A (HAIR) WORK OF MEMORY: MATTANNA FAIRCHILD’S DECORATIVE MEMORIAL WORKS IN THE POST WAR SOUTH

by

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A Thesis
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of
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of
Master of Arts
History of Decorative Arts

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A (Hair) Work of Memory: Mattanna Fairchild’s Decorative Memorial Works in the Post War South

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by

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DEDICATION

This is dedicated to my ever supportive network of friends and family who never got tired of listening to me yell about dead people’s hair.
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I would like to thank all of my friends and family members who helped me through this writing process. In particular my thanks and heart go out to my all of my friends who were willing to read, edit, and comment on multiple drafts - Anne, Carrie, Carly, Diana, Katie, Paige, and Teresa. I also wouldn’t have been as successful without my emotional support team of my mom, fiancé Jackson, best friend Lauren, and cat (who never complained about being hugged a little too hard) Trixabelle: Devourer of Souls. My adviser Dr. Jennifer van Horn was wonderful at pointing me in the correct direction when I had strange research paths. Thanks to Nancy Davis and the rest of the staff I worked with at NMAH. Finally, I am grateful that Mattanna Fairchild spent so much time creating her hairwreath.
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Ladies’ Memorial Association.................................................................LMA
Unites Daughters of the Confederacy .................................................... UDC
ABSTRACT

A (HAIR) WORK OF MEMORY: MATTANNA FAIRCHILD’S DECORATIVE MEMORIAL WORKS IN THE POST WAR SOUTH

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George Mason University, 2016

Thesis Director: Dr. Jennifer Van Horn

In the latter half of the 1860s Mattanna Fairchild created a large memorial hair wreath, composed of the hair of those Confederate soldiers who fell during the Battle of Raymond, Mississippi, which happened on her family property. A large decorative piece, which remained in the familial home until 2014, the wreath is densely laden with symbolism. Mattanna's fancy work served to showcase the ideals of the Old South and her beloved Confederacy, the passing of which she mourned alongside the dead. This thesis will argue that memorial handiworks, such as Mattanna Fairchild's massive hair wreath, were part of the same movement among Southern women of the late nineteenth century that saw the erection of Confederate monuments across the nation. These works helped to construct social concepts of race and gender as they related to being “Southern” and aided in making those ideals more palatable to the North, by showcasing white southerners’ gentility and Southern women’s domestic piety.
INTRODUCTION

In 1863, the Union Army arrived in the small town of Raymond, Mississippi on the way to Vicksburg. For Mattanna Fairchild and her family this would lead to the destruction of their property Magnolia Vale, the death of an uncle, and the cementing of proto-Lost Cause ideals within the young woman’s mind. In the years following the battle, Mattanna would seek to share her version of events through publications as well as preservation, converting her family’s plantation home into a place of pilgrimage for other women searching out Confederate sites in the South.

Mattanna’s extended mourning seems excessive to the modern viewer, but for the domestic trend makers of the later nineteenth century, it was precisely on point. The nineteenth century was a period of very public and visible mourning. This was due in part to the spread of new media such as newspapers and periodicals, as well as the various early forms of photography, which allowed news of deaths to spread more quickly and fully across large spaces. These new technologies also paved the way for the deceased to be visually recorded in a more faithful manner, whether they died peacefully in their homes or violently in battle. The immense numbers of individuals, both soldiers and civilians, who lost their lives in the large-scale violence of the Civil War meant that every inch of the country was touched by death, and as a result death affected American culture in a myriad of ways during and after the Civil War.
One of the central aspects of mourning during this period was memory and remembering the deceased. In the decades following the war this concept would become central to a large, mostly female-led movement throughout the defeated rebel states designed to commemorate all that they believed had been lost during the war - both individual lives and cultural ideals. For these women, being faithful to the Confederacy included not only treating the Union soldiers with blatant disdain and working on the home front to ensure that troops were provided with necessary items, but also serving those who died.

The memorial movement of Southern women consisted of various groups, including myriad Ladies’ Memorial Associations, the centralized Confederated Memorial Associations, and United Daughters of the Confederacy. These originated during the war from groups of women who joined together to aide local soldier groups. The memorial movement was characterized by the very public erection of monuments to both individual fallen members of the Confederate elite and to the idea of the common man and allegorical figures - such as the Confederate States as a female figure. Not commonly depicted in these monuments were those who worked to put them up: the female players in the story. In working to ensure the remembrance of both the male soldiers and the lost nation of the Confederate States these women stepped to the side, placing their stories in the shadows. In this way Mattanna stands apart, defined by her efforts to publish the ways in which she and her female family members were affected by the war’s events.

In the years following the Civil War, women on both sides of the conflict faced the difficult task of reconstructing their households and helping others to heal from the scars.
left by the conflict. While much attention has been given to these efforts outside the home, such as the philanthropic charitable efforts of the new woman of the late nineteenth century, little has been given to the more domestic efforts. One of the ways in which many Victorian women worked through their grief was the creation of memorial artwork.

Twenty-four-year-old Mattanna Fairchild, called Mattie by friends and family, watched the Battle of Raymond, Mississippi, from the front porch of her parents’ plantation (fig. 1). As the battle raged across her family’s land, Mattanna worried for two of her brothers and an uncle who were engaged with the rebel forces and her father, the local sheriff, who was in hiding. Along with her mother, three sisters, niece, and young nephew, Mattanna would watch as the family’s possessions were divided up among the victorious Union troops and local enslaved population. While this situation is not unique to the Fairchild family, Mattie’s use of this experience to create a visual representation of her reaction makes her story exceptional.

In the latter half of the 1860s Mattanna created a large memorial hair wreath (fig. 2), composed of the hair of approximately fifty-two Confederate soldiers who fell during that battle as well as members of the Confederate elite and the Fairchild family. A large decorative piece, which continued to hang in the familial home until at least 2010, the wreath is densely laden with symbolism. On it, realistic flowers are arranged in a horseshoe shape reminiscent of a funerary wreath. This iconic form wraps around a large central cross while the Confederate flag rises on the top right (fig. 2), serving as a backdrop to the handwritten list of the names of the fallen. By collecting, preserving, and
then refashioning the hair of Confederate soldiers into a decorative piece of needlework, Mattanna participated in a larger social movement of the 1870s and 1880s—one that was expressed by the work of women to honor fallen men. Mattanna's fancy work served to showcase the ideals of the Old South and her beloved Confederacy, the passing of which she mourned alongside the dead.17

This thesis will argue that memorial handiworks, such as Mattanna Fairchild's massive hair wreath, were part of the same movement among Southern women of the late nineteenth century that saw the erection of Confederate monuments and statues across the defeated South and even as far north as New York. While the monuments were large and public these private memento mori served the same purpose within the domestic confines of the post-war period. These works helped to construct social concepts of race and gender as they related to being “Southern” and aided in making those ideals more palatable to the victorious North, by showcasing white southerners’ gentility and Southern women’s domestic piety.

Scholars have neglected the study of American hair work in both culture and art. There are only a handful of articles on the topic of hairwork and one academic book—Love Entwined: the Curious History of Hairwork in America by Helen Sheumaker.18 Alternatively, both the Lost Cause19 and Victorian ideals of memory have been well researched and heavily written about. It is at the crossover of these topics where there is untried ground. In particular, Mattanna’s hair wreath has never been researched or featured in a scholarly work, only coming from family to the Smithsonian Institution in March 2014.
Moreover, the additional documentary records associated with the handicraft make it ideal for a case study. Mattanna Fairchild also wrote a number of manuscripts, which she sent to various publishers and magazines in attempt to have them published. Four of these documents are currently in the collection of the National Museum of American History: *Our Women During the War vol. 1*, *Our Women During the War vol. 2*, and *A Southern Soldiers Reminiscence*, an untitled collection of poetry. A fifth text, written by Idale Fairchild – *Instructions for Hair and Wax Work* – is also in the collection and provides a comprehensive look at the creation of fancywork pieces both of hair and other mediums. One of the main themes in all five texts is that of Confederate memory making, supplying a textual context for the material object.

Through an examination of Mattanna’s creation, her writings, and comparison to the actions of contemporaneous Southern elite women, this thesis will provide a more complete picture of the ways that women’s creation of decorative objects participated in the large-scale national movement of the Lost Cause and reconciliation. This examination will begin by positioning Mattanna historically and work outward to end with an image of the overall stantee of mourning handiwork in the latter nineteenth century.
Figure 1: Magnolia Vale Plantation ca. 1970. O’Neal Family Photograph.

Figure 2: Fairchild, Mattanna. Decorative Hairwreath. Ca. 1872. In the collection of the National Museum of American History, Washington, D.C.
It is necessary to first look at who Mattanna was and how she interacted with local history and Southern history. This section will establish both Mattanna’s biography and her place in the local society as well as her family’s history in the area and their influence. Ascertaining in what ways the war played out in Mattanna’s life involves considering her connection to other groups in the area. Mattanna’s younger sister Idale, who also created a large memorial wreath at the same time and in local writings is frequently included alongside Mattanna, will also be looked at along with the ways in which the two sisters fulfilled different roles in society.

Once Mattanna has been placed within the context of her space and time it is possible to move forward to examine the physical evidence provided by the actual wreath. Through careful examination of the techniques and materials employed in the creation of the wreath, and comparing it to similar pieces, it is possible to infer Mattanna’s level of skill and to gather a sense of the amount of time she put into creating the piece. Showing the high level of workmanship in the wreath serves to highlight the higher level of domestic education Mattanna and her sisters received, as well as the leisure time they had available. Comparing the wreath to other pieces also helps to create a library of works, showing the memorial movement’s ascent into the domestic sphere. Also crucial at this point is an analysis of the wreath’s pervasive symbolism. Through her careful selection of motifs, text, and imagery Mattanna expressed as much about her ideas as she did in her collection of writings, and her wreath serves as a visual testament to her devotion to the idea of the Confederacy.
This connection between the domestic works, the growing monument movement, and the rise of Lost Cause ideology across the defeated Southern states will be looked at in the third section. This section compares the types of imagery and language used in the wreath and Mattanna’s various writings to those employed by the prominent members of these movements. By teasing out the similarities in focus and goals, the thesis will situate Mattanna and the wreath within the larger picture of the South in the years following the war.

While Mattanna never married nor took on the most classic gender role of her period – that of being a wife – she did serve as an ersatz mother to her deceased sister’s young daughter and kept house for her elder brother, who also never married. Where then does the wreath fit in within the expected gender roles of the highly patriarchal society of the south and the ways in which Mattanna fulfilled them? Can the wreath also serve to show the change in the years after the war to the “New Woman”? As can be seen in the section looking at the way in which Mattanna was involved with the larger organizations, women were able to use their mourning and memorial actions as a way to enter a larger social sphere outside of the more constrained domestic sphere. Did the wreath and its creation help Mattanna in a similar way?

To complete the image of the world in which Mattanna was working, the contemporary mourning creations of other groups of women, namely African American women and white Northern women, will be examined. Though these groups suffered the same losses in terms of loved ones dying during the war, cultural differences as well as differences in financial support available to these women meant that the methods which
they employed to mourn and commemorate their dead were acted out in very different ways. It is with this final path of research that a more complete idea of the way in which Mattanna’s wreath would have been reacted to in other regions and other political environments can be gained.

Finally, to bring Mattanna’s story to the present, I utilize evidence from across Hinds County to look at the way in which the wreath and Mattanna entered into the local mythology of the war. This will include examinations into the types of memorial activities held at the home, actions involving both the family and strangers to the home, for several decades into the twentieth century. This section will help to evaluate the overall success Mattanna and other women of the South enjoyed in creating and disseminating their version of history and educating their descendants in that history.

10 Cox, \textit{Dixie’s daughters}, 41.


11 Two texts which offer a more specific look at the history of the southern women’s organizations are Karen Cox’s \textit{Dixie’s Daughters} and Caroline E. Janney’s \textit{Burying the Dead but not the Past}.


13 Cox, \textit{Dixie’s daughters}, 41.


15 Fairchild, \textit{Our Women}.

16 A full list of all individuals whose hair is in the wreath is included in the shadow box with the wreath

17 Fairchild, \textit{Our Women}.

18 Helen Sheumaker, \textit{Love Entwined: The Curious History of Hairwork in America}, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007). This text if focused on the commerce side of nineteenth century hairwork but offers the most in depth modern look at the creation of hairwork.

19 A well written primer to the concept of the Lost Cause is \textit{The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History} edited by Gary Gallagher and Alan Nolan. This collection of essays looks at different aspects of the Lost Cause mythology and explain the origins of the thought process.
OVERVIEW OF HAIRWORKS

In examining the memorial hair wreath constructed by Mattanna Fairchild it is important to begin by looking at the wreath’s physical features, to understand what they reveal about Mattanna and the Raymond area. By recognizing the physical components and design aspects of the wreath we are able to grasp the amount of effort and skill which went into its creation and to understand the wreath as a superlative example of the form. This wreath then serves as a point of reference for the rest of the hairwork pieces in the National Museum of American History collection, which provide comparative examples for investigating the way the art form of the hair wreath was interpreted across the country.

The wreath measures overall 5 in x 33 3/4 in x 38 5/8 in – making it a very substantial and weighty piece. This weight is one of the first things that strikes a viewer due to the heavy, dark wood used in the creation of the roughly made shadow box that surrounds the piece and also provides a protective structure and a surface for hanging. The frame is mostly dark although there is some gilding on the front. On the sides it is possible to see how rough the wood is where it hasn’t been sanded smooth and the coloration is patchy. The absence of detail and the relative crudeness of the frame suggests that it was specially made for the hairwreath and that it was most likely of local manufacture, perhaps even amateur manufacture, rather than an item purchased from a
store. Despite its home-made origins, the shadow box bears an inscription. On the proper right edge is painted “Mattie A. Fairchild, Oakley, Hinds Co. Miss.” in white paint (fig. 3). The text was most likely added when the piece was publically exhibited at the Cotton Centennial Exposition in New Orleans, nearly a decade after its creation. The frame is imposing in appearance, adding a level of gravity and seriousness to the very floral wreath – matching the somber tone of a memorial work.

Figure 3: Fairchild, Mattanna. Decorative Hairwreath. Ca. 1872. In the collection of the National Museum of American History, Washington, D.C. Detail showing name on side of shadow box.
The backing within the frame is an off white paper with some discolorations due to age. This paper backing is stitched to all of the elements of the shadow box and then tacked to the wooden back of the frame (fig. 4). This connection is only visible from the back of the paper but the thread framework is able to show the support system of the wreath – which from the front is hidden under the density of the floral hair elements.

There are a number of pieces in the shadow box, not just the hair wreath. There are two paper elements: Mattanna’s calling card (fig. 5) and the list of individuals whose hair is included in the wreath. In addition Mattanna added the cloth Confederate flag with a clear glass handle (fig. 6), the large upward pointed wreath, and two smaller hairwork pieces – a cross (fig. 7) and a smaller downward pointed wreath (fig. 8). The hairwork pieces exhibit a number of different techniques, as well as incorporates a number of extra elements, a range which is not always visible in hairwork. In the Fairchild hairwork pieces it is possible to see the use of glass beads, colored wax stamens, and metallic thread all of which help to add to the flower’s naturalistic appearance and their shiny texture.
Figure 4: Fairchild, Mattanna. Decorative Hairwreath. Ca. 1872. In the collection of the National Museum of American History, Washington, D.C. Detail showing the stitching connecting the wreath to the backing.
Figure 5: Fairchild, Mattanna. Decorative Hairwreath. Ca. 1872. In the collection of the National Museum of American History, Washington, D.C. Detail showing calling card.

There are several different flower forms visible in the two wreaths and around the cross. The wreaths are constructed with symmetrical flower placement so by identifying the flowers on one side of the wreath the whole wreath can be described. There are over twenty two different flower and foliage forms which for the most part fall into two categories – the wiry and the plush.
Figure 6: Fairchild, Mattanna. Decorative Hairwreath. Ca. 1872. In the collection of the National Museum of American History, Washington, D.C. Detail showing Confederate flag and list of individuals with hair in the wreath.
Figure 7: Fairchild, Mattanna. Decorative Hairwreath. Ca. 1872. In the collection of the National Museum of American History, Washington, D.C. Detail showing hairwork cross.
The wiry floral forms are most frequent in hair work as a whole. As the name implies these are created through wrapping or plaiting hair around fine wires. These flowers tend to be more angular and are composed from a single color of hair. In the case of the Fairchild wreath almost all of the wiry flowers are shaped like the outlines of
flowers with five pointed petals in a dark brown hair (fig. 9). The other uses of wiry forms are pointed leaf sprigs and the outline of the hair cross which is designed as a two concentric budded crosses. Some of the wiry flowers use metallic thread mixed in with the hair strands to add more texture to the shapes. The most common technique which Mattanna appears to have used is attaching a very small group of hairs around the wire using a looping knot in a chain. The other floral shapes created using the wiry method are in spiral forms with small glass beads strung on the hairs between knots (fig.10).
Figure 9: Fairchild, Mattanna. Decorative Hairwreath. Ca. 1872. In the collection of the National Museum of American History, Washington, D.C. Detail showing wiry type flower of the five petaled type and featuring colored wax stamens.

Figure 10: Fairchild, Mattanna. Decorative Hairwreath. Ca. 1872. In the collection of the National Museum of American History, Washington, D.C. Detail showing spiral wiry flowers and a more feathery variant on the five petal wiry flowery.
The more plush shapes show a greater use of color with several being variegated from white to dark dirty blonde or light brunette or light brunette to almost black (fig. 11). These flowers add a three-dimensional aspect to the piece as they stand up and away from the paper backing. The forms are created by curling the hair over a wooden or metal form and then knotting strands together in the center. This is a similar method to that used to create hollow work hair jewelry, a style which relies on the tension of the hairs to retain its shape. In the case of the plush flowers the forms are held together not by tension but by the sheer number of hairs used which is far above the approximately ten used to cover the wire forms of the wiry flowers. These flowers are also larger than the majority of the wiry ones in diameter as well as height.

While the hair forms dominate Mattanna’s creation the two paper elements are also significant and serve as records of those involved in the creation of the wreath – both the creator and the individuals who are physically represented in the hair forms. To the upper proper right of the shadow box is Mattanna Fairchild’s calling card which is attached to the backing by what family memory holds is a pin that belonged to her brother Felix during the war. At the upper center left are the Confederate flag and attached list of names. The list details all of the Confederate generals, politicians, officers, and other soldiers whose hair is included in the wreath as well as the members of the Fairchild family represented. The glass rod of the flag is angled down and to the proper right towards the cross, implying a connection between the two shapes.

The overall condition of the hair is extremely good with the hairs looking shiny and soft rather than the dry brittle appearance commonly seen in nineteenth century pieces of hairwork. There is a broad range of hair colors represented in the wreath, giving a visual clue to the number of people whose hair was utilized. This range runs the gamut from white and light grey to extremely dark brunette and black with shades of blonde, auburn, and brunette between.

In the end the wreath is a prime example of the style of memorial work and remains in good condition – showing the way it was loved by the creator’s descendants
over the intervening decades. Combined with the large size and the wide array of forms created this wreath is truly a stand out. Yet its exceptionality is something which can be seen when it is compared to other historical hairwork pieces.

Examples from the National Museum of American History reflect the range of hairworks displayed in shadow boxes during the post Civil War period. The pieces also illustrate how widespread the practice was across the country. Most important, these wreaths demonstrate the uniqueness of the memorializing that took place in the Fairchild wreath. Mattanna designed her hairwork with specific political ideals in mind, while other works stood as memorials to family members and as examples of their makers’ skills. By looking at these pieces it becomes easier to place the Fairchild wreath in the grander scheme of late nineteenth century hairwork creations.

One of the few pieces with both a definite date and location attached to it is a wreath and collection of hair jewelry in a shadow box (fig. 12). Made in 1879 by Mrs. Douglas Miller of Portsmouth, Ohio, it includes a wreath, three watch fobs, earrings, brooch, and a bracelet. This wreath, like Mattanna’s, shows a variety of forms and additional items beyond hair were worked into the piece. These include metallic thread, wax stamens, and glass beads – something which is not seen in many of the other pieces in the collection. This wreath is the only that uses a wire stem wrapped in green silk to create a more naturalistic appearance. The jewelry is created in the hollow work form rather than simply being plaits. One major difference between this piece and the Fairchild wreath is the quality of hair. While the hair in the Fairchild wreath is still fairly lustrous and smooth the Miller wreath has a lot of frizz and breaking in the hair.
This fragility and shattering of the hair is a fairly consistent trait through most of the wreaths in the collection – whether from atmospheric differences in how they have been stored in the NMAH collections storage space or from the ways the hair was originally treated when the pieces were created is unable to determined. Though hair is renowned for its ability to withstand time and to maintain its color and integrity, even continuing to grow after an individual’s death, as a material it is capable of being damaged by exposure to light, changes in humidity, and exposure to harsh chemicals. The last wreath to be donated to the museum came into the collection in 1987, meaning that all of these pieces have been stored together storage system – which is the same storage used for American primitive paintings – for at least 28 years. The Fairchild wreath has been in the family home in Mississippi, which does not have a central climate control system, on a wall away from sunlight. There do not appear to be any published best practices for museums in terms of how to keep items made out of hair in the best condition. Hair is mentioned in the best practices for leather, skin, and fur objects, but it is only discussed in terms of minimizing the loss of hair from those objects rather than preserving the hair.
The wreath which was donated in 1987 (fig. 13) includes one of the most interesting hair structures seen in the collection. Unlike the other wreaths, which are for the most part a horseshoe shape (which is the most common form), this particular wreath forms an almost complete circle which faces upwards. At the top center of the wreath sits a bird. This is the only example which includes a three-dimensional animal form made from hair rather than the floral and foliage shapes found on the other wreaths. It also exhibits the use of seashells – the only example of that decorative item in the group. This wreath shows a creative eye in the number of different decorative forms used in the
different flowers and the center spray. This is one of the pieces which uses both wire wrapped floral shapes and three dimensional floral shapes, but still has a very wiry look.


One wreath which epitomizes this wiry style, unfortunately, came to the collection with no date or identifying information other than an accession date of 1921 (fig. 14). This wreath is composed in a very spikey way and is composed completely of hair wrapped around wire. Unlike the other wreaths in the collection it has only one floral shape used in the entire wreath and little variance in terms of hair colors. It is at the
opposite end of the spectrum from the Fairchild wreath as far as variation in shape, condition of the hair, and skill used in the creation. In its small size, simple design, monochromatic materials, and limited repertoire of handicraft, however, it illuminates how distinctive and exemplary Mattanna’s creation was when compared to the typical production of her time. If this unidentified maker commemorated a loved one through her piece, Mattanna’s large-scaled wreath seems an appropriate memorial to a group of fifty-some men.
The last notable piece in the collection of the National Museum of American History is a piece comprised not of hair wrapped around wires or three dimensional flowers, but instead a hair painting (fig. 15). The method for creating a piece like this involves chopping up pieces of hair into very small segments, mixing them with a watery
glue, and then painting within previously drawn outlines. This picture features the symbolic language of death favored in the early part of the nineteenth century, including weeping willows and urns, but is dated to 1896, well after much of that imagery had declined in popularity. Combined with the method of hair painting, the techniques and symbolism of the piece are very anachronistic for the period when it was actually created.
Figure 15: Emil Motoux. Hair Painting. 1896. In the collection of the National Museum of American History, Washington, D.C.

MATTANNA AND THE SOUTHERN MEMORIAL MOVEMENT

Official records of Mattanna Fairchild are slightly spotty with different censuses giving her both different birth years and names. The simplest way to track her through the census is in terms of birth order in relation to her siblings and her consistent initials, whether her name is listed as Martha, Mattanna, or simply M.A. Mattanna is the name which she used in her writings and Mattie A. is listed on the calling card (fig. 3) which was included in the wreath’s shadow box. Therefore, either Mattanna or Mattie is an appropriate name used to refer to her.

Born February 18, 1839, the fourth of nine children, Mattanna’s family was among the more well to do of their small town outside of Vicksburg, Mississippi. In 1863 seven were still living: two married older sisters (who had married brothers who were members of the local elite); a younger sister; and three younger brothers (two of whom were enlisted with the Confederate army and present at the battle with the J.D. Bradford Scouts cavalry division). At that point Mattanna was the oldest child still living at home and helped in the care of her youngest brother who was lame as well as her eldest sister’s children who were staying at Magnolia Grove.

When Mattie was born her father was in the process of building a Greek Revival style plantation home for the family. The home, which would be completed the next year, was named Magnolia Vale. The plantation had been purchased from the previous owner.
after a fire destroyed the home. The enslaved individuals belonging to the previous owner were included in the transaction and formed the labor force for the construction of the new home, according to Mattie’s great-nephew. The home, now on the National Register of Historic Places, would play an important role in the coming conflict as well as serving as an altar for the spiritual usage of the wreath in the post war period.

As there is little evidence about Mattanna outside of what she herself wrote it is hard to say exactly how her life was. It could be assumed however that it was similar to that of other young women of the time and region and that when Mattanna was at home and unmarried in her young twenties at the beginning of the war it was because she had completed finishing school and moved into the role of the daughter at home. This identity is one which is commonly seen in elite families.

Elite women’s actions and social identities in the last decades of the nineteenth century were marked by their efforts to create - both the creation of decorative objects for the home and the creation of visions of the past that preserved and memorialized a specific version of events. Mattanna was not alone in her desire to commemorate the Confederate dead and her production of material artifacts that encouraged remembrance of the Confederate cause. In the years following the Civil War, Confederate women’s efforts at preservation and memorialization led them to form memorial groups who worked to keep the memory of their local dead alive, through obtaining land for Confederate cemeteries, maintaining far flung grave sites, and erecting public monuments. Among the earliest postwar female charitable organizations in the south, these groups were also some of the longest lasting. Often composed of upper class
women, these organizations were female-led though they occasionally included male members, who coordinated with the community or completed those tasks considered unseemly for women. These groups, which spread across the south, gave Confederate women outlets for mourning and fueled the creation of the “New Southern Woman”. They paved the way for a variety of other women’s organizations through which elite women created roles for themselves in the community and outside their homes’ domestic spaces. In the years following the Civil War, Confederate women’s memorial groups worked to keep the memory of their local dead alive. These female-led organizations were organized by the elite women of the area, and while they did occasionally include male members, they typically served to liaise with the community or complete those tasks which would have been considered unseemly for women to undertake. These groups gave Confederate women outlets for their mourning after the war and fueled the creation of the “New Southern Woman”. While these groups were among the earliest postwar female charitable organizations in the south, they were also some of the longest lasting. They paved the road for a variety of other women’s organizations which would help to create roles for elite women within the community and outside of the domestic spaces of their homes.

Both Mattanna and these groups which spread across the south were part of the same movement, seeking to memorialize the large numbers of dead as well as the Lost Cause of the Confederacy. These early efforts came in the same vein as the romanticism of the plantation most famously seen in “Gone With the Wind” - a book and film which serves, for many individuals in the twentieth century, as their primary point of reference.
for what pre-war southern life was like, as well as the southern experience during the war. Like Margaret Mitchell’s later fiction, these memorials were designed to maintain the social and cultural hierarchy of the Old South, in this case by placing visual reminders of white male Confederate veterans and the Confederacy in public places and at high vantage points. These actions epitomize the postwar political climate during which Confederate Veterans and their children dominated the positions of power in local governments and communities, but they represent women’s work outside the home and their incursion within the traditionally masculine realm of politics.

It may seem that Mattanna’s hair wreath, intended for domestic display, has little in common with the very public and monumental forms that southern women’s organizations commissioned. While Mattanna’s work was initially hung within the family home, its remarkable size and level of craftsmanship marked it as exceptional and it did not always remain cloistered. Mattanna’s wreath would be featured in the Mississippi state display in the women’s hall at the 1884 New Orleans’s World Fair. Later family reports and local newspaper articles also place the wreath at the earlier 1876 Philadelphia Centennial. Display in these venues, removed the wreath from the private domestic sphere and placed it on a global stage. Opportunities like this served to illustrate to the larger public what Mattanna and her peers felt had been lost in the South on a national and international scale, tipping sympathy back towards the white population of her region.
Originally Confederate monuments were also kept within the private sphere, such as within local Confederate cemeteries. Here they memorialized individuals or groups of local dead just as did private tombstones. In this way, women retained their association with the family while also using their grief as a political tool. Soon, however, women’s organizations moved their memorial efforts on to public land, frequently with the help of public funding.\textsuperscript{41} Fundraising for such projects brought women into working relationships with the political and economic elect - contact they had previously only had on a social level.\textsuperscript{42} It was these fund raising endeavors that allowed for a greater range in elite women’s roles in the years following the war, as they were faced with a world very different from that of the first half of the nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{43}

The relationships that stemmed from these groups’ endeavors reflect the changes in the way men and women were interacting inside and outside the home, albeit with exceptions in the form of the occasional mixed gender committees. These elite women worked together for a common cause, a theme which would become more and more prevalent across the country towards the end of the nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{44} While these were not the close bosom friendships experienced by many women of the time, they fulfilled the purpose of creating a larger community outside of the home. In the wake of the loss felt by so many households, these organizations served a crucial role in recreating the larger sense of community among the Southern elite, whether for the good or bad.\textsuperscript{45}

The monuments erected by the various women’s organizations across the ex-Confederate states and the rates at which they were installed can be viewed as a
representation of the political situation in the South. Particularly in the state of North Carolina, the number of the monuments erected allows historians to map out the rise and fall with the certain political shifts, such as when Confederate veterans retake control of the state government or when African-Americans were no longer active within the state government.

This diversion of funds fundamentally contradicts the narrative of the federal government and the free community. It is during these periods that there is the most power in white elite women gathering to crowd the state legislature buildings and use their feminine presence to guilt politicians into passing funding for their monuments as this is when there is the closest pre-established relationship between the two groups.

The manner in which these woman lobbied for government funds showed one aspect of their social savvy in terms of manipulating the image of their womanhood. Rather than present themselves in a way which could be perceived as threatening to those men who were in positions to aid their goals, they instead portrayed both their organizations and efforts as in need of the assistance of male figures. This was also seen in the planning of dedication and memorial ceremonies - where male speakers who were sympathetic with either the local Ladies Memorial Association or the later chapters of the United Daughters of the Confederacy were placed in the front with a backdrop of aesthetically pleasing female figures.

Although they sought a public role, fund raising, landscaping, political campaigning, and the hosting of parties all fell within the arena of what was considered
appropriate for elite women to complete. Women’s groups then in some sense remained traditionally feminine. Their use of feminine handicrafts as part of their efforts points to this conservativeness. One of the primary ways in which they were able to fund raise (other than approaching the state legislature or wealthy local businessman) was through the raffling of quilts and other handmade goods recalling the creation of memorial hair jewelry and memorial hair wreaths such as Mattanna’s.51

In addition to affirming their gender role, these acts of handicraft relied upon a historical method for women to physically work through the pain of loss. Hairwork is a decorative form that rose to highest prominence in the western world during the nineteenth century.52 While human and animal hair has been used for aesthetic purposes since prehistory, the use of hair in mourning jewelry gained popularity during the Georgian period.53 It was during the late nineteenth century that forms of hairwork became significantly more difficult and elaborate. Hair jewelry that dates to the first fifty years of the century tends to be simple twists or plaits of hair, often placed under glass on the back of a mourning miniature or in a gift to a beloved.54 These early pieces became their most complex when taking on the forms of common mourning symbolism such as urns or wheat.55

A piece in this style can be seen in the collection of the Luce Center at the Smithsonian American Art Museum. It is a miniature portrait of James Cunningham, 14th Earl of Glencairn (fig. 16). While the front of the miniature is a fairly standard three-quarters profile with a gradient background, on the back is a hair piece. The hair is not worked around a wire or form, but is instead simply thin strands that loop in on
themselves forming a bow shape. There is a sense of simplicity and elegance in the forms.

Figure 16: Unknown. *James Cunningham, Last Earl of Glencairn*. Watercolor Miniature on Ivory with Mourning Hairwork on Reverse. 1790. In the collection of the Smithsonian American Art Museum.

However, as the century progressed the methods used to create hair jewelry become more complicated. These later pieces were made by utilizing techniques from bobbin lace manufacturing, including the use of up to over a hundred strands or groups of strands of hair at once, as well as pillows and tables made specifically for that purpose. Another technique seen in this period is the use of wire and wooden forms to create complex shapes from the tension of the many strands of hair. Hair jewelry such as this could be made either in the home or by professionals. 56
Professional jewelers offered a number of different services in hair work: they could use hair from a specific individual or set of individuals to make a jewelry set for a loved one; they could simply finish braided pieces which were made by an individual with metal findings; or use hair bought from hair dealers to make hair pieces for sale simply as fashion wear, seen frequently in fashion plates. Mourning and romantic pieces continued to be made, but hair jewelry moved into the realm of general jewelry in the mid-1840s.\textsuperscript{57}

Alternatively, hair wreaths were made entirely within the home as personal endeavors. These works, while decorative in nature, served a different purpose than simply being aesthetically pleasing. Rather, they were intended to portray a set of specific emotions on the part of the maker - namely devotion to family members or friends.\textsuperscript{58} The remaining keepsakes of the Victorian dead thus served as sentimental relics, which diverged from the \textit{memento mori} of previous generations. While a \textit{memento mori} stands in as a reflection on the mortality of the deceased, Victorian hair wreaths were a way for the beloved or family member to continue in existence beyond physical death. By keeping some part of the body then the deceased remained with his or her family or loved ones.

However, there are few wreaths with the level of detail and size seen in Mattanna’s work. As can be seen in other wreaths from the collection of the Smithsonian National Museum of American History, the average hair wreath is smaller and wirier in form than the Fairchild wreath. The plush details of the flowers in Mattanna’s wreath as well
as the density of decoration are part of what placed it on the next level, even beyond the immense size and broad range of sources.

In the case of Mattanna Fairchild’s hair wreath the maker’s memorialization gained additional resonance beyond simple mourning: Mattanna may have sought to work through the loss of the war for herself through her handicrafts. While the hair wreath was the largest of her works, she also made pieces from feathers, shells, and handmade wax fruits. Beyond crafting such decorative pieces, Mattanna also wrote several manuscripts that (somewhat obsessively) told and retold her version of the family story in the war. All of these efforts, material and textual, are focused on the concept of memory and mourning. The theme of returning to the past repeatedly emerges, a past which Mattanna portrays as being better than the present, particularly in terms of gender, social, and racial roles.59

Some researchers argue that the use of handiworks to move through grief began with the Civil War and contend that a large part of women’s activism after the war stemmed simply from their desire to remain busy in an attempt to assuage the overwhelming feelings associated with loss. This makes sense in terms of the large numbers of upper class women who moved outside the home to take part in philanthropic and charitable efforts. Crafting decorative items also would serve to mentally distance such women from the war, a time when supplies for those types of activities were limited. This can be contrasted with activities such as caring for family and home that remained fairly consistent between the two periods.
Yet, such explanations fail to account for the political acumen and public intentions that Confederate women manifested in these same decades as they employed material artifacts to craft larger narratives of the Lost Cause. The large wreath Mattanna and Idale Fairchild made transcended individual mourning through its Confederate flag and list of the dead as well as its materials of creation: made from the locks taken from wounded and dying soldiers in area homes that were temporarily utilized as hospitals after the battle, the wreath united hair from Confederate politicians, common soldiers, and civilian family members thus representing several facets of the white Confederate citizenry. For the population of the small town the wreath was a civic representation of those whose hair was used to create it, as well as the army they had fought for. It was designed not with the intention of looking back on the mortality of those soldiers and other Confederates whose hair was utilized, but as a way for them and the Confederacy to continue to live on in the minds of those who viewed it. Mattanna’s wreath thus served as a relic of the Confederacy, particularly for those who came to view the family plantation.60

The family home, positioned on the battleground of the Battle of Raymond, became a place of local pilgrimage for well over a century. It was at the Fairchild plantation of Magnolia Vale that Mattanna and her family watched the fighting between the two clashing armies.61 After the battle, the victorious federal troops used the home as a short term headquarters. During their occupation, Mattanna reportedly refused to play the piano for General William Sherman, a piece of local lore that conflags her domesticity (her feminine accomplishment of piano playing) with her
political resistance; though only an unmarried woman she was unafraid to confront one of the most famous generals of the Union Army who would come to be reviled for his destruction of the southern landscape.\textsuperscript{62}

While the later educational efforts of the United Daughters of the Confederacy would emphasize the perceived great men of the Confederacy, placing their portraits in public schools and ensuring that text books related their stories in a glowing manner,\textsuperscript{63} Mattanna remained focused on her personal experiences and the losses shared by those in the Raymond area - even while she unsuccessfully attempted to have her works published in larger cities in the state and region.\textsuperscript{64} Yet, Mattanna used the large hair wreath she made to accomplish a similar goal to that of the Daughters of the Confederacy. Mattanna's fancy work served to showcase the ideals of the Old South and her beloved Confederacy, the passing of which she mourned alongside the dead. The symbolism utilized in the wreath forged a connection between the Confederacy and Christianity for Mattanna, a connection between the Confederacy and the concept of good. This is most obviously shown through the creation of the central cross form, which stands as the focal point of the entire wreath. This then is contrasted with the Confederate “stars and bars” in the upper corner, and the list of individuals included in the wreath. The two elements are of a similar size but not physically connected. While the defeated Confederacy was the main impetus behind the creation of the wreath, it is intimately tied with prominent symbols of Christianity through the placement of the wreath elements.

By melding Christian imagery together with local events and the Confederate flag, a widely shared symbol of the Lost Cause, Mattanna crafted a political artifact, as well
as a personal tool for mourning. Women’s organizers shared similar strategies of commingling displays of mourning together with assemblies designed to ignite fervor for the Confederacy. There was a careful political aim behind the types of imagery used both in their physical monuments and in the ceremonies which surrounded them. The scene seen at the North Carolina State Capitol in 1895 for the dedication of the state monument shows that imagery to full effect (fig. 17). Confederate widows dressed in black mourning garb created a somber presence lightened only by a young blonde, girl-child dressed in the white of youth and purity. Other ceremonies included groups of thirteen young girls (fig. 18), representing the various states of the Confederacy – who served to reconnect the image of the Confederacy with innocence and youth. In ensuring that they were seen in feminine terms, they were largely able to protect themselves from the backlash of men who felt they had overstepped the bounds of accepted gender roles.

In Raleigh, as in many other Southern cities, the LMA was led by a wealthy Confederate widow, a woman whose husband had been a brigadier general before his death early in the war. For her, as for other widows, mothers, sisters, and daughters who had lost their loved ones to the troubles of war, a monument was seen as a way to keep them present both visually and physically after a violent death. This is in part why the monument in Raleigh uses the visual vocabulary of the common man fighting against a common foe – using representations of artillery and cavalry members towards the base but the lowly infantryman atop the spire, a motif seen repeated in the later monument erected in Raymond at the Hinds Country Courthouse (fig. 19). This meant
that the monument was equally shared by all of the women who participated in accomplishing their common goal of erecting it. For them the memorial was a location for Lost Cause pilgrimage.

Figure 17: View of the North Carolina State House and Confederate Monument on the day of the monuments dedication. Image from North Carolina State Archives.
Figure 18: Young girls representing the thirteen Confederate states and two border states at the 1908 dedication of the Marietta, Georgia Confederate monument.
As the hair works served as the secular relics for the religion of the Lost Cause, so to do the various monuments serve as the holy places. Through their unique triangulation of mourning, memorialization, and the Lost Cause Confederate women were successful across the reunited nation at changing the narrative of the Civil War. In a highly problematic manner these women were able to shift the view from the freed African Americans as victims to Southern gentry as victims. By placing the “Old South” as an idyllic culture which had been destroyed by the so-called “Northern Aggression” these women created a climate where racist societal changes met little objection. Beyond the educational works which ensured that history was taught from the perspective of the white planter class the large monuments served to reinforce these ideas by visually placing Confederates above everyone else. Despite the fact that these monuments

Figure 19: Confederate Memorial at the Hinds County, Mississippi courthouse.
depicted those who had lost the conflict, they were portrayed as victors on the field of morality, vindicated by accepted history.

In Mattanna’s later years and for decades after her death, Magnolia Vale also became a particular place of pilgrimage for women following the trails of the Confederate defeat, a shrine of sorts to a family that, in the eyes of the Lost Cause, lost so much to the Northern forces. One of the central points of these tours would be the large wreath Mattanna created from the hair of dead Southern soldiers. As late as the 1970s the wreath was still a focal point on local plantation tours, called “pilgrimages” by the women who ran them. For these women, who were separated by generations from those who fought in the war, the wreath served to carry the same emotions which had caused Mattanna to create it. The wreath and Mattanna’s writings continued to proclaim her particular view of history long after she had died becoming part of the local Lost Cause mythology. Just as large memorial statues continue to spread the message of the Lost Cause and glorify the fallen heroes of the Confederacy, so too does Mattanna Fairchild’s commemorative hair wreath.

Mattanna’s writings are full of sentimental language which highlights the level of emotion which she was trying to evoke in the reader, as seen in the opening segment of the first volume she wrote:

To the past we turn and view, therein – dear memories walking to and fro, weaving beautiful garlands of immortelles, singing ever on thy weave sweet songs of days and years that are gone. sweet though oft times sad this song of days gone, never to return, gone but not dead those days and years thy live never to die in Memory bright and glowing and in letters of gold is written the record of those years _ record of deeds great and good
though not always great and good for “Evil and Good are Gods right hand and left by ministry of evil good is clear and by temptation virtue” In the great book of Memory each leaf will be turned and in response to the call of “The News and Courier” desiring fifty or more sketches of the experiences grave or gay, lively or severe of the Southern women during the war. We will render our quota by relating a few incidents as may appear upon opening the great volume of memorials – of the way between the North and the South, a [illegible]….ordeal to fair Southland, and the Southern “as silver tried in a furnace of earth purified seven times, On the morning of May 11th, 1863 the sun in all his glory rose now and then a floating cloudlet flocked the blue sky casting a momentary shadow, when all was bright again Again and again the cloudlets making alternate sunshine… [page torn]70

The comparison of memory to a deity and the beatification of the South are characteristic of the rest of Mattanna’s writings which are characterized by the author’s ability to reach seemingly higher saccharine levels with every passing page. It also highlights her devotion to the idea of the “Old South” or as she terms it “Southland”. Despite the strength of the feelings behind the writing it is clear why she was unsuccessful at finding a publisher for her memoirs with her haphazard approach to spelling, punctuation, and grammar. While these documents were written when Mattanna was an adult there is a lack of emotional maturity. Instead of the writings of a mature woman, they seem more like the private ramblings of a teenager.

For Mattanna writing, however successful she was at the enterprise, was another form through which to share her perspective on the truth of American history, particularly as it related to her family and region. Blinded by her love for her family and the culture in which she had been raised she was unable to comprehend (or perhaps to
accept), the wrongs committed by the South. Instead, she sought to excuse or erase any potentially problematic tales and replace them with a vision of the world as she faultily remembered it being before the war. Mattanna’s writings, then, show the truth that lay under the façade of southern gentility rife as they are with racist remarks aimed at both the enslaved people who had lived at Magnolia Vale as well also the others in the area. Matanna referred to African Americans at different points as confused children and malicious animals. This helps to illustrate in a way that the wreath does not the strong presence of racism within the actions of the southern women’s organizations and more broadly throughout southern white women’s cultural legacy.

While Mattanna’s actions may have come from intentions which she personally perceived as being good, that is commemorating her personal experiences during the war and remembering the nation which she had supported during that conflict, the underlying themes of racism and classism helped to reinforce these negative concepts within her community and later generations of her family. As she was writing for publication these ideas were intended for public consumption – therefore it doesn’t matter whether or not she was successful in her goal of finding a publisher for her works. Mattanna’s drive was to spread her vision of the Civil War and the culture in which she was raised, a vision which did not allow for her family to be cast as villains. Mattanna played an active part in the myth making of the Lost Cause through her writing.

25 Fairchild, Our Women.

27 Fairchild, Our Women.

28 Fairchild, Our Women.

29 Joe Fairchild to Mrs. J. D. O’Neal, April 24, 1967.


33 Janney, *Burying the Dead*, 80.


35 Janney, *Burying the Dead*, 137.


40 Fairchild, *Our Women*.


46 Janney, *Burying the Dead*, 68.


51 Janney, *Burying the Dead*, 93.


59 Fairchild, *Our Women*.

60 Fairchild, *Our Women*.

61 Fairchild, *Our Women*.

62 Fairchild, *Our Women*.

63 Janney, *Burying the Dead*, 189.

64 Fairchild, *Our Women*.


70 Fairchild, *Our Women*. 
THE HORRORS OF WAR

In her recollection of the days following the Battle of Raymond, Mattanna details the turmoil of emotions which struck her once the chaos had calmed:

...in the bosom the emotion of woe, the agony as the fond mother pictures her soldier boys among the dead, as dying, as perhaps among the captured or maimed for life. no tidings could she receive. the great suspense she could no longer endure ...the Mother and sister started on their search, to the different hospitals they went. to hear the groans of the suffering and dying, and from eyes to read implorings, though silent the voice, the falling tear drops tells much even more than words oft times. To the sympathetic, heart sending the scene sickening to the heart the scene of that day the sons and brothers were not there to be seen but safe at the front it was hear, when the pedestrian tour of four miles was made homeward much wearied but with a releaved mind that Mother and daughter after their walk of ten miles!71

For Mattie the true horrors of war did not become clear until her home front became the battle front. When the conflict appeared on the property owned by her parents, she gained first-hand knowledge of the death and dying which women further to the north and east had already experienced for several years.72 Perhaps it is because it was so late in the war that the sight of battle served to only reinforce her belief in the righteousness of the Confederate cause. At this point she had had several years to accept the idea of secession and the adult identity as a citizen of the Confederate States,73 versus a child identity as a citizen of the United States - as she had come of age74 during the tumultuous years of the late 1850s.75 Or, maybe it was the death of a beloved uncle to the Union
Army that helped to reinforce the image of the North as murderous oppressors within Mattie’s personal mythology.

Whatever her reasoning, the experiences of the Battle of Raymond and the rest of the Vicksburg campaign would in many ways define the rest of Mattie’s life. She would spend the next several years working both on her memorial handicraft but also her writings - which all focused on the memory of that period of time. She even goes so far as to refer to herself as the perfect southern girl in appearance with “butternut brown hair” and “Confederate gray eyes”. Even Mattie’s body, in other words, bore the physical markers of her internal belief.\(^76\)

A year prior to this, Mattie’s brother Felix had been wounded in a battle in Virginia and nearly died from infection. Felix made it home with assistance from a fortuitously located family friend. By the time he arrived back in Mississippi his injuries had been tended by doctors and become more sterilized and approachable.\(^77\) In contrast, during the Battle of Raymond (fig. 20), the conflict played out before Mattanna, clouding all of her senses from the smell and taste of acerbic gunpowder and blood to the resounding clash of the armies on her lawn. In the same way that the United Daughters of the Confederacy would ensure that their version of history would be told through publication and education,\(^78\) Mattie worked to tell the story of her family and the Battle of Raymond. Her writings were created to show not only the actions of the Fairchilds, and by relation the elite white population of the south as a whole, in a good light, but to also cast shadow on the other groups at play at the time - the local enslaved community and the Yankee soldiers.\(^79\)
While the enslaved people living at Magnolia Vale are, with few exceptions, only mentioned in passing in Mattie’s narrative, when they are it is with patronizing disdain. The exceptions are an old married couple who she describes as remaining with the family even after the property was stripped by both the leaving enslaved population and the Union army. These two are described as faithful, with the woman fulfilling every major aspect of the Mammy stereotype, caring for the family children before her own family and the man protecting the youngest Fairchild son from angry freed people.\textsuperscript{80}
The soldiers who stripped the house and farm of Magnolia Vale down to bare walls and barren earth are characterized as crude buffoons, who have no sense of gentlemanly behavior and are contrasted to the kind manners of Southern males. Even when Mattie begrudgingly admits to the gentle breeding and attractive appearance of one young officer she quickly goes on to comment on how his loyalties show that his manners are not real, merely a hastily constructed facade. The soldiers are shown being bested by the family rooster in a fight, described in slapstick terms fighting with feather ticks and an unhelpful donkey, fraternizing with African American women from neighboring plantations, placing women and children in danger, and being bested by Mattie’s sharp tongue and temper.⁸¹

Admittedly all of these anecdotes are from Mattie’s perspective and are designed to create a specific image of the invading army - as an army which is less than their opponents and only finds success through the barest of luck. Indeed, their military efforts are shown to be as rough as their manners in Mattie’s telling while the experiences of her brother Felix are related in similar terms of elegance as may be expected from an Arthurian legend or a description of a gothic hero.⁸²

Interestingly in terms of the broader Southern history and the created memory of the South, the one officer who Mattie met and did actually find to be a good person was General William Sherman. This was due to an act of simple kindness on the man’s part, when, hearing the small children of the family crying after all the food had been taken, provided them with a milk cow so that they could have a basic level of sustenance. Even
after this Mattie still held him in a low enough level of esteem that she refused to play cheerful music on the piano for him when asked.\(^{83}\)

\(^{71}\) Fairchild, *Our Women*.

\(^{72}\) Jabour, *Scarlett's Sisters*, 256.

\(^{73}\) Jabour, *Scarlett's Sisters*, 249.

\(^{74}\) Jabour, *Scarlett's Sisters*, 27.

\(^{75}\) 1840 U.S. Census.

\(^{76}\) Fairchild, *Our Women*.

\(^{77}\) Fairchild, *Our Women*.

\(^{78}\) Cox, *Dixie's daughters*, 95.

\(^{79}\) Fairchild, *Our Women*.

\(^{80}\) Fairchild, *Our Women*.

\(^{81}\) Fairchild, *Our Women*.

\(^{82}\) The entirety of *A Southern Soldiers Reminiscences* was written by Mattanna from Felix’s point of view as well as a segment of *Our Women During the War vol. 1 and 2* and they serve to detail his experiences during the battle of Raymond.

\(^{83}\) Fairchild, *Our Women*. 
RELIGION AND THE HAIRWREATH

Just as the bodies of deceased loved ones were preserved through the cutting of a lock of hair so too did Mattanna strive to preserve the physical body of the Confederacy through the creation of her hair wreath. Much as both the Lost Cause as preached from the pulpit and the ideologies of the women’s movements placed the common soldier as the bastion of Confederate manhood and ideology, so does Mattanna’s wreath. By cutting hair from soldiers across the military hierarchy she effectively created a cross-section of Confederate manhood. What’s more, by taking in part in such an intimate action - the collecting of a lock of hair, normally only done by a family member or beloved-- she stood in as beloved to the dying Confederacy. This can be seen as either standing in as the daughter of the Confederacy, a role her writings attest that she certainly viewed herself in, or as the lover/wife patiently waiting for her loved one to return and mourning their loss when they do not come back.

This position of an individual standing as beloved to an institution is reflective of the teachings of the Christian church - that is that the church is the bride the Jesus Christ’s bridegroom and that all Christians, but most specifically female believers, must live their lives to fulfill that position. In placing this relationship on the Confederacy, Mattanna places herself in a position of creating a holy work in the completion of the hair wreath. This viewpoint can be seen as well in the wording of her war time recollections which are framed as a type of gospel, announcing the tribulations which she and her family
underwent during the Battle of Raymond and the following days. Religious wording and symbolism are evident throughout the text which makes frequent mention of God as well as placing the concept of Memory as a deity like figure.

The idea of sacrifice as an act of love is lifted directly from the bible, and is seen in the same chapter, Ephesians 5, which discusses the church as the bride of Christ. Verse 2 reads “And walk in love, as Christ loved us and gave himself up for us, a fragrant offering and sacrifice to God.” For Mattanna it would not have been that far of a stretch to compare the deceased Confederate soldiers and their personal sacrifice to the Sacrifice described in that verse. The chapter continues to discuss the ideal relationship between husband and wife

Wives, submit to your own husbands, as to the Lord. For the husband is the head of the wife even as Christ is the head of the church, his body, and is himself its Savior. Now as the church submits to Christ, so also wives should submit in everything to their husbands.

Husbands, love your wives, as Christ loved the church and gave himself up for her, that he might sanctify her, having cleansed her by the washing of water with the word, so that he might present the church to himself in splendor, without spot or wrinkle or any such thing, that she might be holy and without blemish. In the same way husbands should love their wives as their own bodies. He who loves his wife loves himself. For no one ever hated his own flesh, but nourishes and cherishes it, just as Christ does the church

The symbolism utilized in the wreath reflects this mental connection between the Confederacy and Christianity for Mattanna. This is most evident through the creation of the central cross form, which stands as the focal point of the entire wreath. This then is
contrasted with the Confederate “stars and bars” in the upper corner, which are connected to the list of individuals included in the wreath. The two are of a similar size but are not physically connected, indeed while the defeated Confederacy was the main impetus behind the wreath it is shown as being both secondary and a part of Christianity through the placement of the wreath elements.

Mattanna would continue to care for her family in the years after the war, never marrying -- instead remaining in the home of her mother, Rebecca, until her death and then living under the roof of her brother Felix after he took over possession of Magnolia Vale. In the same way that she remained at home helping her family, rather than marrying and creating a new family, Mattanna spent much of her life devoted to the Lost Cause. This can be seen in her writings where the only non-familial bond she mentions is that to the Confederacy. Even her description of her own younger self is centered on her relation with Confederacy, saying “Mattanna is not wanting in powers magnetic fair and fragile the girly a purely southern caste with her “butternut brown hair and confederate gray eyes”, eyes which can speak “true index of the soul” Lest the warm pure heart of love and sympathy which lies beneath a calm placid exterior be touched, the eye kindles to the magic of its touch. While if as the flint and steel struck rudely so as the flint and steel sparkles fire the blue gray flashing eyes of Southern girl” In contrasting her personality and stated fragility with an apparent strength of character and a physical appearance which was based off of the national color scheme, she is attempting to utilize feminine imagery to create a fictional version of herself as the narrator who can not only be trusted but also sympathized with.


Mattanna Fairchild, *Our Women Vol. 1*.


Ibid.

Eph. 5:2.

Eph. 5:22-29.

Mattanna Fairchild, *Our Women Vol. 2*.


Fairchild, *Our Women*. 

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88 Mattanna Fairchild, *Our Women Vol. 1* and *Vol. 2*.

89 Ibid.

90 Eph. 5:2.

91 Eph. 5:22-29.

92 Mattanna Fairchild, *Our Women Vol. 2*.


94 Fairchild, *Our Women*. 

62
INSTRUCTIONS FOR HAIR AND WAX WORK

In contrast to Mattanna’s writings the one piece of writing from Idale Fairchild does not show the same level of vitriolic fanaticism (although their common education is visible in the lackadaisical approach to spelling). It is important to this study not for what it can add to the understanding of Mattanna’s political and personal beliefs, but for what it can teach us about the creation of the many handicrafts the two sisters completed to decorate Magnolia Vale. The small manuscript, written in a notebook with a blue marbled cover provides a striking physical contrast to Mattanna’s ad hoc pinned together stacks of paper upon which she completed her writings. Idale’s tome, signed Idale Fairchild “The Glee Maidan” was sent to the Ladies Floral Cabinet and Pictorial Home Companion, via Henry J Williams, the New York publisher, at some point prior to Idale’s marriage in the early 1880s and her death in 1884. There is no actual date attached to the manuscript, which makes it difficult to discover whether it was ever published by Williams as there are few copies available of the publication and such a wide range of dates which it could have been in.111

The manuscript covers not only the creation of various forms of hair jewelry and the preparation of the raw hair, but also the creation of wax stamens, fruits from both wax and rosin, foliage from putty, and alum baskets (made from taking a basket made of bonnet wire and dipping it in a solution of dissolved alum for several hours, allowing crystalline structures to form). These instructions are designed to educate, much as the
texts written by her elder sister, but lack the partisan aspect; Idale is set on portraying the moniker of Glee in comparison to Mattanna who sees herself as the protector of memory and the past. Indeed, the instructions are direct and do not spend much time on other matters at all. What little commentary Idale gives is directed at a general audience who would be interested in creating such works.

Although the guide is not directly focused on the making of hair wreaths, examining the instructions gives us a sense of how the two sisters created the large hair wreath. The first step is to prepare the hair - initially with a boil in a pot of soda water while tied in a lock with a clean piece of string, dried, and then boiled a second time for twenty minutes in a pot of clear water before being thoroughly dried and set aside for later use. This process relaxes any curl out of the hair and cleanses it of dirt and oils, ensuring a consistent product for further work.

The instructions for jewelry creation which are specifically for bracelets, necklaces, sets, large necklaces, and charms make note of how many individual hairs should be collected into each strand, how many groups or strands of hair for each piece, the number of weights to be attached to each section of strands, and the specific braiding stitches which need to be used to create a desired look. It is in these descriptions that the relations between open work hair jewelry and bobbin lace become quite clear. Just as in bobbin lace the individual threads are attached to numbered bobbins or weights which must be interlaced in specific patterns so to must the individual strands be interwoven in the correct order to create the tensile strength needed to hold the hollow tubes open and to give strength to flat braids.
For a hair wreath there would be a different manner of creation as many of the forms utilized are made from shorter sections of hair than those used in jewelry. While the locks used for jewelry creation could be several inches in length most pieces used for wreaths were at most two inches, the type of length which could be cut from a loved one’s hair without it becoming a noticeable difference in length to the surrounding hair. In the creation of hair wreaths there is also a larger use of metal forms and wire framework to create the shapes, particularly in the foundational shapes such as the overall horseshoe form. This is one reason why most wreaths appear so wiry - there is not a large amount of hair covering the wire form.

For the Fairchild’s the shorter hair needed to create elements for a hair wreath lent itself to their task as they could only collect a small amount from each soldier and it was unlikely that the influential Confederates who were also included in the wreath would have donated anything much larger. A wreath was also more suitable for two sisters working together as each element of a wreath was made separately and then attached to the main wreath form. This allowed for the two to work side by side and for the older Mattanna to monitor and help the younger Idale with her creations. Finally, because of the variety of hair colors collected by the Fairchild’s a wreath allowed a form which could serve to show off the variation of hues. Several of the floral forms utilize a gradated color scheme from white to dark brown adding a depth to the work.

As we have seen, the Fairchild wreath, unlike most other examples, does not have a wiry appearance. Instead many of the flowers appear plush and fluffy and the wreath itself is extremely full and densely laden with elements. This is due at least partially to
the extreme quantity of hair used for the creation of the work but also in part due to the skill in the overall design of the piece. It also shows a greater range in floral forms than many other hair wreaths and utilizes non hair ornaments in the forms of glass beads and colored wax stamens.

The non-hair related sections give an insight into the other forms of handiwork for which the Fairchild sisters were recognized within the community and showcase one of the aspects which set the Fairchild wreath apart from many similar works - the colored wax stamens or pips within many of the flowers. These were made through dipping wire stems into waxes colored using different combinations of mineral based pigments. Idale provides the ratios for different shades. These same pigments are also used to color the variety of wax and rosin fruits for which there are instructions. It is in the instructions for the fruit that a sense of the artfulness of which was part of these objects creation truly comes across as Idale describes how to properly blend different colors to create realistic looking fruits.

111 Idale Fairchild, Instructions for Hair and Wax Work.
MOURNING AMONG OTHER GROUPS

The political and social differences between Northern and Southern women, as well as the variation in their first hand experiences of the war, led to a marked divergence in the commemorative actions undertaken by women’s groups between the two regions. Combined with the diversity in opportunities and cultural traditions between white and freed African American women, this helped to create the image of the upper class white southern woman as being affected on a greater level than other women, simply due to her more visible outpourings of grief.\textsuperscript{112} Specifically, these situational variances meant that the large-scale public mourning seen among Southern white women simply is not present among other groups.

The other reason why these larger mourning efforts were not undertaken by other groups seen is that white northern women in particular simply did not deem their reputations to be in need of rehabilitation as white southern women did. They were not trying to regain a level of respectability that had been lost during the war\textsuperscript{113}. Northern white women, as members of the victorious faction, were able to regain a greater level of normalcy within their lives, as there was little change between pre-war and post war life\textsuperscript{114}. Indeed, as many northern areas were far separate from the theatres of battle, life during the war had not been changed to the extent that was seen in the South, where the two armies had marched across the majority of the countryside, laying waste to the
agriculture-based region\textsuperscript{115}. For African American groups, there was neither the funding nor the larger governmental support necessary to erect monuments on the scale seen in the South\textsuperscript{116}, particularly in the years following the return of control of southern state governments to ex-Confederates and their children, and the later enactment of Jim Crow laws. Instead, both of these groups commemorated in smaller ways\textsuperscript{117}.

In the North, official commemorative actions were the purvey of the government, both federal and local\textsuperscript{118}. Due to restrictions placed at the end of the war, this type of action could not be done in the South\textsuperscript{119}, which is why although the women were able to gain funding and public support from state and local governments, those entities were never at the forefront of the planning or implementation of Confederate memorial efforts\textsuperscript{120}. It was these actions on the part of the national government to create graveyards for Union soldiers\textsuperscript{121} - often displacing the bodies of Confederates from shared plots\textsuperscript{122} - which had been the impetus for many early Ladies’ Memorial Associations to form and create early Confederate cemeteries\textsuperscript{123}. Because of the government ensuring that Union men were properly buried and their graves were tended to, there was no need in the North for similar groups to form\textsuperscript{124}.

The other main reason why women in the North did not play a prominent role in the post-war commemorations of the victorious dead was that they had not played as large of a role culturally during the war\textsuperscript{125}. While in the South it was the image of the southern women needing protection from the invading Yankee that served as one of the rallying cries for men to join the army\textsuperscript{126}, the North had the image of the sundered nation, needing men to repair it and make it once more one\textsuperscript{127}. Perhaps because female supporters of the
Union were not required to serve in the same symbolic role they did not feel the same need to publicly express their sorrow in the years following the war. In contrast, Confederate women stood as a vision of not only all that could be lost should the other army win but after the war as all that had been lost, in terms of the perceived gentility of the even then being invented “Old South”. This position as a sign of home and culture as well as the day to day dealings with an invading force made outward signs of patriotism more of a social signifier than in the North.

This is not to say that Northern women did not organize at all. There were a number of women’s organizations in the North, frequently as auxiliary groups to veteran’s groups. Among the most popular was the Woman’s Relief Corps, which formed from the Grand Army of the Republic. These women also helped to tend graves and in memorial day events, but there was a difference in the way they helped and the role they took. Where Southern women such as the United Daughters of the Confederacy occupied center stage at many of these events, playing the part of the wounded yet still strong female character, Northern women remained almost entirely in the background, putting the men of the community at the front.

Union veterans may have found their way to the front of Union commemoration simply because they had seen victory while the Confederates had not. The years after the war saw great changes in perceived gender roles among white southerners, helped in part by the legends of the surrender of Confederate president Jefferson Davis’ (he who was included in the Fairchild hair wreath).
The story went that when Union soldiers hunted down Davis on May 10, 1865, in rural Georgia he attempted to once again escape as he had done from Richmond after the surrender a month prior. Not only did Davis purportedly act with cowardice by not facing his fate in a masculine manner, but he was seen wearing female clothing, including petticoats and a shawl according to the tale which spread across the North. In the end it was said that his rough masculine boots gave him away. The truth of the matter is somewhat different, in that rather than wearing female clothing he most likely wore a shawl or cloak belonging to his wife, an article of clothing which, although belonging to a woman, was worn by both genders at the time. However this story grew and spread through the North, showing the South as becoming a place of topsy-turvy gender roles where men dressed as women. There were even popular songs written about the incident, complete with illustrations showing Jefferson Davis with his skirt flying over his head and legs wide spread (fig. 21).

This story was reflective of how the men of the South were viewed by their Northern opponents in the years following the war, as somehow less than masculine. The women then were seen as less than feminine due to their hyper-political actions during the war and towards the occupying Union army. Confederate women were notorious across the North for turning their backs on Union soldiers when they entered towns and receiving them with both bitterness and malice. In a time when political participation by women was looked down upon this highly partisan behavior served to make the women of the South appear as though they were turning their backs on not only the United States but also feminine graces.
This meant that the actions of Southern women, who worked to commemorate the dead in a specifically contrived image of domestic fidelity and feminine kindness, also served to rehabilitate the image of gender relations in the South. By stepping aside from the vitriolic actions which they had undertaken during the war women were able to once more take on the mantle of femininity. These showcases of female emotions and sentimentality served to make the defeated white elite of the South more palatable to the
North, as once again fitting within established and accepted gender roles. Even though these women were leaving their homes and taking on positions of authority within large organizations, they did so within the image of the domestic ideal, doing everything for their children, husbands and communities. This need to rehabilitate the image of the entire region didn’t exist in the North, so there was no sense of urgency behind those commemorative actions that the women did undertake.

Many of the actions done in the North were in the form of monetary donations to causes which helped needy veterans. These donations were normally private and could come in a range of amounts. This was indicative of the wider range of citizens taking part in the Northern war effort. The larger amount of urban centers in the North, the greater number of middle class individuals (rather than the economic class divisions of the South where there was no real middle class), and the higher population density meant that a wider range of women took part in the memorial movement in the North. For these women the issue became more taking care of the veterans, rather than caring for a political ideal. While southern women worked to care for wounded veterans and later aging veterans, this was not the main focus of their efforts.

The simple way to differentiate is that in the North they were concerned with the living while in the South they cared for the dead. This goes back to the earlier mentioned governmental differences. In the South there were laws, often enforced by local military units, about what Confederate veterans were able to do in terms of memorializing the past or showing any type of visible reminder of their military service.
Finally, in the North memorial day ceremonies also focused on the living. The parades in the North centered on reunited military units in full regalia and battle flags. In the South this was not able to happen for several years after the war. There was no place for the wives of veterans in these parades.\textsuperscript{147} In fact the 1911 short story “Comrades” by Elizabeth Stuart Phelps addressed this issue.\textsuperscript{148} Phelps looks at the last surviving veteran of a small town who is worried about his ability to fulfil his duties in what could very well be his last memorial day proceedings. Nevertheless, he rejects the aid his wife offered him because he does not view her as a veteran. She then takes the socially appropriate place for female relatives – walking alongside the parade but not in it.\textsuperscript{149} This is a departure from the memorial day parades of the South where large contingents of the local female population joined in the parade carrying decorations for the tombs of the deceased.\textsuperscript{150} In fact the destinations of these parades were often also quite different as Confederate parades headed towards the cemetery\textsuperscript{151} while Union parades went to the town square, once again highlighting the difference between commemorating the dead and commemorating the survivors.\textsuperscript{152}

African American communities took part in the larger ceremonies in both the North and the South, but also had their own memorial traditions.\textsuperscript{153} The most widespread of these celebrations were those which celebrated the anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation and the end of the war. The end of the war being celebrated was not April 9, 1865, but June 19, the day when Major General Gordon Granger brought the news to Galveston, Texas.\textsuperscript{154} Known as Juneteenth the day became a holiday celebrated across the nation as the end of the war for the African American community versus that for the
governmental entities.\textsuperscript{155} It was on this date that many enslaved people in Texas originally learned of the Emancipation Proclamation and the fact that they were legally free.\textsuperscript{156} While there had been a Union presence in the state it had not been sufficient to enforce the Emancipation Proclamation.\textsuperscript{157}

Unlike the ceremonies held by white populations Juneteenth was mostly a day of celebration. Although serving as a day to commemorate and remember those who were enslaved it was celebrated with picnics and festivity rather than solemn parades and speeches centered on cemeteries. While originally a Texas holiday it spread throughout freed communities across the country.\textsuperscript{158}

Beyond African American centered events there were chapters of the Grand Army of the Republic founded from the remains of African American military units.\textsuperscript{159} These chapters marched in parades around the country on the main memorial day and the Richmond, VA chapter even marched with the local Confederate veterans’ organization in 1883 to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation.\textsuperscript{160} On this same occasion the local Ladies’ Memorial Association gave flowers to the Black Ladies’ Memorial Association.\textsuperscript{161}

In the end, though, African American commemoration efforts were held on a much smaller scale with most taking place on a family level. This stems from a number of factors including the fact that African American communities did not benefit from the same level of financial and governmental support that white groups found.\textsuperscript{162} This created an environment where monumental efforts were unwelcome. At the same time there was
a sense within the African American community of moving forward from slavery towards more equal rights, even as white governments made that goal more difficult.\textsuperscript{163} Rather than working through public mourning to create a new image as white southerners had done African Americans expanded their foothold in education, politics, and professional fields across the country.\textsuperscript{164}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{112} Nina Silber, \textit{Gender and the Sectional Conflict}, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008) 70.
\item \textsuperscript{114} Catherine Clinton and Nina Silber, eds, \textit{Divided Houses: Gender and the Civil War}, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992) 304.
\item \textsuperscript{117} Mills, \textit{Monuments}, 16.
\item \textsuperscript{118} Silber, \textit{Gender}, 83.
\item \textsuperscript{119} Ibid., 71.
\item \textsuperscript{120} Cox, \textit{Dixie’s Daughters}, 11.
\item \textsuperscript{121} Ibid., 15
\item \textsuperscript{122} William Alan Blair, \textit{Cities of the Dead Contesting the Memory of the Civil War in the South, 1865-1914}, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004) 80.
\item \textsuperscript{123} Cox, \textit{Dixie’s Daughters}, 56.
\item \textsuperscript{124} Ibid., 15.
\item \textsuperscript{125} Silber, \textit{Gender}, 70.
\item \textsuperscript{126} Ibid., 76.
\item \textsuperscript{127} Ibid., 70.
\end{itemize}

76
128 Ibid., 78.
129 Ibid., 84.
130 Ibid., 85.
131 Ibid., 84.
132 Blair, Cities, 119.
133 Silber, Gender, 70.
134 List inside Fairchild hair wreath.
135 Silber, Romance, 29.
137 Clinton, Divided Houses, 285.
138 Silber, Romance, 32.
139 Clinton, Divided Houses, 292.
140 Clinton, Divided Houses, 293.
141 Silber, Gender, 84.
142 Ibid., 87.
143 Ibid., 85.
144 Ibid., 87.
145 Janney, Burying the Dead, 115.
146 Cox, Dixie’s Daughters, 11.
147 Silber, Gender, 88.
148 Ibid, 89.
149 Ibid, 89.
150 Mills, Monuments, 10.
151 Ibid., 10.
152 Ibid., 10.
154 Ibid., 368.
155 Ibid., 368.
156 Ibid., 368.
157 Ibid., 368.
158 Blair, *Cities*, 163.
159 Ibid, 304.
160 Ibid, 305.
161 Ibid, 306.
163 Blair, *Cities*, 313.
164 Ibid, 311.
CHAPTER EIGHT

In 1884, twelve years after the wreath was recorded as being finished, it was featured at the World’s Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition in New Orleans, Louisiana. The wreath was part of the exhibit in the Women’s Hall sent by the state of Mississippi. In *The World’s Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition, New Orleans, 1884-1885*, a contemporary text which looked at the Fair, Herbert S. Fairall described the wreath as “A large wreath of flowers made of hair was very remarkable, especially as it contained locks of the Fairchild family, from the one who fought with Washington down to the present day, and also contained the hair of Mr. Jefferson Davis, Mr. Stonewall Jackson, and many others of the bravest and the most beloved of Confederate chieftains.” Fairall was in charge of the Iowa commission for the fair but his words show, twenty years after the war, a fondness for the scions of the Confederacy. Fairall, born in 1854, was only a child during the war and perhaps he had no lingering distaste for the memory of the Confederate elite. Perhaps he was influenced by two decades worth of Southerners’ attempts to communicate their perspective to their Northern brethren. Maybe then his reaction is more indicative of the success of women such as Mattanna at changing the narrative of Confederate actions and beliefs to align with the concept of the Old South and southern gentility.
For the next 130 years the wreath would continue to be a lodestone for these post-Confederate southern ideals. Until it left the walls of Magnolia Vale the wreath was the focal point of visits to the home and its occupants remained central to the Lost Cause in Raymond, both as mythmakers and acolytes of the ideology. A selection of family documents donated to the National Museum of American History at the same time as the wreath and Mattanna’s writings highlight the wreath’s continued use in constructing myths of the Old South beyond Mattanna’s lifetime.

The earliest of these documents are the 1914 newspaper clippings dating to the death Felix Fairchild,167 Mattanna’s brother who she lived with until her death in 1906. As well as a brief obituary in the local paper there was also a poem published upon the event of his death in the same paper. The poem which was dedicated to “Independent Scout Felix Fairchild, C.S.A.” is strikingly similar to the poetry written by Mattanna, which was also dedicated to her brother, entitled “Home Again”. Lines from the poem are full of Lost Cause imagery and include the last stanza “The Southland can honor no truer soul/Once, Mother’s idol, a Father’s great joy;/Sisters and Brothers love, without allov—/Now, the sacred sod claims him, but/ God above/ Welcomes home the soldier through his/ great love.” The rest of the poem is of a similar vein with Felix placed, as in his sister’s writings as a hero of romantic tradition.

Another document is the program for the April 26, 1964, Raymond Confederate memorial ceremony (fig. 22). This document was kept with the rest of the family keepsakes from the time because one of Mattanna’s great-great nieces, Mrs. J. D. O’Neal, was in charge of the leading the Pledge to the Confederate Flag. Mrs. O’Neal was the
only woman included in the day’s activities, which also heavily featured music played by the local high school band and culminated in the decoration of graves at the Raymond Confederate Cemetery. Much as had been the case ninety years prior, the oratory roles fell to prominent men from the community as well as religious leaders while the one female role (other than grave care) was to point the community back to the symbolism of the Confederacy.

Figure 22: Program for the 1964 Confederate Memorial Observance in Raymond, Mississippi.
Finally, the largest selection of twentieth century evidence related to the continued devotion of the family to the Lost Cause all dates to the mid-1970s. A flier for the 1974 Raymond Pilgrimage (fig. 23), run by the women who owned the various homes included on the itinerary, includes Mattanna’s home. This family collection also includes pictures from the 1974 and 1975 Pilgrimages showing participants in “period” clothing of questionable design, as well as a letter from the homes’ owner, inviting a woman recently met at the grocery store to take part in the 1975 Pilgrimage so she could view Magnolia Vale. All of these sources, as well as a number of other personal letters dating between the 1950s and 1970s, help to illustrate the centrality of not only the Lost Cause but the hair wreath in the identity of the twentieth-century branch of the Fairchilds and O’Neals.
Figure 23: Flier for the 1974 Raymond pilgrimage.

Also visible in the pictures are the decorative arts which are littered throughout the home. Among these pieces are a number of works in shadow boxes. While not attributed, they show a similar type of work as the large wreath from Mattanna. There is a smaller shadow box with white shell flowers attached to a cream grosgrain ribbon (fig. 24) as well as a larger shadow box showing an assortment of smaller hair work pieces (fig 25).
Figure 24: Unknown (possibly Mattanna or Idale Fairchild). Shadowbox with Silk Flowers. O’Neal Family Photo.

Figure 25: Unknown (possibly Mattanna or Idale Fairchild). Shadowbox showing an array of hair jewelry forms. O’Neal Family Photo.

This display of hair work showcases the wide array of skills which Mattie and Idale used to create the large wreath. Comprised of several hair jewelry sets of the hollow
work type the shadow box also includes a small pistol shaped piece of hairwork in the bottom corner. This strange contrast with the crosses hanging from the jewelry which, due to the religious motifs was most likely mourning jewelry, serves to once again highlight the connection between warlike behavior and Christianity in the minds of the Fairchild family. If not made by Mattanna or her sister, these memorial pieces speak to the family’s continued interest in and desire to complement their extraordinary pieces.

The women who attended these events are also seen in these pictures. Their behavior in these photos is designed to indicate an array of genteel behaviors – playing piano (fig. 26) and looking into a mirror (fig. 27) – as well as simple posed pictures, both on front of the porch (fig. 28) and in front of the fireplace (fig. 29). Their attire is a fantastical conglomeration of contemporary fashion and a Hollywood version of the costume of the 1860s. One young woman even shows off a large beehive hairdo while another has long straight hair typical of the period.
Figure 26: Unknown woman visiting Magnolia Vale on the Raymond Pilgrimage playing the family antique piano. O’Neal Family photograph, March 1974.
Figure 27: Unknown woman visiting Magnolia Vale on the Raymond Pilgrimage posing in one of the family bedrooms. O’Neal Family photograph, March 1974.
Figure 28: Unknown women visiting Magnolia Vale on the Raymond Pilgrimage. O’Neal Family photograph, March 1974.

Figure 29: Unknown women visiting Magnolia Vale on the Raymond Pilgrimage. O’Neal Family photograph, March 1974.

This mixture of the modern and what was perceived as historic stands as a signal of the true purpose of these Pilgrimages. They were not designed to reenact the actual historical situation of the war period. Instead the design is to create the idea of the Southern Belle, cultured women who are above the worries of work or politics. This lack of historical accuracy reflects the general though process of the Lost Cause mythos as a whole. In
creating a new history for the South it erases the cultural sense of guilt. These women, in
effect, became Mattanna: a genteel woman who could play the piano and lived in a
comfortable home, but who also showed her devotion to the Confederacy. Mattanna’s
creative melding of the political with the personal, the Confederacy with mourning
embroidery, has become fossilized as a new generation look back to the past.

In the end this shows the level of success of the southern women’s memorial
groups – a hundred years later the cultural memory of the nation reflects the
manufactured history of the South rather than the recorded factual history of the pre-war
period. The fact that these efforts were able to change the narrative of such a wide
geographic area while staying within the realm of culturally accepted feminine activities
demonstrates the ingenuity of these women in sharing the story as they viewed it. That
their descendants also carry out similar activities, whether assisting in leading the
Confederate Memorial Day ceremonies, caring for the tombs of ancestors, or dressing in
faux period attire and attempting to recapture the very essences of those women who
came before through the recreation of their imagined daily activities, shows the cultural
impact of these women and the extent of their memory. Even though these women
stepped aside and did not seek to place their stories or their images in the spotlight they
lived on through the memory of the distaff line – whose continuing efforts at upholding
their actions stands as their memorial.

After the 1970s though there is no continuing record of the Fairchildls or O’Neals
taking part in Confederate memorial proceedings. Unfortunately, there is also no record
of why they stopped taking part in these actions. The town of Raymond remains vocally
proud of its Confederate heritage with a monument to the Texan soldiers who fell during
the battle erected and dedicated on the edge of the battlefield in 2002. However, in the
program for that event there are no members of the Fairchild family taking part despite
the fact that they had been major players in the Confederate memorial organizations only
years before and the land where the monument was located was once part of their
plantation. Mattanna’s hair wreath, however, continues to stand as a monument to the
family’s commitment to the past and to the battle that marked their family.

165 Herbert S. Fairall, *The World’s Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition, New
Orleans, 1884-1885.* (Iowa City, Iowa: Republican Pub., 1885) 369.
166 "H.S. Fairall Dies in North." Iowa City Daily Press, May 13, 1907, Obituaries sec.
167 "In Memory of Independent Scout Felix Fairchild C.S.A." Hinds County Gazette,
1914, Obituaries sec.
168 Clione B. Rochat, "Texas Monument Dedication." Battle of Raymond.
CHAPTER NINE

In 1890 African American southern educator Joseph C. Price said “The South was more conquered than convinced, it was overpowered rather than fully persuaded. The Confederacy surrendered its sword at Appomattox, but did not there surrender its convictions.” This quote finds truth in the actions of women such as Mattanna Fairchild. There was no contriteness in the behavior seen throughout the South following the Civil War, instead efforts turned to returning life to pre-war standings as quickly as possible. In working to return to their previous sense of normalcy Southern women were crucial in the creation of the post war United States and in recreating the national vision of southern aristocracy.

Over the course of a century and a half the works of Mattanna and Idale Fairchild helped to support the ideals of the Lost Cause within Hinds County, Mississippi, and across the nation as a whole through finding possibilities on larger public stages. Because of their use of both physical and textual creations the Fairchilds were able to spread their views of their local history in both the region and the nation. Through a range of activities other southern women like them were successful, on a level that few other defeated groups have been after wars, at changing history to reflect not the victor but the loser. Material artifacts played a critical role in their success.
In recent years there has been a greater amount of interest in the actions of these women and a growing recognition of their ability to effect the postwar world. However, these scholarly efforts have been focused on the large scale efforts to the neglect of smaller writings and works, such as those created by the Fairchilds. These smaller efforts though serve to show just how widespread the ideas were throughout the general white female population of the South. They also help to demonstrate that there were women who were willing to place their stories and experiences at the front rather than standing in the shadows.

Hair wreaths serve as a window into not only southern memorial efforts but those of the entire country, as their creation was not limited by region. The lack of study on the wreaths comes perhaps from the modern distaste for items made of human hair, but they remain an important and frequently present vision of groups of people. In many house museums they are either ignored or pointed out as a way to either gross out visitors or get a small laugh, but not as a way of stating these are the individuals who lived here, the individuals who were important to this house. Because there has only recently been a shift in thought regarding hair and Victorian mourning methods these items have not given the scholarly attention they require to fully understand the situation of the late nineteenth century. It is time for us to give Mattanna Fairchild’s hairwreath another look.

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BIOGRAPHY

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