen Bowman, and Leonard Fullenkamp (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, 1996), 217.
- ⁷² Livaudais, *Shiloh Diary*, 29.
- ⁷³ *Ibid.*, 31.
- ⁷⁴ Chateaubriand, *Genius of Christianity*, 71; Vatin, *Etude Biographique*, 35.
- ⁷⁵ Bartlett, Military Record of Louisiana, 18-19.
- ⁷⁶ For a brief biography of the Roman family, see Arthur, *Old Families of Louisiana*, 270-272.
- ⁷⁷ Livaudais, *Shiloh Diary*, 31.
- ⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 32.
- ⁷⁹ James Lee McDonough, *Shiloh—in Hell before Night* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1977), 199.
- ⁸⁰ Livaudais, *Shiloh Diary*, 32.
- ⁸¹ Bartlett, Military Record of Louisiana, 19-20.
- ⁸² Ulysses S. Grant, *Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant*, 2 vols. (New York: Chales L. Webster & Co., 1885), I, 355-356.
- ⁸³ Livaudais, *Shiloh Diary*, 34.
- ⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 35.
- ⁸⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁸⁶ Turgis to Odin, 16 April 1862; Livaudais, *Shiloh Diary*, 41.
- ⁸⁷ Livaudais, *Shiloh Diary*, 43.
- ⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 29.
- ⁸⁹ Turgis to Odin, 16 April 1862.
- ⁹⁰ For a history of the occupation, see Gerald Capers, *Occupied City: New Orleans Under the Federals* (Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 1965).
- ⁹¹ Bergeron, 30th Regiment (Sumter Regiment),” *Guide to Louisiana Confederate Military Units*, 141-142.
- ⁹² Bartlett, “The Thirtieth Louisiana Regiment: Military Movements of the Thirtieth Louisiana,” *Military Record of Louisiana*, 25.
- ⁹³ Louis Fortin, Speech to “Fellow-soldiers in suffering,” Atlanta, 12 August 1864, in Bartlett, *Military Records of Louisiana*, 36.
- ⁹⁴ On one long excursion, Turgis traveled between Richmond, Charleston, and Augusta, where he “visited all of the garrisons and heard confessions.” Afterwards, he spent twenty-nine days returning to Mobile. Turgis to Odin, Mobile, 29 September 1863.
- ⁹⁵ Ignace Francois Turgis to Jean Marie Odin, Mobile, 20 October 1863, AANO.
- ⁹⁶ R. L. Gibson, Farewell Speech, Meridian, MS, 8 May 1865, in Bartlett, *Military Records of Louisiana*, 29.

Chapter Two: The Memory of War

- ¹ Viscount de Chateaubriand, *The Genius of Christianity; or the Spirit and Beauty of the Christian Religion*, trans. Charles I. White (Baltimore: John Murphy & Co., 1868), 266-267.
- ² Arthur Picolet, F. O. Trepagnier, and Leon Queyrouze to Jean Marie Odin, New Orleans, 1 February 1866, AANO. Other signatories included Francis Greig, S. Choppin, A. Ducatel, Henry Picolet, Maurice Fortier, and G. T. Beauregard.
- ³ *Ibid.*

- ⁴ Anthony Dubuc to Jean Marie Odin, New Orleans, 15 February 1866, AANO.
- ⁵ Fernand Vatin, *Etude Biographique: I.-F. Turgis. 1813-1868* (Saint-Lo, France: Les Aleleirs Leclerc, 1934), 50-51.
- ⁶ *Ibid.*; Pere Turgis, Biographical Data Form, AANO.
- ⁷ Jean Marie Odin, Pastoral Letter on Rev. C. P. Maistre, New Orleans, 19 May 1863, Pastoral Letters of the Archbishops of New Orleans, vol. 1, AANO.
- ⁸ Roger Baudier, *St. Rose of Lima Parish: Centennial, 1857-1957* (New Orleans, 1957).
- ⁹ For a history of black Catholics in New Orleans during the Civil War, see Stephen Ochs, *A Black Patriot and a White Priest: André Cailloux and Claude Paschal Maistre in Civil War New Orleans* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2000); James G. Hollandsworth, Jr., *The Louisiana Native Guards: The Black Military Experience During the Civil War* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1995).
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- ¹¹ James G. Hollandsworth, Jr., *An Absolute Massacre: The New Orleans Race Riot of July 30, 1866* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2001); Tunnell, *Crucible of Reconstruction*, 103-107.
- ¹² Dagmar Renshaw Le Breton, *Chahta-Ima; The Life of Adrien-Emmanuel Rouquette* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1947).
- ¹³ Felix Dicharry to Adrien Rouquette, Natchitoches, 6 December 1852, AANO.
- ¹⁴ Augustus Martin to Jean Marie Odin, Natchitoches, 28 July 1861, AANO.
- ¹⁵ *Morning Star and Catholic Messenger* (New Orleans), 17 July 1870; Ochs, *Black Patriot and White Priest*, 255-256.
- ¹⁶ For more on the ecclesiastical treatment of free blacks, see Cyprian Davis, *The History of Black Catholics in the United States* (New York: The Crossroad Publishing Co., 1991); Randall M. Miller, "The Failed Mission: The Catholic Church and Black Catholics in the Old South," in *The Southern Common People: Studies in Nineteenth-Century Social History*, eds. Edward Magdol and Jon Wakelyn (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1980).
- ¹⁷ "The Life Story of Father Turgis: The Soldier Priest of St. Louis Cathedral," *The Morning Star* (New Orleans), 6 June 1908.
- ¹⁸ Ignace Francois Turgis to Jean Marie Odin, Mobile, 20 October 1863, AANO.
- ¹⁹ *Morning Star* (New Orleans), 6 June 1908.
- ²⁰ *Ibid.*
- ²¹ The number of veterans who joined Turgis at the Mortuary Chapel is not known. The Archdiocese of New Orleans did not keep records of the veterans' chapel.
- ²² C. M. Chambon, *In and Around the Old St. Louis Cathedral of New Orleans* (New Orleans: Philippe's Printery, Exchange Place, 1908), 129.
- ²³ *Morning Star*, 6 June 1908; Arthur W. Bergeron, Jr., "Point Coupee Battalion," *Guide to Louisiana Confederate Military Units* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989), 13-14.
- ²⁴ *Morning Star*, 6 June 1908.
- ²⁵ For a well-respected discussion of combat experience, see John Keegan, *The Face of Battle* (New York: The Viking Press, 1976), 47-48. Keegan described battle, for an ordinary soldier, as "a wildly unstable physical and emotional environment... a very small-scale situation which will throw up its own leaders and will be fought but its own rules—alas, often by its own ethics."
- ²⁶ For examples of these experiences in the lives of the Orleans Guards in battle, see Edmond Enoul Livaudais, *The Shiloh Diary of Edmond Enoul Livaudais*, trans. Stanley J. Guerin (New Orleans: Archdiocese of New Orleans, 1992); Napier Bartlett, *Military Record of Louisiana* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1964).
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- ²⁸ Julie Le Grand, *Journal of Julie Le Grand, New Orleans 1862-1863*, eds. Kate Mason Rowland and Mrs. Morris L. Croxall (Richmond: Everett Waddey, Co., 1911), 67.
- ²⁹ William Henry Elder, *The Civil War Diary of William H. Elder, Bishop of Natchez, 1862-1863* (Natchez: R. O. Gerow); James J. Pillar, *The Catholic Church in Mississippi, 1837-65* (New Orleans: The Hauser Press, 1964).
- ³⁰ Phillip Thomas Tucker, *The Confederacy's Fighting Chaplain: Father John B. Bannon* (Tuscaloosa, AL: The University of Alabama Press, 1992), 177; William Barnaby Faherty, S.J., *Exile in Erin: A Confederate Chaplain's Story: The Life of Father John B. Bannon* (Saint Louis: Missouri Historical Society Press, 2002).

- ³¹ Abram Ryan is the only Catholic identified by Charles Reagan Wilson and Gaines Foster as a contributor to the Lost Cause. Charles Reagan Wilson, *Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause, 1865-1920* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1980), 58-61; Gaines Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 36-37; Charles Boldrick, "Father Abram Ryan: The Poet-Priest of the Confederate Cause," *Filson Club History Quarterly* 46, 1972.
- ³² Abram J. Ryan, *Poems: Patriotic, Religious, Miscellaneous* (New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons, 1896), 167-168.
- ³³ "Father Ryan will preach this evening at St. Theresa's Church," *Morning Star* (New Orleans), 25 March 1877, Roger Baudier Collection, AANO.
- ³⁴ I. F. Turgis, Orleans Parish Death Index, vol. 42, p. 31 (1868), Louisiana Archives.
- ³⁵ Chambon, *In and Around the Old St. Louis Cathedral*, 131.
- ³⁶ Vatin, *Etude Biographique*, 56.
- ³⁷ "Death and Funeral of Father Turgis," *The Messenger* (New Orleans), 8 March 1868; "About the Death of Col. C. D. Dreux," *Confederate Veteran*, XV (1907), 307; Just M. Lamare, "Col. C. D. Dreux," *Confederate Veteran*, XXX (1922), 20-21.
- ³⁸ *Messenger*, 8 March 1868.
- ³⁹ Vatin, *Etude Biographique*, 64.
- ⁴⁰ *Morning Star*, 6 June 1908.
- ⁴¹ *Ibid.*
- ⁴² "Local Intelligence," *New Orleans Daily Crescent*, 4 March 1868.
- ⁴³ "The Late Abbe Turgis," *New Orleans Daily Crescent*, 5 March 1868.
- ⁴⁴ Protestant New Orleanians were proud to announce that a Protestant saved the life of Turgis. See "Local Intelligence," *New Orleans Daily Crescent*, 6 March 1868.
- ⁴⁵ *New Orleans Daily Crescent*, 5 March 1868.
- ⁴⁶ *Messenger*, 8 March 1868.
- ⁴⁷ *L'Abeille de la Nouvelle Orleans*, 4 March and 6 March 1868.
- ⁴⁸ Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy*, 62.
- ⁴⁹ *Messenger*, 8 March 1868.
- ⁵⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁵¹ Vatin, *Etude Biographique*, 64.
- ⁵² Gaines Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy*, 46.
- ⁵³ *Ibid.*, 52.
- ⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 39.
- ⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 61, 91, 105-107.
- ⁵⁶ Napoleon Joseph Perché, Pastoral Letter prescribing prayers in thanksgiving for the happy issue of our political troubles, 6 May 1877, AANO.
- ⁵⁷ "General Fitzhugh Lee's Second Tour in Behalf of the Southern Historical Society," *Southern Historical Society Papers*, 11 (April-May 1883): 231, in Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy*, 90.
- ⁵⁸ "Historical Sketch of the R. E. Lee Monumental Association of New Orleans," *Southern Historical Society Papers* 14 (1886): 96-99; "Ceremonies Connected with the Unveiling of the Statue of General Robert E. Lee at Lee Circle, New Orleans, February 22, 1884," *Southern Historical Society Papers* 14 (1886): 62-96.
- ⁵⁹ Pierre Jorda remembered the funeral of Turgis this way: "It was a wonderful gathering, that last march to the grave [of Turgis]. I can remember nothing like it in our own time, except the funeral of Jefferson Davis." *Morning Star*, 6 June 1908.
- ⁶⁰ Gaines Foster argued that it was difficult to establish exact membership in the veterans associations, *Ghosts of the Confederacy*, 107. For an index of Army of Tennessee veterans, including members of the Orleans Guard, see Jerry Johnston Wier, *Army of Tennessee, Louisiana Division: The Association and Tumulus* (Lafayette, LA: The Center for Louisiana Studies, University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1999); Roll of the Association of the Army of Tennessee, Louisiana Division, Camp No. 2, United Confederate Veterans, 1902, Louisiana Historical Association Collection (LHAC).
- ⁶¹ For a description of the actions of the White League of New Orleans, as well as a membership roster, see Stuart Omer Landry, *The Battle of Liberty Place: The Overthrow of Carpet-Bag Rule in New Orleans—September 14, 1874* (New Orleans: Pelican Publishing Co., 1955), 52-68, 234-240.
- ⁶² Virginia R. Dominguez, *White by Definition: Social Classification in Creole Louisiana* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1986), 23-33.
- ⁶³ "D'un Coté ou de l'autre," *Le Carillon* (New Orleans), 13 July 1873, in Dominguez, *White by Definition*, 137.

- ⁶⁴ Caryn Cossé Bell, *Revolution, Romanticism, and the Afro-Creole Protest Tradition in Louisiana, 1718-1868* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1997), 112-14, 128; Judith K. Schafer, "'Open and Notorious Concubinage': The Emancipation of Slave Mistresses by Will and the Supreme Court in Antebellum Louisiana," *Louisiana History*, XXVIII (Spring 1987), 165-82.
- ⁶⁵ "Mélange des Races," *Le Carillon* (New Orleans), 20 July 1873, in Dominguez, *White by Definition*, 138.
- ⁶⁶ George Washington Cable, *Old Creole Days* (New York: Charles Scribner, 1879); George Washington Cable, *The Grandissimes* (New York: Charles Scribner, 1880); Louis D. Rubin, Jr., *George W. Cable: The Life and Times of a Southern Heretic* (New York: Pegasus, 1969), 178-184.
- ⁶⁷ Tinker, *Creole City*, 208-222.
- ⁶⁸ Le Breton, *Chahta-Ima*; Dominguez, *White by Definition*, 142-143; Tinker, *Creole City*, 218-219. The title of Rouquette's anonymous pamphlet was *A Critical Dialogue between Aboo and Caboo*.
- ⁶⁹ Dominguez, *White by Definition*, 143-44; Joseph G. Tregle, Jr., "Creoles and Americans," in *Creole New Orleans: Race and Americanization*, eds. Arnold R. Hirsch and Joseph Logsdon (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992), 131-85.
- ⁷⁰ *Plessy v. Ferguson* originated in Louisiana, during which an octoroon Creole broke a state segregation law on railroad cars. For a transcript of the majority and dissenting opinions, see Lee Epstein and Thomas G. Walker, *Constitutional Law for a Changing America: Rights, Liberties, and Justice*, Fourth Edition (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2001), 629-633; Bell, *Afro-Creole Protest Tradition in Louisiana*, 280-282.
- ⁷¹ Jno. Dimitry, "Histoire Militaire de la Confederation," *L'Abeille de la Nouvelle-Orleans*, 17 February 1901, Queyrouze Papers, LSU. The article also highlights the life of Father D. B. Hubert.
- ⁷² *Ibid.*; "Les Gardes d'Orleans," *L'Abeille de la Nouvelle Orleans*, 21 May 1903.
- ⁷³ *L'Abeille de la Nouvelle Orleans*, 27 April 1906.
- ⁷⁴ Vatin, *Etude Biographique*, 50; for an analysis of courage during combat, see Charles Moran, *The Anatomy of Courage* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1967).
- ⁷⁵ *Morning Star*, 6 June 1908.
- ⁷⁶ Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy*, 145-159; Wilson, *Baptized in Blood*, 161-182.
- ⁷⁷ Chambon, *In and Around the St. Louis Cathedral*, 129.
- ⁷⁸ *Morning Star*, 6 June 1908.
- ⁷⁹ Vatin, *Etude Biographique*, 64-65; Turgis Tomb (Box 44), Miscellaneous Organizations, Memorial Association Collection, LHAC; Tomb Committee Papers, 1879-1930, Association of the Army of Tennessee Papers, 1876-1933, LHAC.

Conclusion

¹ For characterizations of race relations in the American Catholic Church, see Albert Raboteau, *Slave Religion: The 'Invisible Institution' in the Antebellum South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 87-88, 271-175; Stephen Ochs, *A Black Patriot and a White Priest: André Cailloux and Claude Paschal Maistre in Civil War New Orleans* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2000); Dolores Egger Labbe, *Jim Crow Comes to Church* (Lafayette, LA: University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1971); Morris J. MacGregor, *The Emergence of a Black Catholic Community: St. Augustine's in Washington* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1999); Stephen Ochs, *Desegregating the Altar: The Josephites and the Struggle for Black Priests, 1871-1960* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990); Cyprian Davis, *The History of Black Catholics in the United States* (New York: The Crossroad Publishing Co., 1991); Albert Raboteau, "Minority within a Minority: The History of Black Catholics in America," in *A Fire in the Bones: Reflections on African-American Religious History*, ed. Albert Raboteau (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995).

² Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), and *The Shaping of Southern Culture: Honor, Grace, and War, 1760s-1880s* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001). See also Dickson Bruce, *Violence and Culture in the Antebellum South* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979); Ted Ownby, *Subduing Satan: Religion, Recreation, & Manhood in the Rural South, 1865-1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990); Anne Firor Scott, *The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics, 1830-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970); Laura F. Edwards, *Scarlet Doesn't Live Here Anymore: Southern Women in the Civil War Era* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989). For studies on Catholicism and gender, see Robert Orsi, *The Madonna of 115th Street: Faith and Community in Italian Harlem, 1880-1950* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), and *Thank You, Saint Jude: Women's Devotions to the Patron Saint of Hopeless Causes* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996); Mary Jo Weaver, *New Catholic Women: A Contemporary Challenge to Traditional Religious Authority* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana

University Press, 1995); Paula Kane, James Kenneally, and Karen Kennely, eds., *Gender Identities in American Catholicism* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2001).

³ Eugene Genovese, *The World the Slaveholders Made: Two Essays in Interpretation* (New York: Pantheon, 1969) and “Yeoman Farmers in a Slaveholders’ Democracy,” *Agricultural History* 49 (April 1975): 331-42; for a study of class in Louisiana, see Roger Shugg, *Origins of Class Struggle in Louisiana: A Social History of White Farmers and Laborers during Slavery and After, 1840-1875* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1939).

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⁵ For an analysis of xenophobia and racism aimed at Catholic ethnic groups, see Robert Orsi, “The Religious Boundaries of an Inbetween People: Street Feste and the Problem of the Dark-Skinned Other in Italian Harlem, 1920-1990,” *American Quarterly* 44, no. 3 (Sep. 1992): 313-47. Jay Dolan edited and wrote a handful of issue-oriented books of Hispanics in America, including Jay Dolan and Gilberto Hinojosa, *Mexican Americans and the Catholic Church, 1900-1965* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994); Dolan and Figueroa Deck, *Hispanic Catholic Culture in the United States: Issues and Concerns* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994); Dolan and Jaime Vidal, *Puerto Rican and Cuban Catholics in the United States, 1900-1965* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994); see also Timothy Matovina and Gerald E. Poyo, eds., *Presente!: U.S. Latino Catholics from Colonial Origins to the Present* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2000); Thomas Tweed, *Our Lady of the Exile: Diasporic Religion at a Cuban Catholic Shrine in Miami* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); Tweed, “Our Lady of Guadalupe Visits the Confederate Memorial: Latino and Asian Religions in the South,” lecture, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 4 December 2001; David T. Gleeson, *The Irish in the South, 1815-1877* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001); Earl F. Niehaus, “Catholic Ethnicity in Nineteenth Century Louisiana,” *Cross, Crozier, and Crucible: A Volume Celebrating the Bicentennial of Catholic Diocese in Louisiana* (Chelsea, MI: The Archdiocese of New Orleans in cooperation with the Center for Louisiana Studies, 1993).

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