

THE EVOLUTION OF THE SOUTH: ELIZA FRANCES ANDREWS, GENERAL
WILLIAM T. SHERMAN, AND GREEN INTERPRETATIONS
OF THE CIVIL WAR

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THESIS ABSTRACT

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This essay examines representations of nature in the journal written by Eliza Frances Andrews during the last year of the Civil War. Andrews utilizes an evolutionary metaphor to justify the Old South, explain the Civil War, and create a New South that maintains many of the Southern values. General Sherman also utilizes nature in order to put an end to the war with his legendary “March to the Sea.” The fact that representatives of both the North and the South utilize ecologies for oppositional goals illustrates the vulnerability of nature to be manipulated for political purposes.

Modern Language Association

Microsoft Word 2007

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Chapter 1

Introduction

In 1908, over 40 years after Confederate supporter Eliza Frances Andrews first penned the words in her personal diary, she revisits the text in order to edit it for publication and finds that her original words were “drunk with the wine of youth and passion” (Andrews 1). Andrews explains, in a Prologue written specifically for publication, that she has edited the text vigorously, eliminating “tiresome reflections, silly flirtations... thoughtless criticisms,” and any other unnecessary or hurtful subjects, although she claims to purposefully leave all grammatical and informational mistakes in order to guarantee the “fidelity of the narrative” (6). The journal that emerges after her editorial cropping is published under the title, *The War-Time Journal of a Georgia Girl, 1864-1865*. Because the text is self-edited, with an editorial prologue, chapter introductions, and occasional footnotes, a clear distinction emerges between young Andrews the diarist and mature Andrews the editor whose tone and style reflect forty years of additional experience. While the girl who writes the text exudes youthful passion, the woman who edits the text has survived the Civil War, experienced Reconstruction efforts, transitioned into the twentieth century, and participated in the academic community, most particularly receiving substantial botanical training. One crucial constant between the two voices, however, is the use of green imagery to naturalize and legitimize the Old South while also constructing a regional identity for a

New South. This prevalence of natural imagery in Andrews' text stems from the Enlightenment rationale that humans can and should control nature, compounded by a Southern emphasis on the primarily agrarian plantation society that prescribes a divine stewardship over the land. Andrews uses these ecological descriptions to justify an evolution of the South based on Darwinian theory, mourning the end of the Old South but creating a New South that maintains its mastery over the land. The result is two ecologies which represent the shift from the Old South plantation lifestyle to a New South focus on reconstruction and preservation.

The project of rebuilding in which Andrews partakes through her writings differs from the national concept of Reconstruction, the term applied to the period of attempted national restoration immediately after the Civil War. During these years, which hold a negatively charged connotation in the Southern imagination, several attempts were made by the Presidential administration to govern the rebuilding of the South, implementing regulations primarily to provide equality for the freed slave population and alter the economic structure of the South. In her editorial prologue and epilogue, Andrews refers to "the riot and shame of Reconstruction," and "the horrors of that period," during which she believes that the South was "robbed of the last pitiful resource the destitution of war had left us. . . ; discriminated against for half a century . . . ; giving millions out of our poverty to educate the negro, and contributing millions more to reward the patriotism of our conquerors . . ." (17, 386). The feelings of victimization and anger that she expresses in this brief recount of the Reconstruction period echo those of her contemporaries writing at the same time. In *Away Down South: A History of Southern Identity*, James C. Cobb discusses the "prevailing mythology that Reconstruction had been a tragic and cruel

mistake that brought terrible suffering on the white South” and illustrates how that collective memory of the period “hardened over more than a half-century of continuing resistance to northern influences of all sorts” (177).¹ Southern publications developing out of this Reconstruction-era tradition, then, attempted to rebuild the New South on their own terms, distinctly different than those of the North. Andrews certainly participates in this Southern reconstruction project, utilizing nature to create a regional ecology that justifies the evolution of the South.

In American culture, “nature has always been central to the processes of nation formation,” a concept that is illustrated through the work that Andrews does in her diary, where the nation that she attempts to form is the South (Kollin 22). Susan Kollin explains, “landscapes are not naturally given, but rather are socially constituted entities whose meanings shift as the result of specific social practices” (19). Andrews participates in creating this “socially constituted” landscape through the words of her original diary. She utilizes an abundance of natural imagery that serves to both naturalize the relationships within the Old South and develop an ecological understanding of the war. Simultaneously, Andrews strives to maintain the Southern control over the natural environment that the Union Army tries to destroy. The notes that Andrews adds as editor do much of the same thing; however, she introduces a contrast between the natural imagery regarding the Old South and the New South. Because of the difference between the antebellum and postbellum identities that Andrews attempts to create for the same region, the concepts of the New and Old South “must be investigated for the ideologies they encode and the cultural work they perform” (Kollin 19). Andrews’ ecological

¹ Cobb examines Wilbur Joseph Cash’s 1941 *The Mind of the South*, a highly influential work known for its blatant confrontation of the New South identity.

representation of the Old South attempts to justify its existence by naturalizing the class system, plantation life, and ownership of slaves as necessary aspects of Southern existence. As editor and botanist, Andrews attempts to dignify the shift from Old to New South by providing an ecology that explains a Darwinian evolutionary process, thus absolving the Old South of guilt and creating a New South that is equally as reputable in the Southern imagination. While creating these different ecological identities, however, Andrews provides natural images that contradict one another. These contradictions represent a Southern inability to release control of the landscape while indicating a struggle between Andrews the scientist and Andrews the myth-maker to understand and come to terms with the changes that occurred in the South as a result of the Civil War.

In using southern ecologies to naturalize the evolution of a distinct Southern identity, Andrews is not alone. Lisa M. Brady, in “The Wilderness of War: Nature and Strategy in the American Civil War,” explains that “the wartime relationship between humans and nature is a complex arrangement, characterized at times by collaboration, at others by adversarial competition. In the Civil War, both Union and Confederate forces continually negotiated the terms of this relationship” (422). Brady discusses how military historians have always considered the role that terrain plays in battle, including discussions of “topography, geography, vegetation cover, and weather,” in order to determine how those specific characteristics influence the strategies and the outcomes of military engagements (423). Depending on the situation, the environment can act as an ally, providing cover and concealment or high-ground, or it can just as easily act as an opponent, creating obstacles. Knowing these challenges, military strategists must determine how to take advantage of their environmental situation, thus acknowledging

that the landscape is “a powerful military resource and an important factor in military decision making” (423). One of the most profound examples of a renegotiation between humans and nature can be seen in General Sherman’s “March to the Sea,” the highly mythologized “total war” efforts of the Northern Army to “destroy the enemy’s economic system and terrify and demoralize the civilian population,” thus extending the war efforts beyond enemy soldiers to noncombatants and their property as well (Walters 448).²

During this march, Sherman released his supply trains and developed a method of foraging off of Southern land as both a means to feed his troops and as a means to deny the South precious resources grown and raised on Southern land. In addition to foraging liberally, of course, Sherman’s Army also destroyed any resources that could be viewed as helpful to the Confederate cause. This resulted in “a swath of destruction up to sixty miles wide along his path from Atlanta to Savannah” (Brady 435). Sherman understood the importance of the relationship between the South and their land, so he

focused not on overcoming nature as object, but on destroying the enemy’s primary relationship with the natural world. During these campaigns, Federal forces attacked the foundations of southern agriculture [and] exposed the tenuous nature of southerners’ control over the landscape. (Brady 423)

Andrews witnessed Sherman’s project during the last year of the war, and one small section of her journal is dedicated specifically to her experience of the devastation. Her

² According to Mark Neely, in “Was the Civil War a Total War?,” John B. Walters was the first to use the term “total war” in relation to the Civil War, noting that Sherman’s emphasis on the economy and civilian population corresponded to the existing definition. Neely provides a history of the term, revisits the definition, and considers its applicability to the Civil War. Based on his examination, he finds the term anachronistic to Civil War practices. Many scholars still consider Sherman’s tactics to be “total war,” and I use the term in this essay only to note his attempt to demoralize the Southern people through destruction of their property.

entire journal, though, contests Sherman's exposure of a fundamentally tenuous ecology by providing a catalogue of flora that thrives in a landscape of mythic antiquity.

Chapter 2

Eliza Francis Andrews



E. F. Andrews, 1865¹

Born in 1840, Eliza Frances Andrews possessed a lifelong interest in the environment and education.² Before the Civil War, Andrews received a B.A. in language and literature from La Grange Female College. During the Civil War, she traveled around Georgia with her family and witnessed the scenes of greatest conflict, as illustrated in her journal. By 1873, both of her parents had passed away and her family had settled throughout the South, so Andrews embarked upon a teaching career and what

¹ Photograph of Eliza Frances Andrews from 1865, located in 1908 publication of *The War-Time Journal of a Georgia Girl 1864-1865*, available full-text online at “Documenting the American South.” <http://docsouth.unc.edu/fpn/andrews/andrews.html>.

² Biographical information from Jean Berlin, “Introduction to the Bison Books Edition” of *The War-Time Journal* and Charlotte Ford, “Eliza Frances Andrews, Practical Botanist, 1840-1931” and “Eliza Frances Andrews: Fruitful Life of Toil.”

would become forty years of prolific contributions to Southern education. Andrews began with a year of teaching in Yazoo City, Mississippi, followed by six years serving as superintendent of the Washington Girls' Seminary during which she earned an honorary master's degree from Wesleyan College in Macon, Georgia, in 1882. After teaching rhetoric and working in the library at Wesleyan, Andrews left the college environment to teach botany at her hometown high school in Washington, Georgia, which she continued until she retired in 1903.

Andrews' retirement from the school system did not conclude her engagement with education, however. By working closely with botanists from Alabama Polytechnic Institute in Auburn, Alabama, Andrews was able to hone her botanical skills. Recognizing a need for a botanical textbook that could be easily utilized in under-funded country schools, "where expensive laboratory appliances are out of the question, and time to make a proper use of them...equally unattainable," she wrote *Botany All the Year Round*, which was published in 1903 (*Botany* 3). Andrews believed botany to be an important subject for schoolchildren for a few reasons: "the object of teaching botany in the common schools is not to train experts and investigators but intelligent observers" (*Botany* 4); "the great laboratory of nature stands invitingly open at every schoolhouse door" (3); and, perhaps most practically in the South, "it would bring the greatest amount of pleasure and of intellectual enlargement...to keep constantly in view the intimate relations between botany and agriculture" (6). Her desire to teach students about plant life in a natural, outdoor, setting echoes both her own belief that open-air exercise serves to maintain a healthy body and the American emphasis on youth and outdoor activities that can be seen at the beginning of the twentieth century through the establishment of

organizations such as the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts³. The need to live a “strenuous life,” as urged by President Theodore Roosevelt, responded to Progressive Era fears that urbanization was diminishing levels of masculinity in the male population, causing men to leave the farm and head to the office. Leading this “strenuous life,” in theory, would develop the kind of self-sufficiency that fulfills an American ideal and maintains the pioneer spirit that Americans, particularly at the beginning of the twentieth century, were afraid of losing.⁴ Andrews’ work responds to this cultural anxiety by reinstating the relationship between Southern children and their natural environment through the teaching of botany.

One method that Andrews uses to make botany relevant to the country school children of Washington, Georgia, is to draw a connection between botany and agriculture; however, the link also serves to reinforce the association that Andrews feels between Southern ecology and identity. Andrews distinguishes this connection more clearly in her revised edition of the textbook, entitled *A Practical Course in Botany*, which she publishes in 1911. In the preface, she explains that she has tried to “bring the study of botany into closer touch with the practical business of life by stressing its relations with agriculture [and] economics . . .” (iii). Andrews incorporates sections into her chapters to reinforce these practical relationships to her students; however, she clearly possesses a conservationist agenda as well, explaining the need for “putting a stop to the relentless persecution that has practically exterminated many of our choicest wild plants and is fast reducing the civilized world to a depressing monotony of weediness and

³ For more on this topic, see David Macleod’s *Building Character in the American Boy: The Boy Scouts, YMCA, and Their Forerunners, 1870-1920*.

⁴ Jay Mechling’s *On My Honor: Boy Scouts and the Making of American Youth*, discusses the response to the “crisis of masculinity” caused by urbanization at the beginning of the twentieth century.

artificiality” (iv). She clearly values the “wild plants” and does not view them as weeds, likely because she links them to the Southern identity she tries to preserve. The loss of these “wild plants,” then, would result in “artificiality,” or a removal of native Southern identity from the landscape. While Andrews specifically claims that her interest is in the “conservation of one of our chief national assets for the gratification of the higher esthetic instincts,” her emphasis on preserving native Southern plant life significantly reflects her connection between ecology and identity. Because she legitimizes the South through green language and Darwinian theories, her desire to conserve the Southern flora represents a need to ensure that the South does not lapse into the “depressing monotony of weediness and artificiality” she so despises. The scientific work that Andrews conducted from the 1880s until her death in 1931, preserving specimens and classifying them taxonomically, also participated in the attempt to preserve a kind of Southern identity by ensuring the preservation of Southern flora. In 1910, she presented her collection of over three thousand specimens to the Alabama Department of Agriculture, and 810 of those now remain in the Auburn University Herbarium.⁵ By the early twentieth century, Andrews had become recognized in the botanical field, collecting plant specimens from all over the world and publishing in several botanical journals, including *Popular Science Monthly*, *Garden and Forest*, *Botanical Gazette*, and *American Botanist*.

Although Eliza Andrew’s accomplishments in the botanical field are vast and likely overshadow her contributions elsewhere, it is important to note that she wrote on a

⁵ Many thanks to Curtis J. Hansen, the Curator of Plants at the Auburn University Freeman Herbarium, who provided the history of the AU Herbarium as well as a comprehensive list of specimen donated by Andrews. According to Hansen, a fire engulfed the AU Herbarium in 1920, destroying an estimated 50,000 specimens. As part of the rebuilding effort in 1950, AU acquired approximately 2,500 plants from Andrews’ collection (1282). Today, there are 810 catalogued plants in the AU herbarium that Andrews located, preserved, and classified.

variety of subjects. Andrews published many opinion pieces and three novels: *A Family Secret* (1876), *A Mere Adventurer* (1879), and *Prince Hal* (1882). Her writings also appear in *Cosmopolitan*, *Scott's Monthly*, *The Banner of the South*, and *The Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel*. In these, she articulates her strong opinions about female beauty, the role of the woman in the household, fashion, and other popular topics. Andrews believed that women belonged in the home, as wives and mothers, and she never supported female suffrage, writing openly about the futility of a female vote, because husbands always have the power to persuade their wives. She personally decided at a young age not to marry, because "marriage is incompatible with the career I have marked out for myself" (*Journal* 96). That career involved activities of which Andrews generally did not approve for her gender. As Charlotte Ford summarizes, Andrews "contradicted her own beliefs about the place of women in society. She traveled alone...she even hiked alone. Andrews challenged what was acceptable for southern women in the late nineteenth century" ("Fruitful Life" par. 67). Much of the impetus for Andrews' contradictory life stemmed from her interest in the natural environment and the 'unwomanly' efforts she undertook to study and write about it, and it is this interest in the natural environment that pervades Andrews' narrative in *The War Time Journal*. While Civil War scholars generally value Andrews' journal for the way it represents the "indignation many women felt when they found their land and homes invaded and conquered," and for the presentation of gaping divisions in white social classes and the "race problem" caused by emancipation and immigration, I will examine how Andrews' interest in the natural world manifests itself in her writing and what her ecological representations indicate about Southern identity before and after the Civil War (Berlin

ix). Ford appropriately entitles Andrews a “daughter of the Old South but a precursor of the New South,” and as such, she was a living contradiction whose texts illustrate the confusion experienced by a woman attempting to bridge the gap between the two identities (“Fruitful Life” par. 70).

Chapter 3

The Diary

As a student of literature and an aspiring author, Eliza Andrews began keeping a diary at a young age “to cultivate ease of style by daily exercise in rapid composition, and, incidentally, to preserve a record of personal experiences for her own convenience” (*Journal* 4). She claims that she never intended for her journal pages to be published, and Andrews actually destroyed the majority of them in “periodical fits of disgust and self-abasement that come to every keeper of an honest diary in saner moments.” A relative, however, persuaded Andrews that the material needed to be preserved as a family heirloom representing the experience of the family during a turbulent time of war. Thus, forty years after the end of the Civil War, Andrews took on the project of editing her journal for publication. It is not clear what impetus led Andrews to take the step from preserving the diary for family use to making it public; however, she writes in her prologue that “it is for the sake of the light it throws on the inner life of this unique society at the period of its dissolution—a period so momentous in the history of our country—that this contemporaneous record from the pen of a young woman in private life, is given to the public” (3). Preserving this record of “unique society,” then, seems to be the primary goal, one aligned with Andrews’ emphasis on the conservation of Southern flora and the contemporary emphasis on “righting the wrongs of history” staunchly supported by the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) (Gardner 159).

In *Blood and Irony: Southern White Women's Narratives of the Civil War, 1861-1937*, Sarah Gardner traces the progression of women's Civil War literature from the war through Margaret Mitchell's highly successful *Gone with the Wind* and its immediate successor, *None Shall Look Back*. Gardner notes that "Southern white women who published their stories of the war during the early 1860's . . . shied away from eyewitness accounts and published fictional versions," beginning the publication of narratives in fictionalized forms (25). The emphasis on personalized accounts of the war did not occur until the mid-1890s, a shift which she attributes to the creation of the UDC, "one of the largest organizations for the collective mobilization of southern accounts of the war" (113). The UDC required members to write their accounts of the war and sponsored journals solely for the publication of these materials, thus increasing exponentially the quantity of narratives in circulation at the time. Gardner also notes that the UDC "did uphold certain works as models and offer guidelines to be followed," so even though the number of narratives written by Southern white women increased, the variety of interpretations did not (113). Specifically, these women contributed overwhelmingly to the "creation of the southern myth of the Lost Cause," which honored the nobility of the Southern cause and the belief that different circumstances would have allowed the South to win the war (5). Even when interpretations of war-time events varied, Gardner notes that the narratives perpetuated the myth, "[centered] on the question of Southern identity" and "actively [combated] northern accounts of the war," qualities that she ascribes to the genre of Southern white women narratives, such as those penned by Andrews (5).

By the time Andrews began editing her journal in the early 1900s, the "frenzied publication of diaries and memoirs that began in earnest in the 1890s [still] continued

...with scores of women taking blue pencils to their manuscripts, rendering their stories suitable for a post-war audience” (169). Perhaps one of the first diarists to participate in the editing of her own work was Mary Boykin Miller Chesnut, who revised extensively from 1881-1884, applying the “techniques of dialogue, characterization, and narration...to her Civil War manuscript” (170). Her revised diary was published posthumously, and while it was known that she had edited her work, she “left no record of her thoughts on revising her diary” (173). One of the first and most well-known authors to comment specifically on personal revision was Eliza Frances Andrews.

In a review of the *War-Time Journal* written for the University of North Carolina’s “Documenting the South” archival project, Harris Henderson notes, “what makes the diary unique... is the commentary that Andrews adds some forty years after her original experience,” providing an assessment shared by Gardner, who includes a discussion in her book acknowledging Andrews’ editorial prologue. Andrews’ inclusion of a self-reflective discussion, in which she conveys the challenges of modifying a private, youthful, and passionate work for public availability is one of the key distinctions between Andrews’ work and others of its time, but her journal has additional features as well. Sarah Gardner comments on Andrews’ “theory of economic determinism [which] offered a new twist on the myth of the Lost Cause but did not supplant it. With the same rhetoric that other members of the UDC had infused into their writings on the Civil War, Andrews explained the demise of the Confederacy” (174). Gardner recognizes Andrews as perpetuating the myth in her own way, by adding economic theory to the existing narrative. Charlotte Ford provides a similar reading, relating Andrews’ editorial prologue to her interest in Socialism; however, a green interpretation of Andrews’ unique use of

ecology and Darwinian evolutionary theory, based upon the words of the diarist and the additions of the editor, has not yet been published.

The portion of Andrews' diary that she published begins in December, 1864, and ends in August, 1865, covering the last few months of the Civil War and the first few of the aftermath. During this time, Andrews travels across Georgia with her sister to stay in Southwest Georgia until the conclusion of the war. During these initial travels, Andrews views much of the destruction caused by Sherman's army and records her passionate feelings regarding the destruction of nature. Once she arrives in Southwest Georgia, she includes detailed accounts of the "unique society" in her chapter titled "Plantation Life." Andrews explains:

Southwest Georgia, being the richest agricultural section of the State, and remote from the scene of military operations, was a favorite resort at that time for refugees from all parts of the seceded States, and the society of every little country town was as cosmopolitan as that of our largest cities had been before the war. (61)

Because of the gathering of refugees in this area during this time, Andrews' journal includes a full and colorful description of plantation society indicative of many of the values possessed by Southerners. This section seems to include much of the record of Southern lifestyle that Andrews hopes to preserve, ripe with descriptions of nature and the privileged access that plantation life allowed. As the war comes to a close in April, 1865 Andrews and her sister travel again to return to their family home in Washington, Georgia. The diary covers the long trip, Andrews' joyful arrival at home, and her experiences in Washington as she copes with shortages in food, money, and the end of

slave labor, all of which contribute to significant changes in the Southern lifestyle after the war.

The War-Time Journal is best known for its representation of upper-class life during a time of war; however, it is also quite unique for the manner in which it depicts familial struggles caused by a dispute between two segments of the same nation. Andrews' parents both supported the Union, while her three brothers served in the Confederate Army, and she and her sisters supported the Confederacy as well. The emotional turmoil wrought within the home becomes quite clear in Andrews' representations of family dispute and stress. She takes especial care in her editorial notes to illustrate respect for her father, who bears the brunt of much of her anger at the Union during the period depicted in her journal.

These editorial notes serve as Andrews' attempt to contextualize much of what she wrote as a girl "from a heart ablaze with the passionate resentment of a people smarting under the humiliation of defeat;" however, they also provide information that is crucial to understanding what Andrews tries to express about the natural evolution of the South (9). The editorial prologue is unique because it indicates how Andrews feels about her own writing and provides a green framework for her revised narrative of Southern evolution. Because of the information provided in her editorial prologue and chapter introductions, Andrews can recreate the history of the South through natural imagery. Thus, it is the combination of the original diarist's entries plus the editor's additions that work together to fully explain how, after the Civil War, it was time for the Old South, a natural and legitimate social system to evolve into the New South, an equally natural and legitimate society.

Chapter 4

Andrew's Diary and Southern Identity

Lisa Brady discusses a class of southerners who experience a “painful recognition... toward the end of the war that they no longer controlled their environment and that their power to transform the southern landscape into a reflection of southern society was ephemeral” (427). Because mastery of the natural environment is crucial to maintaining the Southern plantation lifestyle, the ability to control the landscape comes to represent the perpetuation of the Confederacy during the Civil War. Andrews utilizes the ecology of her area to establish a regional identity that she justifies and wishes to maintain, but Sherman's “total war” policy quite literally challenges that justification of Southern identity by destroying the landscape upon which Andrews bases her understanding. As she experiences this devastation, Andrews belongs to the category of Southerner described by Brady. Young Andrews struggles to maintain her interpretation of the landscape (and thus of the Confederate identity) through her use of nature imagery in the journal, but as the South loses the Civil War, Andrews also loses her grasp on the naturalized Southern identity that she has created. The comments that the older Andrews adds to the journal as editor, however, attempt to reappropriate Southern control of nature by developing a fertile new Southern identity through an ecological representation of fecundity and recovery. These efforts to manipulate the conception of Southern identity become quite clear during her introduction to the revised *War-Time Journal*.

Andrews' first project is to naturalize how the war led to the end of the Old South, which becomes clear in her following explanation:

We look back with loving memory upon our past, as we look upon the grave of the beloved dead . . . We teach the children of the South to honor and revere the civilization of their fathers, which we believe has perished not because it was evil or vicious in itself, but because, like a good and useful man who has lived out his allotted time and gone the way of all the earth, it too has served its turn and must now lie in the grave of the dead past. (10-11)

She establishes the Old South as an organic creature, "good and useful," whose lifespan has come to a natural end in death. She reiterates the belief that there was nothing inherently wrong with the Old South and that it simply had to end due to the conclusion of a natural life cycle. She even provides an evergreen representative for the Old South to emphasize the natural aspect of its existence. In her Prologue, Andrews the editor explains that

the Old South, with its stately feudal *regime*, was not the monstrosity that some would have us believe, but merely a case of belated survival, like those giant sequoias of the Pacific slope that have lingered on from age to age, and are now left standing alone in a changed world. (11)

In this passage, Andrews indicates that, not only does the Old South occur in nature, as a tree, but also that it is timeless.¹ According to the National Parks Service (NPS), "the

¹ Interestingly enough, the two largest Giant Sequoias in the United States are the General Sherman and the General Grant, named in 1879 and 1867, respectively. Given Andrews' involvement in the botanic community, it is quite possible that, writing in 1908, she would have known this, thus equating the representation of the Old South in her text with a tree that is closely linked to the well-known generals of the Union Army. The 11th largest tree is named the Robert E. Lee, so there is some Confederate

ages of the [largest sequoias] are unknown, but it is estimated that these giants are between 1800 and 2700 years old. They have seen civilization come and go, survived countless fires and long periods of drought, and continue to flourish.”² The idea of survival mentioned both by the NPS and Andrews connotes a kind of blamelessness; clearly, the fires, droughts, and human interferences that have threatened the sequoia population are due to no fault of the tree. Andrews suggests, then, that the South was existing innocently while forces battled against it, constantly challenging its ability to survive.



Giant Sequoia Sample (*Sequoia gigantea*)³



PLATE 3.—Stem of a conifer, *Sequoia gigantea*. Mariposa Grove, California. The first branch, 6 feet in diameter, leaves the parent trunk 125 feet above the ground. The photographer sitting on one of the exposed roots affords a good standard for comparison. The tree is noted for its massive limbs. The smaller trees in the background show the characteristic mode of branching in trees of this class.

Illustration from Andrews' textbook⁴

representation as well; however, the sequoia species, at least according to the National Parks Service, is more closely aligned with the Union Army than the Confederate.

² National Parks Service website: <http://www.nps.gov/archive/seki/bigtrees.htm>. For more information on these trees, see the NPS Online book, *The Giant Sequoia of the Sierra Nevada*, by Richard Hartesveldt, H. Thomas Harvey, Howard Shellhammer, and Ronald E. Stecker, at http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/science/hartesveldt/.

³ According to the documentation, Andrews collected this sample of the Giant Sequoia in Calaveras Grove, California, in August, 1892. It was preserved and donated with the rest of her collection and is now located at the Auburn University Freeman Herbarium. Andrews' interest in preservation can be seen most clearly through this botanical work, which has survived over a century.

⁴ Andrews utilizes this image of the giant sequoia, located in her *Practical Course in Botany*, to illustrate stem characteristics. The caption reads: "Stem of a conifer, *Sequoia gigantea*. Mariposa Grove, California.

The image of the sequoia brings additional associations to mind. The sequoia only grows on the Western coast of the United States, and it is likely that Andrews observed and appreciated the species on one of her trips to California at the end of the nineteenth century. Because of the vast distance between sequoia groves and the Southern landscape, the sequoia might seem an inappropriate candidate for Old South representation. The ecology of the tree does not parallel Georgia or the Southeast U.S. in any manner, and it is likely that most readers of Andrews' diary would not have seen a sequoia firsthand. However, the qualities most often associated with the sequoia are "immensity, timelessness, changelessness," characteristics which would reflect the vision of the Old South that Andrews wishes to perpetuate in her journal. By using the anomalous image of the sequoia, then, not only does Andrews naturalize the modes of behavior of the Old South, but she also implies a kind of colossal strength that denotes imperviousness. Even as Andrews explains that the Old South was not a "monstrosity," she provides a symbol for the Old South whose near invincibility defies nature and whose mammoth size dwarfs its surroundings.

Of course, comparing the Old South to a living organism also intimates that it adapts in relation to its organic matter. Even though the sequoias symbolize a kind of changelessness, Kilgore points out that they are "changing, living things." After all, they must be adaptable in order to survive for so long. In a similar manner, the South also must change as a result of the Civil War. Andrews' ecological comparison here becomes

The first branch, 6 feet in diameter, leaves the parent trunk 125 feet about the ground. The photographer sitting on one of the exposed roots affords a good standard for comparison. The tree is noted for its massive limbs. The smaller trees in the background show the characteristic mode of branching in trees of this class" (106).

a bit wistful, though, because even as she aligns the Old South with the giant sequoia, she comments on its death. She claims that the Old South has “perished” and “gone the way of all the earth,” while at the same time, the giant sequoias “are now left standing alone in a changed world” (10,11). By making the memory of her home culture quite literally evergreen, Andrews illustrates her own difficulty of releasing the myth and actually allowing the Old South to go to the grave.

Part of the struggle that Andrews feels regarding the release of control over Old South ecology stems from the destruction she witnessed after General Sherman’s March through Georgia. Charles Royster, in *The Destructive War*, discusses Sherman’s knowledge of Southern wealth, determined from the census of 1860, which described “the population, livestock, and agricultural produce of Georgia, county by county” (329). From this information, Sherman determined that he could “subsist his army in the process of disproving the Southern claim to impregnability which those resources supposedly vindicated.” The ability to destroy Southern resources, then, represents a Union ability to destroy the Southern lifestyle, which Sherman plans to methodically execute. Sherman does not intend this devastation to solely encompass the natural environment-- he proposes “utter destruction of [Georgia’s] roads, houses, and people”—but the natural ecology will clearly suffer from the destruction he causes (Sherman 152). In his Special Field Orders 120, which outline the military operation, Sherman orders that “the army will forage liberally on the country,” taking “corn or forage of any kind, meat of any kind, vegetables, corn-meal, or whatever is needed by the command,” and he grants “the power to destroy mills, houses, cotton-gins, etc” to the corps commanders (175). History has shown that Sherman’s army complied enthusiastically with Sherman’s plan of

destruction, often exceeding his established limits of devastation and committing personal violations that would not be permitted in a time of peace, thus creating the image of terror that is often associated with Sherman's March. It is the destruction of the natural environment, though, that most disturbs Eliza Andrews during her encounter with the devastation.

Andrews provides an eye-witness account of the "Burnt Country," where her rage at the destruction makes her want to "hang a Yankee" (*Journal* 32). She describes fallen fences, trampled fields, abundant animal carcasses, pillaged homes, and the ashes of houses, hay stacks, corn cribs, and cotton bales. This scene of devastation angers Andrews, and she expresses some sympathy for the "poor people" whose livelihoods were demolished, but she proclaims her greatest compassion during a later account of railroad destruction. As she arrives at the railroad station in Gordon, Georgia, she is appalled by the desolation of the track, which

was torn up and the iron twisted into every conceivable shape. Some of it was wrapped round the trunks of trees, as if the cruel invaders, not satisfied with doing all the injury they could to their fellowmen, must spend their malice on the innocent trees of the forest, whose only fault was that they grew on Southern soil.

Many fine young saplings were killed in this way. (47)

Sherman "attached much importance to this destruction of the railroad," and gave "reiterated orders to others" on the "best and easiest" manner of completing the destruction (Sherman 180). He explains in detail the process by which his soldiers "[heated] the middle of the iron-rails...and then [winded] them around a telegraph-pole or the trunk of some convenient sapling," because destroying the railroad was a

strategical imperative for denying the movement of resources to and from the South. Sherman does not attach the same ecological significance to the destruction of the saplings as Andrews does; he clearly sees them as a matter of convenience, another tool to be utilized in his destruction of Southern resources. Andrews' interpretation of and outrage at the death of the trees reflects her belief in the Southern prerogative of stewardship, particularly when viewed in contrast with an earlier scene in the journal. While Andrews rides on the wagon across Georgia, "it began to rain, so the gentlemen cut down saplings which they fitted...across the body of the wagon, and stretching the lieutenant's army blanket over it, made a very effectual shelter" (33-34). Note that Andrews does not cry out against the destruction of saplings in this scene, and the Southern men who cut the trees are described as "gentlemen," while the Northern men who kill trees are "cruel invaders." This distinction between Andrews' perception of Northern and Southern authority to destroy the land comes early in the text and establishes one important aspect of Southern identity. People who belong in the South and live according to the Southern lifestyle have the right to manipulate the land as they need, but "invaders" do not.⁵ Also, Andrews' witnessing of the Union's destruction of trees creates a cognizance of the slippery hold that the South has on its natural resources, a hold which Andrews, like the South, struggles to maintain until the end of the war and even after.

⁵ Andrews reiterates this belief in "The Destruction of Pines," when she laments: "as one of the great American people who are being defrauded of their birthright, I desire to protest against the wholesale destruction of the Pine-forests." She also expresses a similar sentiment in the discussion of a poor white family, when she exclaims, "I can't understand what makes these people live so. The father owns 600 acres of good pine land, and if there was anything in him, ought to make a good living for his family" (*Journal* 93) Her comment indicates a belief that the ownership of the land entitles the father to do as he wishes with the pine in order to make a living; we can assume, however, that her feelings about the subject do not extend to Northerners.

The editorial introductions that Andrews adds to the chapters in her journal provide more insight into her struggle, after the war, to reestablish a Southern hold on the ecology and naturalize the way of the life for the Old South whose passing she laments. At the beginning of the chapter entitled “Plantation Life,” Andrews the editor justifies the inclusion of what she calls a “trivial narrative” during a serious time of war. She explains that the information in her diary regarding her plantation visit might “seem little less than an impertinence, did we not know that...the simple undergrowth of the forest gives a character to the landscape without which the most carefully-drawn picture would be incomplete” (57). Here, Andrews articulates that the seemingly inconsequential passages of her diary, particularly those that describe outdoor pleasure activities, draw a picture of the Old South’s “character.” The descriptions that Andrews provides of her plantation experiences make plantation owners’ presences in the landscape as natural and ecologically necessary as the undergrowth in the forest.

Indeed, by providing accounts of her time spent in natural spaces, Andrews reiterates how her relationship with nature legitimizes the Old South. While visiting her sister in March of 1865, Andrews describes an outing to Coney Lake:

Flora and I [were] on horseback, the rest in buggies and carriages. It is a beautiful place. Great avenues of cypress extend into the shallow waters near the shore, where we could float about in shady canals and gather the curious wild plants that grow there. . . [the lake’s] waters are clear as crystal, and where they are shallow enough to show the bottom, all kinds of curious aquatic plants can be seen growing there in the wildest luxuriance. 106

Andrews presents this description of nature's "luxuriance" in an isolated Southern landscape as an example of the naturally glorious Old South and her existence within it. Ironically, while Andrews provides this scene as a justification regarding the Old South's relationship with nature, it also emphasizes the privilege that Andrews' party must possess in order to travel on horses and buggies to this remote location, where they "float about in shady canals" all afternoon. It also creates a justification for Andrews' antebellum lifestyle by illustrating the indomitable beauty of Southern nature during the Civil War period of violence and destruction. Even as General Sherman's Army destroys much of Georgia in 1865, Andrews and friends still possess a natural retreat, where the resilient flora abound and Southerners can escape the problems of war to enjoy their presumed dominance over the nature around them.

This authority over the land that Andrews maintains is illustrated by the manner in which Andrews and her friends "gather the curious wild plants," that grow in and around the swamp, a precursor to her future botanical interest in preservation, but it is perhaps most symbolically embodied through Andrews' departure from the swamp that evening. She explains, "it was late when we started back to the house, and the ride was glorious. Flora and I amused ourselves by going through the woods and making our horses jump the highest logs we could find" (107). The image of Andrews racing through the woods on horseback completes her privileged association with nature. Not only does she have the means to ride horses in a natural setting during this time of war, but Andrews also subjugates that setting in an illustration of Southern mastery, "making" the horse she rides jump over obstacles purely for her own enjoyment.

Not all of Andrews' excursions include horseback riding for pleasure, though. In a later passage, while Andrews describes strolling down "Lovers' Lane, a beautiful shady road...with all sorts of wild flowers blooming on the ground and climbing over the trees," she provides her only illustration regarding an incompatibility with nature that affects the Southern women on a personal level. She mentions that the lane has "one most unromantic drawback; it is awfully infested with fleas. They are like an Egyptian plague, and keep you wriggling and squirming in a perpetual struggle against the vulgar impulse to scratch" (136). In addition to providing a comical glimpse at some of the potential discomforts of being a Southern lady on this particular Lovers' Lane, Andrews juxtaposes concepts of natural beauty and natural parasites. Clearly, the two go hand-in-hand, although the latter is generally omitted from descriptions of landscape due to the jarring incongruence caused by pests in passages of beauty. Most noteworthy about Andrews' description, though, is the idea of "perpetual struggle" brought on by something as natural (and as tiny) as a flea, a comic illustration of the hardships of estate life. Remembering that Andrews equates the Old South with sequoias is helpful here, because there is such an immense contrast between the miniscule flea and the giant sequoia. Andrews reiterates her belief in the permanence of the Old South with this description of the kinds of struggles that Southern women face. If they are as stalwart as the sequoias, then no flea can challenge their presence.

Andrew's description of Lovers' Lane includes the image of flowers "climbing over the trees," an example of resilient natural abundance despite the war that Andrews appreciates throughout her diary and conflates with concepts of planted abundance in estate gardens (136). After traveling to stay with friends during the war, she expresses

her joy in reaching the “large white house in the midst of a beautiful garden, where roses of all sorts were running riot, filling the air with fragrance and the earth with beauty” (168). And her passion for the estate garden is made most clear when she reaches her own home: “how beautiful home does look, with the green leaves on the trees and the Cherokee roses in full bloom, flinging their white festoons clear over the top of the big sycamore by the gate! Surely this old home of ours is the choicest spot of all the world” (174). This Cherokee rose seems to represent the splendor of Southern life for Andrews, overgrown and excessive, and she indicates that all Southerners share her appreciation of it: “nearly everybody that passes the street gate stops and looks up the avenue, and I know they can’t help thinking what a beautiful place it is. The Cherokee rose hedge is white with blooms. It is glorious” (182).

The Cherokee rose, introduced to the United States from China in the mid-eighteenth century, seems to have been named after the Cherokee who cultivated it, but by the time of Andrews’ journal, the rose was associated with the act of Cherokee Removal on the Trail of Tears.⁶ Some legends say that the rose sprang up from the tears of the Cherokee women as they walked down the trail, and the white petals represent

⁶ For more on the Cherokee rose, or *rosa laevigata*, see *Roses: From the Archives of the Royal Horticultural Society*, by Peter Harkness. The rose is also known as the Camellia Rose or the Mardan Rose, although references to it by those names are rare. The Cherokee rose was named the state flower of Georgia by a joint resolution in 1916, because it has “its origin among the aborigines of the northern portion of the State of Georgia, is indigenous to its soil, and grows with equal luxuriance in every county of the State.” There is ongoing debate about the nativeness of the flower, though the accepted history is that it was introduced from China (via England) and naturalized quickly. While Georgia legislators were likely mistaken regarding the indigenous nature of the flower, their desire to claim it as the state symbol represents an attempted reclamation of a previously rejected tribe, the “aboriginal” Cherokees to whom the resolution alludes. The naming of the flower is quite significant, considering that it is described as invasive, pervasive, and uncontrollable, characteristics that early Georgians often associated with the Cherokee Indians native to the state. Joint resolution #42, “Floral Emblem of the State,” located online at: <http://georgiainfo.galileo.usg.edu/cher-roseresn.htm>.

those tears.⁷ Thus, the flower can be viewed as a memorial to the Cherokee tribe in Georgia; however, the rose, complete with large thorns and bristly hips, naturalized by the mid-nineteenth century and overran fertile crop ground, becoming known as a nuisance in many areas of the South. One prominent American breeder laments that he “had squandered whole seasons of work on the Cherokee, with little to show,” illustrating a common complaint about the invasive nature of the species that echoes nineteenth century sentiments about the attempted “civilization” of the Cherokee tribe (Harkness 96). Andrews’ choice of this rose as a symbol of plantation beauty illustrates a lack of sensitivity regarding the Cherokee. She never alludes to their existence, even though much of her Southern society rests on land that was once inhabited primarily by them, an erasure much like that of the enslaved laborers who perform most of the work on the plantation but are invisible in illustrations of plantation grandeur. It also aligns the plantation with Cherokee removal, failed “civilizing” attempts, and the naturalization of an alien species. Most importantly, though, Andrews provides the Cherokee rose as another representative for the Old South that, like the giant sequoia, conveys resilience and immensity. Andrews specifically locates this symbolic flora, though, at the Georgia plantation home. Even though the rose, by 1864, would likely grow wild in many areas surrounding Andrews’ home, she only mentions the rosehedge located at her house. The importance she attaches to this particular plant differs from the specialized regionality of the sequoia. The Cherokee rose blooms near the plantation home and represents the lifestyle associated with that home.

⁷ For an account of this Cherokee legend, see Mary Chiltosky’s *Aunt Mary, Tell Me a Story*, a collection of Cherokee legends published by the official press of the Eastern Band of the Cherokee. Similar versions of the legend can be found on the “About North Georgia” website: <http://ngeorgia.com/history/nghisttt.html>, and on the “Cherokees of California” website at: <http://www.powersource.com/cocinc/articles/rose.htm>.

The presence of the estate house in and of itself is enough to distinguish between the ecology of the sequoia and the Cherokee rose, but there is another significant factor creating a key difference between the two. The giant sequoia is more like the “natural scenery” that Andrews depicts, consisting of a “variety of vegetation,” a “huge mosaic...of wild azaleas, Atamasco lilies, yellow jessamine, and a hundred other brilliant wild flowers” (132). The Cherokee rose that Andrews appreciates exists on the Southern estate, which consists of a “fine grove,” a rose hedges, and the “big sycamore by the gate,” (25, 174). Unlike the sequoia or the “natural scenery” Andrews describes, the gardens around the plantation home consist of specifically planted and carefully groomed plants, natural in the sense that they are comprised of organic material and grow from the earth, but distinctly unnatural in the artificial arrangement and extensive labor required to maintain them. Regarding the Cherokee rose, one online botanical guide jokes, “no one today in their right mind would plant this robust rose for only 20 days of flowers in the early spring,” indicating that the amount of labor required to maintain such an overwhelming plant far exceeds the reward of its blooms.⁸

It is this gardening labor, of course, that creates the largest incongruity in Andrews’ conception of the natural. Even though she utilizes green language to naturalize the existence of the Southern lifestyle, the artificiality of the estate garden is the key factor that Andrews excludes from the text. By illustrating the beauty present in the plantation gardens without mentioning the slave labor required to create it, Andrews perpetuates the Southern myth of controlling nature. She makes it seem as though the garden landscape is beautiful because it occurs naturally with the plantation home, when

⁸ <http://www.killerplants.com/plant-of-the-week/20050328.asp>.

in fact, the labor required to keep the gardens that Andrews describes would be extensive. This false representation of the natural environment is part of the image of effortless control over nature that Andrews struggles to maintain throughout the war diary; however, by the end of her journal, she begins to realize that the perhaps she, and the South, did not possess the control over nature that she believed.

At the end of her diary, when Andrews laments the departure of most of her slave “family” from their house, she finally comments on the labor that grounds maintenance requires. While congratulating herself on her newfound ability to clean house, which she has had to do in the absence of enslaved people, she also notes that there is more work than the family can handle. She explains,

our establishment has been reduced from 25 servants to 5, and two of these are sick. Uncle Watson and Buck do the outdoor work, or rather the small part of it that can be done by two men. The yard, grove, orchards, vineyards, and garden, already show sad evidences of neglect. (375-6)

Within this statement, Andrews admits not only that the plantation landscape she loves has been dependent upon slave labor, but also that it requires many more than two men to maintain it at an acceptable level. Herein lies the major predicament in Andrews’ attempt to naturalize the plantation lifestyle by veiling the quantity of labor required to maintain it. By the end of the journal, Andrews has realized that the gardens do not occur naturally, thus Southerners do not possess an innate control over the land. Even though she discovers the importance of labor through this realization, Andrews continues to absent labor from her discussion of plantation life in the editorial notes she provides years later.

An example of this later omission appears clearly in Andrews' editorial introduction to the chapter titled "A Race with the Enemy." She describes a ridge "overlooking the rich prairie lands of South-East Alabama" where many of the "owners of the great cotton plantations in the prairie made their homes" (129). In attempting to relate the beauty of the scenery, Andrews describes how "the edge of the bluff was lined with a succession of stately mansions surrounded by beautiful parks and gardens, very much as the water front of a fashionable seaside resort is built up to-day."



Georgia Holly⁹

Ironically, Andrews fails to acknowledge the artificiality of the mansions, even though she compares them to seaside resorts. In her narrative, the beautiful parks and gardens of the plantations serve to naturalize their own existence within the setting. Of course, the maintenance of these cultivated green spaces would require extensive labor, a concept which Andrews excludes entirely from the description. Even within this attempt to

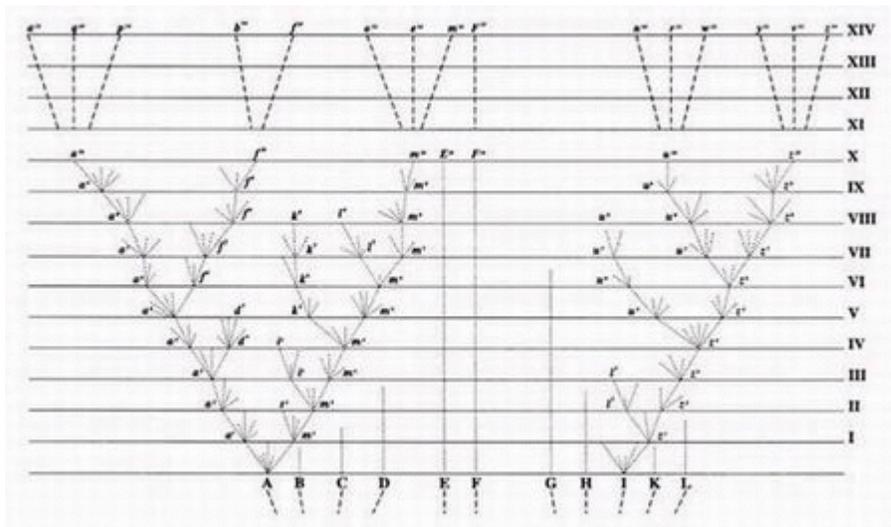
⁹ This sample was collected from a "bluff" near Rome, Georgia, perhaps even the same bluff which she describes in the introduction to "A Race with the Enemy." The tag on the sample is written in A.M. Chapman's handwriting; however, the species is believed to have been collected by Andrews. Many of Chapman's and Andrews' specimens were intermixed when the collection was donated to Alabama. See Curtis Hansen's history for more information.

naturalize the presence of these plantation homes on the ridge, Andrews unconsciously suggests the incongruence of the plantation existence. By comparing them to seaside resorts, she also intimates a level of leisure and wealth associated with the homes. The seaside resort clearly denotes affluence; a certain capital is required to build a glamorous structure in a setting that is unfavorable for construction, disposable income is required to vacation at that kind of resort, and most importantly, the resort is not a place of work. By comparing the plantation home to the resort, then, she indicates the same level of wealth and leisure exists in both, supported by invisible labor that is not being conducted by the vacationers or the plantation residents. Her attempts to naturalize this constructed lifestyle illustrate her alliance with it. She expresses her personal attachment to this society most clearly in January of 1865: “it is a pity that this glorious old plantation life should ever have to come to an end” (69). Again, she utilizes “old” to describe the lifestyle she wishes to legitimize, even as she wistfully realizes that her society will not continue forever. The notes that Andrews adds as editor, then, continue with the acknowledgment that the Old South had to end. She utilizes evolutionary theory in her rhetoric to justify the necessary transformation from Old South into New South.

In her discussion, Andrews borrows heavily from and alludes directly to Charles Darwin, most specifically utilizing his famous “Tree of Life” image. Andrews naturalizes the end of the Old South as part of the evolutionary process, but she struggles to accept changes in race relations that occurred after the Civil War. She describes a new “race problem” on the ratification of the fifteenth amendment, which states that the right to vote “shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account

of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.”¹⁰ In the editorial introduction to her chapter “Foreshadowings of the Race Problem,” Andrews claims that the amendment injected a race problem into our national life. There it stands to-day, a solid wedge of alien material cleaving the heart wood of our nation’s tree of life, and throwing the dead weight of its impenetrable mass on whatever side its own interest or passion, or the influence of designing politicians may direct it. (281)

Andrews’ literal concern seems to be about the voting procedures of the minority population, whom she believes too ignorant to place a well-educated vote. Thus, she sees the “impenetrable mass” voting unanimously against typical Southern political aims, which she views as causing a division in the United States well after the conclusion of the Civil War. Figuratively, however, her statement regarding the continued division of the nation continues her project of naturalizing the progression of Southern society after the War.



Tree of Life illustration from *The Origin of the Species*

¹⁰ Full text of U.S. Constitution and amendments available at Cornell Law School online: <http://www.law.cornell.edu/constitution/constitution.amendmentxv.html>.

Scientist at heart, Andrews clearly invokes the image of Charles Darwin's Tree of Life, a concept that he published in his 1859 *The Origin of the Species*. Darwin envisions a multi-branching tree as a way to explain the evolution of species, where new buds on new branches struggle to flourish against older buds. Over time, the success of the new buds causes an extermination of the old, which then drop off from the tree:

Of the many twigs which flourished when the tree was a mere bush, only two or three, now grown into great branches, yet survive and bear all the other branches; so with the species which lived during long-past geological periods, very few now have living and modified descendants. From the first growth of the tree, many a limb and branch have decayed and dropped off; and these lost branches of various sizes may represent those whole orders, families, and genera which have now no living representatives . . . (106-7)

Darwin's theory and Andrews' rhetoric align almost perfectly to support her assertions regarding both the "ancient" existence of the Old South and the natural evolution of that society into a New South. Again, she reiterates not that the Confederacy lost the Civil War but that it was time for the Old South to evolve into a new species. Andrews connects the entire nation to the tree of life, thus allowing the South to represent one of the "great branches" that has grown from the original twigs. Presumably, the North would represent the other side of that tree, although her interest is primarily in establishing a kind of antiquity for the South. Therefore, through this allusion, Andrews links the existence of the Old South to nature and explains how, based on evolutionary theory, the New South gradually overgrew the old.

By explaining it in these terms, Andrews allows the Old South to drop off naturally, not due to defeat or shame, and ensures that the New South which replaces it is also a part of the same root branch, maintaining many of the same Southern aspects. This utilization of evolutionary theory works to naturalize the changes that occur in the South due to the Civil War. Andrews provides more clarification regarding her evolutionary beliefs in her botanical textbooks, including a discussion of “retrogressive evolution,” a concept which becomes particularly helpful when considered in relation to Andrews’ representations of the death of the Old South.

While explaining the evolutionary process for her students in her second textbook, Andrews writes, “all the evidence we possess does go to show that, since the beginning of life on the globe, there has been a general progressive evolution from lower and simpler to higher and more complex forms” (*Practical* 359). This definition of evolution would lead the conclusion that the New South surpasses the Old South as one of the “higher and more complex” structures that stem from evolutionary progress, an idea that opposes Andrews’ assertions of Old South grandeur. Andrews continues her lesson, however, by including a discussion of “retrogressive evolution.” She explains, “while the general course of evolution has been upward and onward, the movement has not always followed a straight line, but, like a mountain road shows many windings and deviations from the direct route” (360). This caveat indicates that evolution does not always equate to improvement, and Andrews ensures her students understand the difference. Because living conditions naturally alter periodically, ecologies must change, too; the kind of evolution that occurs, then, depends upon the quality of the living conditions. If conditions degrade in some way, the evolving organism will adapt to survive in the

degraded condition, thus interrupting “upward” movement of evolutionary progress.

When we place this discussion in the context of Andrews’ Old and New Souths, we can interpret her meaning in two ways. Given Andrews’ preference for the Old South and her indication that the New South is infused with a debilitating race problem, she likely indicates that a kind of retrogressive evolution has already occurred, after which the New South is the organism that represents not progress but only survivability. An additional interpretation would view this discussion as a warning that the Old South has the potential to return. The conclusion that Andrews provides for the subject in her textbook also supports the first explanation, though, as she states that “we have no right, however, to assume that during such a course of retrogressive evolution the same forms would be repeated in reverse order as have already appeared” (361). Thus, the next evolutionary phase of the South will likely be completely different than any that has previously existed.

Another concept Andrews borrows from Darwin’s representation of the “tree of life” is that of fossilization. Darwin mentions that, after the old branches drop off from the tree and reproduce no longer, they “are known to us only from having been found in a fossil state,” and it is precisely this fossil state that Andrews purports to provide through the publication of her journal (107). She editorializes, in an effort to moderate the passionate language of her youth, that her journal is

not offered to the public as an exposition of the present attitude of the writer or her people, nor as a calm and impartial history of the time with which it deals. It is rather to be compared to one of those fossil relics gathered by the geologist from the wrecks of former generations; a simple footprint, perhaps, or a vestige of

a bone, which yet, imperfect and of small account in itself, conveys to the practiced eye a clearer knowledge of the world to which it belonged than volumes of learned research. (218)

Her language indicates that the evolution of the Old South is complete; according to Darwin's description, all that remains are the fossils, left to be discovered by future generations. By claiming to provide these fossils, then, Andrews antiquates the old South and infuses it with historical and cultural value. Illustrating that the Old South remains only in fossilized form is the final step to admitting it is completely dead; however, the evolution metaphor always allows for the next species to begin. Darwin concludes his metaphor in a manner quite similar to the one that Andrews later adopts:

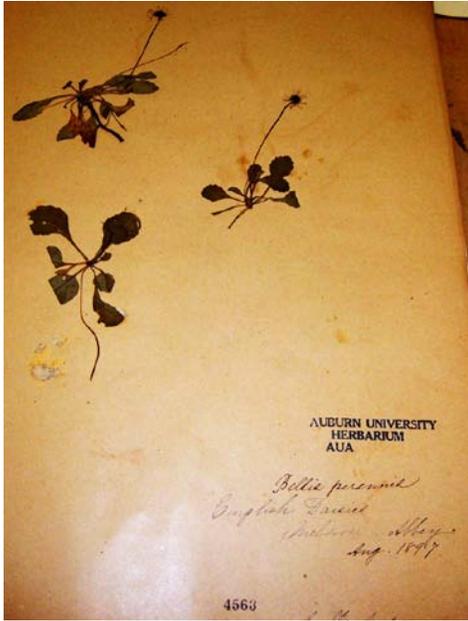
As buds give rise by growth to fresh buds, and these, if vigorous, branch out and overtop on all sides many a feebler branch, so by generation I believe it has been with the great Tree of Life, which fills with its dead and broken branches the crust of the earth, and covers the surface with its ever branching and beautiful ramifications. (107)

This image of healing nature that follows the death of a "branch" also appears in Andrews work. In her prologue, Andrews establishes her interest in an ecological rising of the South that echoes Darwin's ideal by describing the changes to the South as a natural process.

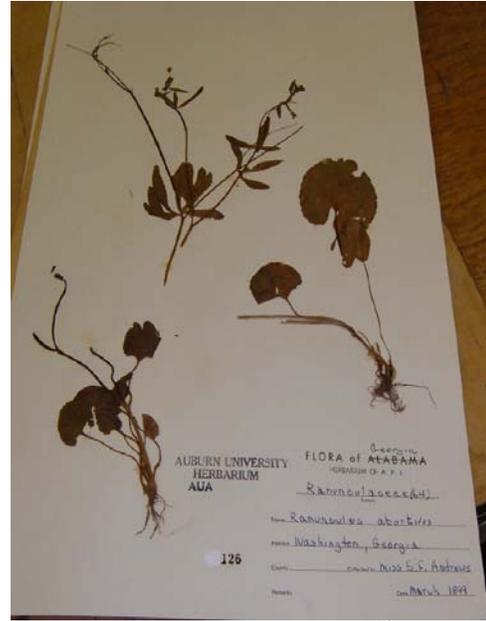
While discussing a postbellum visit to the battlefield at Petersburg, Virginia, Andrews describes the "pit of death," containing the bodies of hundreds of soldiers, as "lined now with daisies and buttercups, and fragrant with the breath of spring" (10). The juxtaposition of the concepts of death and spring-time revitalization indicate a natural

order, the cycle of life that turns dead bodies into fertilizer for spring flowers. Andrews draws a direct connection between human death and nonhuman life when she continues: “tall pines, whose lusty young roots had fed on the hearts of dead men, were waving softly overhead, and nature everywhere had covered up the scars of war with the mantle of smiling peace.” She presents this Tennyson-esque vision of dead bodies nourishing plant growth not in a morbid manner but as one small piece of a larger benevolent “nature” that has taken the mess of war and created something beautiful out of it.¹¹ Of course, in placing the Old South in “the grave of the dead past,” she combines it with the graves of the soldiers on the battlefield where she stands during this recollection. The specific graves she mentions at this site are those of “three hundred dead Yankees.” While there are undoubtedly the bodies of Confederate Soldiers nearby, if not in the exact same location, she specifically mentions the dead Yankees in order to indicate a reverence for the dead that has overcome war-time animosity. Andrews quotes a veteran of the Confederate Army: “we are all brothers once more, and I can feel for them layin’ down thar just the same as fur our own” (10). Her inclusion of this sympathy for the Union soldiers indicates a kind of mending after the war, but perhaps more importantly, it sheds light on her discussion of the flora that must grow out of the grave she has previously mentioned.

¹¹ Tennyson’s *In Memoriam*, published in 1850 includes some discussion of concepts of evolution and natural selection. Tennyson presents images of both malevolent and benevolent nature in the poem; however, it concludes with a positive vision of a spring time marriage: “Where now the seamew pipes, or dives/ In yonder greening gleam, and fly/ The happy birds, that change their sky/ To build and brood; that live their lives // From land to land; and in my breast/ Spring wakens too; and my regret/ Becomes an April violet,/ And buds and blossoms like the rest” (CXV 13-20). Andrews’ description of “smiling nature” growing out of the dead resembles Tennyson’s vision of healing nature in these stanzas.



English Daisies¹²



Littleleaf Buttercups¹³

“The grave of the dead past” that Andrews constructs clearly contains the Old South in conjunction with “Yankee” soldiers. Thus, the specific kind of ecology that Andrews describes to represent the New South growing out of this grave must represent some merging between the two previously incompatible worlds. For this purpose, Andrews describes “daisies and buttercups” and “tall pines,” providing common names for plants that grow without cultivation and can be found naturally (in some variety) in almost every region of the United States. By presenting the generic names of plants that exist in multiple varieties for this comparison, Andrews resists her own botanical training and advice. In her textbook *Botany All the Year Round*, she emphasizes the importance of utilizing proper botanical lexicon when discussing plant life, and in her own taxonomical work, she identifies plants down to their proper species; however, when she

¹² The English daisies were collected in 1897 from Melrose Abbey, California, so they are not a precise example of what would be found in the South after the Civil War; however, these specimens do provide a glimpse of the daintiness and fragility of the flower. The handwriting on the parchment is assumed to be Andrews’.

¹³ The buttercups were collected in Andrews’ hometown of Washington, Georgia, in 1899.

provides her description of nature in the Prologue, she uses common plant names. Because of her insistence on scientific botanical discourse in most of her work, then, we have to assume that Andrews' vagueness on the subject here is intentional. *Gray's Manual of Botany*, the reference that Andrews used for most of her own work, lists 31 varieties of buttercup, 11 kinds of pines, and combines the daisy into the "composite family," a grouping of flowers that contains 106 varieties, including many different kinds of daisies.¹⁴ There is a distinct difference in representation between these generic plants and the specificity of the giant sequoia that she provides to represent her Old South. By providing only the common names for her New South representatives, Andrews can be certain that she suggests plants which grow freely throughout the country, unlike the highly regionalized giant sequoia, so that all readers can envision whichever variety of the flora is most familiar to them. These associations allow the audience to experience reassuring feelings regarding the outcome of the Civil War, because they can now picture the New South not in terms of bloody battlegrounds but of comforting scenes of thriving nature. Indeed, this strategy also suggests that the New South does not possess the same majestic individuality that the giant sequoia embodies.

Andrews utilizes both flowers and trees to create her new ecology, combining a kind of feminine delicacy with masculine permanence. The wildflowers that she names, generally considered weeds, are delicate individually but quite rugged as a species, cropping up across the country and often unappreciated in cultivated landscapes.

Considering that the New South Andrews' attempts to create grows from a combination

¹⁴ Andrews worked closely with *Gray's Manual of Botany* for many of her projects and would have known it well by the time she wrote the Prologue for the *War-Time Journal*. In her textbook *Botany all the Year Round*, which she published in 1903, she cites *Gray's Manual* as her primary source for botanical information.

of Northern and Southern dead, these weeds possibly represent the invasion of Northernness into the Southern ecology. Daisies and buttercups grow uninvited throughout the country, and a landscape that is left open to species invasion, such as an empty battlefield, will likely produce these wildflowers, which are dwarfed in comparison to the other representative of the New South that Andrews provides, the “tall pines.”

The “tall pines” that mix with these flowers possess “lusty young roots [that] had fed on the hearts of dead men,” a concept of fertilization that implies a natural transition to life from death. The image of the tree roots digging deep into the graves provides a kind of permanence. These are not simply weeds, cropping up in an empty field; these are pine trees, a clear representation of the New South that grows from the dead of the Old South, mixed with some “Yankee” dead as well. Andrews associates the trees with her childhood and possesses a fondness for them which can be viewed most clearly in her other botanical publications. In 1891, she writes to the editor of *Garden and Forest* regarding “the wholesale destruction of the Pine-forests now going on all over the country, and particularly in my own state of Georgia” (333). She refers to herself not as an botanist or scholar, but “as one reared under the shadow of the eternal Pines,” a description of the trees that implies they will last forever and connotes a religious association, as if Andrews is trying to create a divine justification for the preservation of the tree. Ascribing the tree with some kind of sacred right to exist also allows us to view the pine growing out of the Civil War dead as a kind of resurrection. While Andrews’ religious rhetoric is not the dominant theme in her journal, associating the pine with concepts of “eternity” also allows the New South that grows from the grave to have religious righteousness, much as supporters of the Old South advocated slavery as a God-

given right. At the end of her letter, Andrews reiterates her appreciation of the trees, describing them as “the most beneficent of all our noble forest-trees, the health-giving, balm-distilling, music-murmuring Pines” (334). Here, the trees actively do good for their surroundings, quite appropriately giving health, distilling balm, and murmuring music. These descriptors indicate Andrews’ belief in the power of the pine tree to ameliorate its surroundings, which seems to be exactly what the South recovering from the Civil War needs.



Longleaf Pine: Macon, Georgia, 1893

Certainly, Andrews is not the only individual interested in the characteristics of the pine trees in relation to the Civil War, though. In the *Memoirs of General William T. Sherman*, published in 1875, Sherman records the lyrics of a song written by an imprisoned Union Soldier, titled “Sherman’s March to the Sea.” General Sherman notes his keen appreciation of the song (for which he rewarded the composer with an immediate position on his staff), and he inserts the lyrics in his memoirs “for convenient

reference and preservation.”¹⁵ While several of the verses include nature imagery to express the Union Army’s experience during the War, the fifth verse specifically addresses the pine forests in which Sherman’s Army spent much of its time during the march.

Oh, proud was our army that morning,
That stood where the *pine darkly towers*,
When Sherman said, “Boys, you are weary,
But to-day fair Savannah is ours!” (283, emphasis added)¹⁶

Clearly, these lyrics associate the outskirts of Savannah with a state of nature, specifically the pine forests, from which Sherman’s Army emerges to capture the city. While the description of the pine, towering “darkly,” seems potentially ominous, these lyrics also represent a masculine Romantic ideal that associates nature with inspiration, ambition, and revivification. This trope is gentled and domesticated by Andrews when she claims that “nature everywhere had covered up the scars of war with the mantle of smiling peace.” While she would agree with Sherman’s lyricist regarding the concept of nature as a source for salvation, their visions vary greatly. According to Andrews, the pine trees grow over battleground to cover up ugly war and symbolize a newfound, and beautiful, peace. According to this song, though, the pine trees conceal the Union Army, the liberators, who come from nature to free the city from its vice. Sherman expresses a

¹⁵ Sherman preferred this song to the more popular and well-known “Marching Through Georgia,” which played at every Civil War celebration for decades and came to represent the victory of the Union. At a reunion of the Grand Army of the Republic in Boston, Sherman heard the song played 350 times. A witness “saw [Sherman] turn his head away to hide an expression of disgust as the tune started yet again” (Royster 365).

¹⁶ A popular revision of the song, composed by Charles Koppitz, includes a minor variation in the lyrics: “Oh, proud was our army that morning,/ That stood by the Cypress and Pine,/ When Sherman said, “Boys, you are weary,/ This day fair Savannah is thine!” The song sheet is available in Johns Hopkins Special Collections Library Online: <https://jscholarship.library.jhu.edu/handle/1774.2/3109>

similar vision of the pine forests earlier in his memoirs, after he has been in Savannah longer than he desired. He explains that “[they] were all anxious to get into the pine-woods again, free from the importunities of rebel women asking for protection, and of the civilians from the North who were coming to Savannah for cotton and all sorts of profit” (252). Again, the pine-forest is viewed as a kind of natural safe-haven in which Sherman’s Army seeks protection from the tainted city life. This contested use of the pines by Andrews and Sherman, encapsulating similar ideals about nature for vastly different purposes, illustrates how vulnerable regional ecologies are to being claimed for political purposes. Both the North and South used nature to justify their position during the war, and the contested use of land for identity construction is in part symbolic of the struggle that occurred.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

In her discussion regarding landscape as a “socially constituted entity,” Susan Kollin reminds us that “nature can be made to speak for almost any political project,” a conflict that Andrews’ and Sherman’s diverging utilizations of nature clearly represent (19). Lisa M. Brady, while discussing military strategy, also notes that opposing forces can utilize nature to their benefit, reminding us that “in the Civil War, both Union and Confederate forces continually negotiated” the “wartime relationship between humans and nature” (422). This paper has explored the manner in which one Southern woman utilizes green language and evolutionary theory to legitimize the existence of the Old South and naturalize the transition to a New South, but it has also illustrated, through the discussion of General Sherman, that the attempted manipulation of nature does not only apply to the South. Brady would note that both of these individuals, on opposing sides during the Civil War, “expose the power—military and social—that the physical control of nature offered. War is not only fought on the ground, however; it also is fought in the hearts and minds of those involved” (424). While General Sherman illustrates that military power can literally destroy Southern nature, Andrews responds with equal force in her writing, recording Southern ecology as she perceives it in order to legitimize the Old South and explain the necessary evolution to the New South. Historians would argue that Sherman’s manipulation of nature was more powerful and thus more successful than

Andrews', because his actions resulted in the Confederate Army's surrender to the Union in April 1865. Sherman's victory was then widely celebrated, and authors and artists alike memorialized his successful "March to the Sea" in every genre and medium available.

In 1891, the New York Chamber of Commerce commissioned Augustus Saint-Gaudens, one of America's premier sculptors of the age, to create a memorial to General Sherman. This larger-than-life bronze statue of the Union Army hero still stands at the Fifty-Ninth Street entrance to Central Park, and it has become one of the best-known representations of the Civil War General. Saint-Gaudens' memorial to Sherman, which took twelve years to complete, consists of Sherman astride his horse "closely following an allegorical winged female figure, representing Victory" (Royster 367). The statue illustrates forward movement, with Sherman holding a tight rein on the straining horse as they follow the winged woman onward to Victory. By creating a connection between these two characters, Saint-Gaudens illustrates a popular Union belief that Sherman was guided by a mythical "Victory," destined to win the war for the Union. This connection to victory relates closely to a mastery over nature, which becomes clear when Royster describes the detail of the statue: "in pressing forward, horse and rider have trod across a broken bough of Georgia pine" (367). Sherman's destruction of Southern nature, then, becomes memorialized as a crucial part of his connection to victory. In order to follow the mythological "Victory" who guides him in the statue, Sherman must trample the Georgia pine, a feat which he accomplishes during his "March to the Sea" that presumably guarantees his attainment of victory for the Union. Saint-Gaudens eliminates weapons, violence, and additional soldiers from the statue, presenting a peaceful

illustration of one man often credited with the Union victory; within the representation of the broken bough, however, Saint-Gaudens indicates a level of violence against the Southern landscape that leads to the Confederate surrender of the war.

No statue of Andrews exists, but her diary in print a century after its initial publication serves as her testament to the Old Southern lifestyle that Sherman erased. While Sherman's burned crops, murdered saplings, and trampled pines created literal changes to the land to a much greater degree than Andrews' prose, her journal creates a tangible record of the natural evolution of the South as she experienced it. In one sense, then, both Andrews and Sherman had an enduring effect on the South stemming from their relationship with nature. Thus, the diary that Andrews writes during the war and edits four decades later creates what Jean Berlin calls, "a past of which [she] could be proud, the Old South of myth and legend" (x). For readers today, however, it is perhaps more astute to move beyond viewing *The War-Time Journal of a Georgia Girl* as one woman's record of a mythological South. Instead, scholars should note Andrews' use of nature to create that myth, noting that, historically, "ideas of nature have created visions of an American past and future, establishing in the process a link between . . . nature and national identity" (Kollin 22). Eliza Frances Andrews participates in this national project specifically for the South, utilizing her environmental justification to legitimize the society she valued and justify its evolution. General Sherman serves as a single example of an opposing force participating in similar ecological justification for an entirely different end. These conflicting purposes clearly illustrate one dilemma that stems from building identity based upon the shifting and frequently appropriated foundations of ecology. Reading Andrews in this manner reminds us to respond to natural justifications

with caution. Just as the giant sequoias are now “vulnerable,” as classified by the International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources in 1997, so is any regional identity that depends upon ecological justification to endure.

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