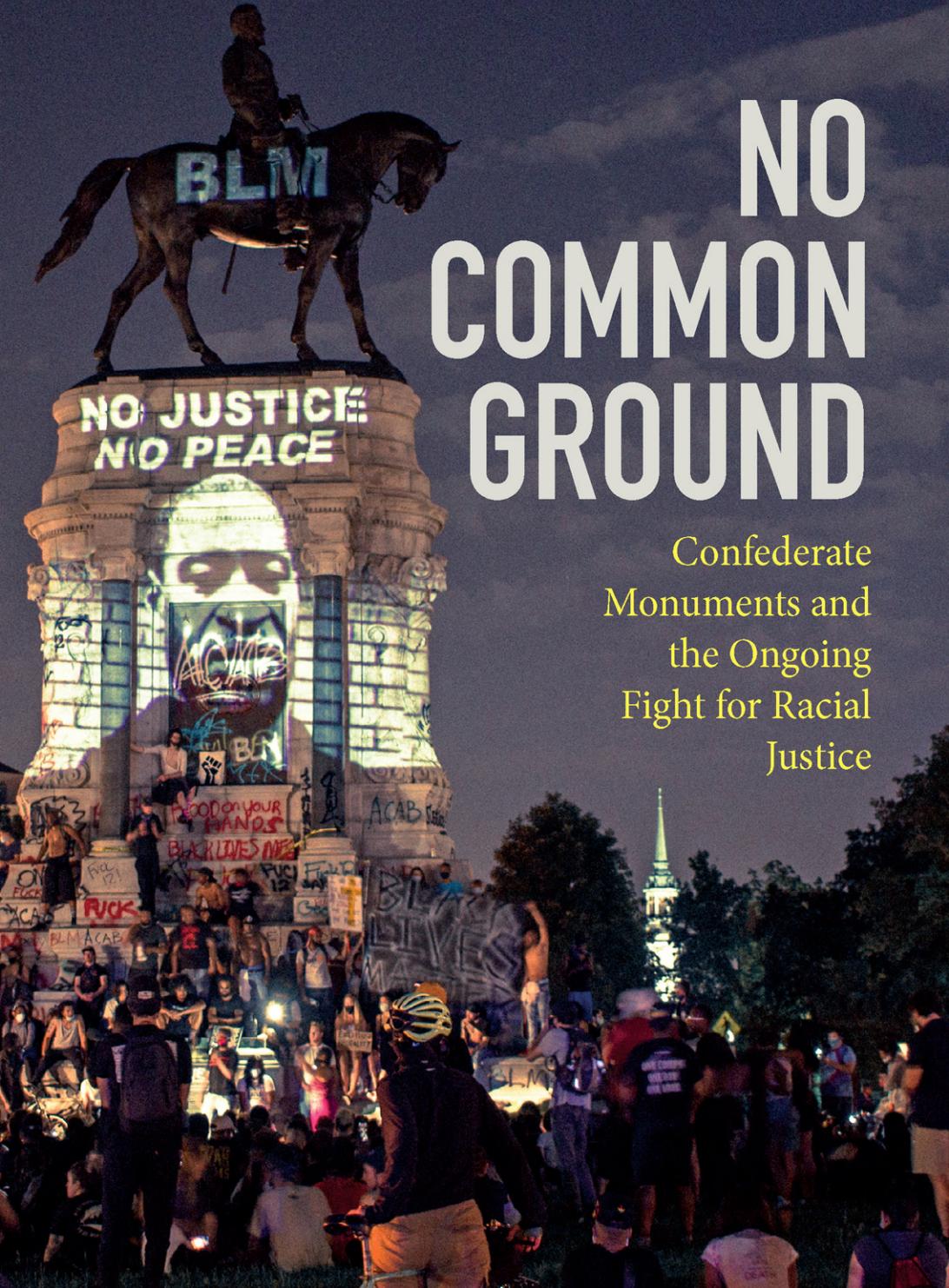


KAREN L. COX

NO COMMON GROUND

Confederate
Monuments and
the Ongoing
Fight for Racial
Justice





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Ongoing Fight for Racial Justice

KAREN L. COX



A Ferris and Ferris Book

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**For everyone
who speaks
truth to power**

CONTENTS

- Introduction, *1*
- 1 Rewriting History in Stone, *13*
- 2 From Bereavement to Vindication, *27*
- 3 Confederate Culture and the Struggle for Civil Rights, *57*
- 4 Monuments and the Battle for First-Class Citizenship, *91*
- 5 Debating Removal in a Changing Political Landscape, *121*
- 6 Charleston, Charlottesville, and Continued Challenges
to Removal, *149*
- Epilogue, *169*
- Acknowledgments, *175*
- Notes, *179*
- Bibliography, *195*
- Index, *201*

FIGURES

- Unveiling of Robert E. Lee Monument in New Orleans, 1884, 42
- McNeel Marble Company Advertisement, 1909, 53
- African Americans sit on pedestal of Confederate monument during the Emmett Till trial in Sumner, Miss., 1955, 58
- Woman instructing children at Robert E. Lee monument in Richmond, Va., 1951, 73
- Crowd gathered at Confederate monument in Grenada, Miss., June 1966, 95
- Martin Luther King Jr. and Andrew Young on the steps of the Confederate monument in Grenada, Miss., June 1966, 97
- Parchman prisoners surround a monument at Greenwood, Miss., June 1966, 98
- Parchman prisoners surround monument in Belzoni, Miss., June 1966, 98
- Students gathered around Confederate monument in Tuskegee, Ala., January 1966, 101
- Tuskegee students night protest at Confederate monument, December 1966, 103
- Harvey Gantt at his mayoral inauguration, 1983, 119
- Caddo Parish Confederate monument in Shreveport, La., 2011, 126
- Protest in Columbia, S.C., following the murder of nine parishioners at Emanuel AME church in Charleston, June 2015, 152
- Unite the Right rally in Charlottesville, Va., August 2017, 162

2

FROM BEREAVEMENT TO VINDICATION

In January 1867, the Hollywood Memorial Association, a group of white women organized after the Civil War for the purpose of caring for the graves in Richmond's Hollywood Cemetery, invited George Wythe Munford to deliver a lecture. Munford, born in the city in 1803, had been an active civil servant before the Civil War, holding the office of secretary of the Commonwealth of Virginia for twelve years until 1864, and was once considered a serious candidate for governor. But in the aftermath of Confederate defeat and in the face of federal occupation of the city, the sixty-four-year-old Munford felt like a man without a country.

At the time of his lecture in 1867, Munford was still angry. He began by inviting his audience to join him in that anger by reminding them of how, in 1864, federal forces burned down the Virginia Military Institute and pillaged nearby Washington College. "If aliens to our soil can mutilate and deface the college . . . demolish

its apparatus, and destroy its libraries,” he fumed, “what may they not do?” As far as he was concerned, federal authorities had denied white southerners their constitutional liberty: states’ rights. “Now,” he said, “we are looking with terror at the great maelstrom of legislative misrule.” Alluding to the advent of Congressional Reconstruction just a year earlier, Munford described “counties under the thralldom of military occupation, sending forth spawn, to rule and have dominion over her people!” His only hope was that one day, “if the constitution should ever be respected again [and] the olden times should ever return,” it would protect “not only the rights of minorities,” by which he meant southern whites, “but State rights.”¹

Munford’s speech also reflected on Revolutionary War ancestors. Like many others after him, he expressed a belief that white southerners were the real defenders of the founders’ legacy of liberty and insisted that Confederate soldiers were patriots cut from the same cloth. He asserted that secession was necessary to preserve states’ rights, while northerners in Congress were “the chief violator[s] of the Constitution.” According to Munford, the South had no choice but to go to war because its citizens were “threatened by violations of the constitution, and impending violations of the rights of property.” That property, even though he did not give it a name, was slaves.²

Yet Munford’s speech zeroed in on what became a central tenet of white southerners’ postwar beliefs. The South’s cause was a “holy cause,” he proclaimed, and while “the Southern Confederacy has gone down never to rise . . . she will be like the sun when he sets—whose ‘glory remains when his light fades away.’” He acknowledged defeat, but nothing more.

Munford also addressed the work of white southern women in defense and remembrance of the Confederacy. Men would not forget “the purity of our women, nor the sacrifices they made,” he noted, but there was still work to do. It was a “duty” and “a debt of gratitude” that the white South “must pay.” Munford was referring to the work of caring for the Confederate dead, a role fulfilled by women. “Our southern wives and daughters have inaugurated the undertaking. . . . They have collected the bones of the mighty dead,” Munford explained, “and it is their purpose to beautify and

adorn the place [Hollywood Cemetery] so that pilgrims may come to it as a modern Mecca."³ He then exhorted others to help in what he described as "holy work."⁴

Holy cause. Holy work. Modern Mecca. Mary and Martha of the Bible represented yet another religious metaphor often used to describe the work of southern women whose care for the Confederate dead was seen as a demonstration of their faith and devotion. Later in the nineteenth century, white southerners extended the analogy of southern martyrdom so far that Confederate president Jefferson Davis would be likened to no less a figure than Jesus Christ. In effect, the religious language was critical to white southerners coming to terms with defeat, and it shaped the Lost Cause into what historian Charles Reagan Wilson has called the South's "civil religion."⁵

Southern women were inspired by this public calling couched in spiritual terms. Having stepped into the breach of war by providing for soldiers' needs and by caring for them in their local hospitals, southern women's lives had forever changed. They supported the war effort by forming soldiers' aid societies. According to one description, southern women during the war were "Florence Nightingales" and "tireless toilers whose needles were as flashing blades in battle."⁶ Almost immediately after the war, they reorganized the soldiers' aid societies into ladies' memorial associations (or LMAs), and they were instrumental in shaping the Confederate tradition in the South in the decades that followed. The evidence of their work is visible in most southern communities, since they were the first to erect Confederate monuments in the region.

While the foundations for monument building across the South were originally based in bereavement and remembrance, the Confederate generation quickly infused monument dedications with a defiant Lost Cause rhetoric about the justness of secession, the superiority of southern civilization, and the necessity of preserving the racial status quo in the absence of slavery. Understanding the rituals of monument dedications and annual observances to the Confederate dead are critical to our knowledge of what these statues meant to many white southerners not only in the immediate aftermath of war but also going forward. Those committed to the

Lost Cause were, in essence, committed to a new form of southern nationalism that invoked white supremacy.



From their inception, ladies' memorial associations had both immediate objectives and long-term goals for memorializing the Confederate dead. The very first task they assumed was to oversee the return of bodies of dead Confederates from battlefields where they were buried back to hometown cemeteries. Though most had died on battlefields in the South, LMAs in various cities were especially eager to reinter the soldiers who had been buried at Gettysburg in Pennsylvania. In Charleston, South Carolina, for example, that process began during the war as soldiers who died in and around the city were buried in Magnolia Cemetery. Even in the midst of war, women cared for the graves of dead Confederates. According to an early history of the Ladies' Memorial Association of Charleston, the burials during the war "became the nucleus of a Confederate Cemetery," and the women already knew that their next step was to "erect a suitable monument to their [the soldiers'] memory."⁷

During the first two years after the war ended, the women of Charleston moved swiftly to honor those buried in Magnolia Cemetery. They raised \$10,000 to erect headstones over each of the 800 graves and had enough left over to go toward a monument. This was the period known as Presidential Reconstruction, between 1865 and 1867, when Andrew Johnson had essentially given the South *carte blanche* to handle its postwar affairs, including the transition from slavery to freedom. And in the South Carolina legislature, described by the LMA in Charleston as "unreconstructed," representatives "came liberally to the aid of the Association, and gave one thousand dollars" to its work. The state also "granted the Association a large quantity of granite and marble," in part to complete the headstone project, but also for a monument.⁸

Yet by the time the LMA was to receive the material, the relationship between the South and the federal government shifted. Presidential Reconstruction was succeeded by what is known as Congressional Reconstruction, as the Republican-led Congress had begun to enforce compliance by states of the former Confed-

eracy. Not only were federal troops occupying cities and towns in the South, but new governments were installed with leaders who would ensure laws were being followed. And they were not there to support Confederate memorialization.

Undaunted, southern women were determined to continue their memorialization efforts. Their goals were twofold. First, they sought to establish a memorial day for the annual decoration of graves. As Mrs. Charles J. Williams, secretary of the LMA in Columbus, Georgia, wrote, “We feel it is an unfinished work unless a day be set apart annually.” Second, they planned to erect monuments in the Confederate section of their cemeteries.⁹

Reconstruction and accompanying federal occupation thwarted these women’s efforts. The Charleston LMA knew that “those in charge . . . had not sympathy for the objects of [their] Association.” The group’s president, Mary Snowden, was persistent and successful in getting Governor Robert Scott, a Pennsylvanian and former Union general, to issue an order to deliver the granite “which the [prior] Legislature had granted.” Mary and her sister Isabella were already well known in Charleston for their prewar work to raise a monument to John C. Calhoun, and they were credited with keeping those funds hidden during the war. Both women helped secure plots of land in Magnolia Cemetery for the burial of Confederate soldiers. Mary, in particular, took responsibility for returning the bodies of soldiers who fell at Gettysburg back to Charleston. Neither she nor her associates were going to accept that they could not do the work of memorialization, even in the face of federal occupiers.¹⁰

In Montgomery, Alabama, “during the distressing time of military rule,” troops were said to have “hindered the work” of the LMA by suspending memorial activities, according to Ina Ockenden, who wrote a history of the group. In an account of the work of the Wake County LMA from Raleigh, North Carolina, the author claimed that federal troops in that city prohibited the members of the association from going to the cemetery in a procession and advised that if they did so, “they would be fired upon without further warning.” Undeterred, the women formed pairs and eventually made it to the cemetery to place flowers and wreaths upon the graves while being “watched by a Federal officer to see that no

procession was formed.”¹¹ While women were able to create spaces within their local cemeteries for a monument, usually at the center of the graves of Confederate dead, actually erecting a monument was a step too far for occupying troops. Until federal forces were gone, women could not “raise monumental shafts.”¹² For the time being, they began to commemorate what they called “Memorial Day,” which eventually became known as Confederate Memorial Day. As one woman wrote, even “the veriest radical . . . could not refuse us the simple privilege of paying honor to those who died defending the life, honor, and happiness of Southern Women.”¹³

LMAs in different towns declared the honor of being the “first” group of women to have founded this tradition. From Winchester, Virginia, to Columbus, Georgia, to Charleston, South Carolina, southern women lay claim to originating what some referred to as the “Sabbath of the South.” Yet it seems clear that these spring rituals emerged more or less simultaneously throughout the region. Women in all of the states of the former Confederacy reinterred soldiers in their local cemeteries and marked their graves. They also set aside a specific day to annually decorate the graves. States in the Lower South settled on April 26, the day of General Joseph Johnston’s surrender, while states in the Upper South chose May 10, the day General Thomas “Stonewall” Jackson died. Over time, these Confederate Memorial Days became significant events in communities and grew less somber and more celebratory as the Confederate tradition expanded.



Despite white southerners’ frustration with Reconstruction and military occupation, neither lasted forever. Almost immediately after federal troops were withdrawn, southern women sought to make good on their promise to build monuments, first within the Confederate section of cemeteries where space had been reserved for that purpose, and soon after in highly visible public spaces in their communities. And while cemetery statues were relatively modest in design, LMAs seemed intent on making a statement on public landscapes—in the center of town or along a well-traveled boulevard—by raising monuments that involved long-range planning, enormous fundraising efforts, and design competitions.

They moved fast. In 1875, just four years after federal troops left the state, the LMA of Augusta, Georgia, laid the cornerstone for what became a seventy-six-foot-tall monument in the center of town. The Augusta Confederate monument is particularly instructive for understanding not only how southern communities expanded what it meant to commemorate fallen comrades but also how the Lost Cause became ritualized into a full-blown celebration of the Confederacy, its defenders, and white supremacy.

Augusta, located in the eastern part of the state, sits across the Savannah River from South Carolina, and before the Civil War it developed as a market town for short-staple cotton grown on surrounding plantations. During the war, Augusta's factories, including a Confederate powder works, supplied the southern army, while its railroads served to move supplies swiftly between eastern and western sections of the Confederacy. General William T. Sherman avoided Augusta on his famous March to the Sea, thinking it too well defended; subsequently, after the war, the town was in better economic shape than other southern towns and cities destroyed by Sherman's bummers. By 1872, conservative Democrats, known as "Redeemers," many of whom were former Confederate officers, were firmly in control of Georgia's state government. This left the door wide open for women in Augusta to begin their efforts to build a monument in earnest.¹⁴

Like other memorial efforts in the South, the Augusta LMA began by creating a soldiers' section in the city cemetery with a "foundation erected at the centre" for a monument, but the group was far more determined to erect "a marble shaft in some public place in the city" in memory of Richmond County's Confederate dead. Members advertised for designs, and Van Gunden, Young, and Grimm of Philadelphia won the contract with a bid of \$500. It was one of many northern firms that capitalized on the monument-building fervor in the South throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Italy, too, reaped the benefits of Augusta's efforts, as the women purchased the marble to build the monument directly from Carrara. Monuments to the Lost Cause were, simply put, a lucrative business.¹⁵

For many monuments, including those in cemeteries, laying the cornerstone marked the first stage in the process of memorial-

ization. The foundation alone could be costly. In New Bern, North Carolina, for example, the cornerstone of the cemetery statue was placed in 1867 at a cost of \$2,000. The goal was always to erect a full monument on a foundation, but the fundraising for it could take time. In New Bern, it took eighteen years of collecting from “annual dues, festivals, concerts, mite chests, [and] donations” and a big advertising push in the columns of the local newspaper before there was enough money to build the eighteen-foot memorial. Such a time lapse happened more frequently in smaller towns, but in Augusta, the time between laying the cornerstone and building the monument was just three years.¹⁶

It cannot be overstated how quickly the Confederate tradition transformed after Reconstruction came to an end. There was more widespread involvement from the white community, and new rituals emerged. The LMAs continued to lead the charge to raise funds and build monuments while also determining how commemorative rituals would play out publicly, such that even placing the cornerstone for a monument came with its own ceremony, as the case of Augusta demonstrates. Just ten years after the end of the Civil War, in April 1875, locals witnessed more than a simple procession to Magnolia Cemetery to decorate the graves of Confederate dead with flowers. In that year, the white community reclaimed the town for the Lost Cause.

Military bands, veterans, the mayor, former Confederate officers, and leaders of the LMA led a procession through the center of town. The Augusta Volunteer Battalion, made up of several men who fought in the war, joined them, as did the Augusta police force, “armed with muskets, with fixed bayonets.” The Schuetzen Club of German citizens, who wore “grey jackets and black pants and felt hats trimmed with green plumes,” also added color to the parade. They marched toward the place on Broad Street where the cornerstone was to be laid and, as with monument unveilings before and after, listened to a speech from a Confederate veteran or political dignitary—who sometimes could be one and the same.¹⁷

An estimated 10,000 people attended the Augusta ceremonies in 1875. With local masons on hand to assist, women were literally involved in the laying of the cornerstone. The president of the me-

morial association was the first to take a trowel, dip it in mortar, and “[place] the first brick of the foundation of the monument.” The *Constitutionalist* reported, “It was indeed a novel sight to the larger number of spectators to see the ladies, with delicate ungloved hands, laying brick and handling the trowel,” noting that they had taken the first step in fulfilling their “holy duty” to erect “a shaft of marble in memory of the brave men who fought and died for a cause they considered just.”¹⁸

Then came the day’s speaker, General Clement Evans, a Civil War hero, Methodist minister, and Lost Cause stalwart who later headed the Georgia Division of the United Confederate Veterans. Evans’s speech had many of the same elements of speeches given on Confederate Memorial Day and during monument unveilings. He articulated the South’s anger over Reconstruction, lauded the work of southern women, linked the American Revolution to the Confederate cause, and remained defiant that secession was just. Only ten years had passed since the war ended, but for Evans and the thousands in attendance, the memory of those who sacrificed their lives was “as fresh and green as if it was only yesterday.” He expressed optimism that “the long dispute between the Northern and Southern sections,” which he estimated began fifty years earlier, were “practically drawing to a close.” And despite four years of “fraternal carnage and its ten years aftermatter of crimination, distrust, and misrule”—a clear allusion to Reconstruction—he remained hopeful.¹⁹

Evans then moved on to speak about southern women, reminding the crowd that “we assemble at women’s call—a call that men may gladly obey.” It was common for men asked to give speeches during these ceremonies not only to compliment the women’s work but also to assign them a special role within the Confederate tradition. “It is not man’s privilege, but woman’s to raise these memorials throughout the land,” Evans said, adding that men must “yield to her the foremost place in this pleasing duty.” In doing so, he placed southern women on a metaphoric pedestal for doing the work of building actual pedestals for monuments that honored Confederate soldiers like himself. Just as southern soldiers fulfilled their military duty, southern women now assumed the duty of honoring those men. The truth is, they were the only ones who

could do it at the time, given that the veterans were certainly in no position to erect memorials after failing to win the war.²⁰

Integral to the Lost Cause narrative was the belief that it was the Confederacy, not the Union, that had maintained the constitutional legacy of states' rights. Such rhetoric frequently made its way into monument speeches. Clement Evans alluded to these beliefs when he spoke. "I mean no boast, I only affirm that Southern ideas are still rooted in the old maxims of the first revolution," he claimed, "and they were not surrendered when the Confederate flag was furled, and Lee gave his sword to Grant." Evans's comments echo Edward Pollard in what the war had and had not settled, especially states' rights, and transformed rebels into patriots.²¹

Even as the former general told the assembled crowd that he advised against "[keeping] alive the passions of war," claiming that the "voice of the monument will not be for war, but peace," he asserted that "it was right to repel aggression. . . . It was right to set up a separate government. . . . It was right to hold out to the bitter end. Right! Right!" He also made a salient point about statues for those who wished to understand their meaning. "I have no doubt of the public utility of these monuments," he said, "[to] keep the popular heart drawn to the original principles and policies of this Government," concluding that "in common with others of like character which shall adorn every city of the South, this monument will mould and preserve Southern opinion." In other words, monuments were not simply commemorative; they represented the values and the "principles and policies" of states' rights and the preservation of white supremacy. Evans finally conceded that the Confederacy was dead. "We buried it. We do not intend to examine its remains. We were utterly defeated, and we dismiss our resentments." And yet his pronounced resentment very much underlay his message.²²

Significantly, there were papers in the North that reprinted just those conciliatory parts of the speech. The *Burlington Free Press* in Vermont regarded the "ex-rebel General Evans" as having issued a call for reconciliation, while the *Pittsburgh Daily Post*, which received the entire speech over telegraph, selectively printed only those sentences that spoke of dismissing resentments and con-

sidering the monument as the “voice” of peace. “These are the sentiments of all the prominent Southern leaders who took part in the war,” the paper noted. “It is time that we, too, had begun to forget the war,” adding, “being the victors we ought to be more generous in this respect than the vanquished.” In their reading of Evans’s speech, northerners understood that *they* were the ones who should move on. Such columns were among the first to concede the memory of the war to southern interpretation.²³

Not much had changed three years later, when the Augusta monument was unveiled in October 1878. An enormous crowd, estimated to be 20,000 people, was on hand for the dedication. Another parade ensued, this time with a cavalry regiment. Confederate flags were noticeably everywhere, carried by parade participants and hung from balconies on homes and local businesses. American flags were also flown during these and other Confederate commemorations, and not simply as a sign of reunification. To do so also symbolized that southerners saw themselves as loyal Americans who fought to defend constitutional principles, specifically states’ rights. This was in keeping with the narrative that Confederates were the true inheritors of the American Revolution’s legacy of patriotism. To that end in Augusta, a tall staff was placed on the platform in front of the monument “which waved a United States flag and a Confederate flag together.” Placed across both flags was a white pennant bearing the word “Peace.”²⁴

The LMA tapped Charles Colcock Jones Jr. to speak. Jones, a lieutenant colonel in the Confederate army and former mayor of Savannah, began by addressing the work of women to erect the monument in memory of the soldiers from Richmond County who had died during the war. As he spoke to the enormous crowd, which included Georgia’s governor, he was unrepentant in his defense of the Lost Cause. He reassured his fellow white southerners that they “have no apologies to offer, no excuses to render, no regrets to utter, save that we failed in our high endeavor.” He then offered the well-worn excuse for defeat: “We were overborne by superior numbers and weightier munitions.” Jones echoed Edward Pollard’s pronouncement of twelve years earlier when he said, “Nothing has been absolutely determined except the question of comparative strength.”²⁵

Jones commented on the irony of the day's ceremonies, too, because the white citizens of Augusta were dedicating an elaborate monument memorializing those who were "overcome in the contest, to the cause which they seemingly lost." Significantly, he used the word "overcome" rather than "defeated," but even more noteworthy was his suggestion that all had *not* been lost. He also believed that the day was coming when anyone "with the candor to confess," even northerners, would acknowledge the Confederacy was right in its fight for an "independent national existence." Last, he hinted at what became a key component of the Lost Cause—indoctrinating southern children—noting that children should "be taught to emulate the example of their Confederate ancestors."²⁶

A member of the LMA unveiled the monument, and the women asked that their fellow white citizens "cooperate" by joining them annually in commemoration of Confederate Memorial Day by decorating both the graves of soldiers and the new statue with flowers. They thanked the local paper, the *Constitutionalist*, for its valuable assistance to their fundraising efforts. And those efforts were significant, as the total cost for the design, material, supplies, and sculpture came to more than \$17,000, a value of nearly \$433,000 in 2020.²⁷

As the case of Augusta shows, post-Reconstruction monument building became a public enterprise that moved the Confederate tradition from mourning into the realm of celebration. No longer limited to decorating the graves of soldiers on Confederate Memorial Day, that annual ritual now included a stop at the monument to pay homage to a mythologized past. It also demonstrates how entrenched the Lost Cause narrative had become, with its emphasis on a just cause and a sacred duty to Confederate principles, such that going forward it also included a commitment to perpetuate a false history among coming generations of white children in the South.



The Augusta monument marked a trend in monument building in the following decades, not only in terms of its size, cost, and placement but in its glorification of Confederate general Robert E. Lee in particular. While the centerpiece of the town's monument was a

soldier atop a tall column, around its base were individual figures honoring local heroes and also one of Lee, who swiftly became the white South's most celebrated and commemorated hero, especially after his death in 1870 and despite his opposition to postwar monument building.

More than once, Lee made his feelings clear that Confederate markers and statues were antithetical to a peaceful reconciliation. In 1866, he avoided supporting a monument proposal, writing, "All I think that can now be done, is to aid our noble & generous women in their efforts to protect the graves & mark the last resting places of those who have fallen, & wait for better times." A few years later, in response to a proposed monument at Gettysburg, Lee reiterated his stance: "I think it wiser . . . not to keep open the sores of war, but to follow the examples of those nations who endeavored to obliterate the marks of civil strife, to commit to oblivion the feelings engendered." In many ways, his sentiments did not matter, even to the very same white southerners who held him in such high esteem. The Lost Cause did not belong to Lee; Lee belonged to the Lost Cause—a cultural phenomenon whose momentum could not be stopped.²⁸

The shift toward building monuments to honor Robert E. Lee signaled important changes in the movement during the post-Reconstruction years. Since the end of the war, women had assumed responsibility for commemorating the Confederate dead; men encouraged it and, in some instances, designated it as being the exclusive domain of women. But when white men reassumed control over local and state governments, these "Redeemers" appeared more willing to play a leading role in commemoration. Many of them were former Confederate veterans who had been emasculated by defeat, but a dozen years after the war they augmented women's efforts by forming their own associations. The Lost Cause had now become a celebration of heroes in which they could see themselves playing an active role in restoring their own reputations.

In the year of Lee's death, 1870, two major southern cities, New Orleans and Richmond, each initiated a call to raise a monument to commemorate Lee. And in the year Reconstruction officially ended, 1877, both formed fundraising groups, the Robert E. Lee

Monument Association in New Orleans and the Lee Monument Association in Richmond. The plans in both cities were to build the grandest possible monument to Lee, and while funds for the New Orleans monument came directly from the immediate community, funding in Richmond became a multistate effort. Both campaigns illustrate how the regional fervor for the Lost Cause was matched only by the moneys that were spent in the effort.

As in other cities and towns throughout the South, New Orleans's first Confederate monument was intended to honor the dead. Women who had provided for their state's soldiers during the war reorganized as a memorial association in 1866. They first called themselves the Ladies' Confederate Memorial Association and intended to provide "suitable graves" for soldiers who died during the war. But because New Orleans was under federal occupation, the women were required to change the name of their group. According to General Philip Sheridan, the officer in charge, he could not "permit the flaunting of the word 'Confederate,'" so they renamed their group the Ladies' Benevolent Association.²⁹

Over the course of eight years, from 1866 to 1874, the women's association raised nearly \$30,000, the largest gift coming from the Princeton, New Jersey-born philanthropist Paul Tulane, who had also used his wealth to support the Confederate war effort. While most of the money went to assist indigent veterans and their families, the benevolent association directed more than \$11,000 of the remaining funds to place a monument in Greenwood Cemetery. Unveiled on April 10, 1874, to little fanfare, the local press reported, "It was simple enough, and for that reason the more appropriate and more touching."³⁰

Although a group of men formed the Robert E. Lee Monument Association in 1870, their work did not begin in earnest until federal troops—who had occupied the city since 1862—had completely withdrawn, in 1877. The association swiftly raised \$10,000 for the statue of Lee, but the remaining elements of the structure—the mound, the pyramid of steps, and the marble column—were even more costly, so the fundraising continued. Regardless, the group hired the twenty-six-year-old sculptor Alexander Doyle from New York, whom the *New Orleans Times-Democrat* described as "a gentleman of fine physique [with] a

handsome, manly face of the blonde order.” In other words, a perfect Anglo-Saxon specimen of a man was chosen to create the “heroic figure of Lee.”³¹

In the seven years after Doyle was hired, the remainder of the costs of the monument was raised. On February 7, 1884, New Orleanians learned that the bronze statue, cast by Henry and Bonnard Manufacturing of New York, had been shipped. The monument association announced it was offering souvenir medals for sale in stores throughout the city. Sales of the medals, embossed with an image of the Lee statue, were used to pay the final balance on the monument. The association then chose February 22 for the unveiling. Unveiling dates were often symbolic and aligned with other important dates in history, and in this case, it was George Washington’s birthday. It was a busy time in the city, too. Carnival season was in full swing, and the city was also preparing for the World’s Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition.³²

At the unveiling, seats had been provided for between 3,000 and 4,000 people, which the press noted was insufficient to accommodate a crowd that was easily four times that in size. Not only was the area around the monument congested, but so were the streets that radiated from the circle of land on which it sat. The dignitaries at the unveiling ceremony were a who’s who of the Confederate South. Jefferson Davis appeared with his daughters, while Lee’s daughters Mary and Mildred Lee represented the general’s family. Members of the monument association, chief among them the celebrated Confederate general P. G. T. Beauregard, were prominent, as were an entire cavalcade of state officeholders. The governor, senators, and members of the state supreme court attended, and similar to ceremonies in Augusta six years earlier, a parade included militias, a band, and a 100-gun salute.³³

Just as the time arrived for the unveiling, a great torrent of rain and wind dispersed the crowd, but during a brief respite they returned to watch Jefferson Davis perform the honor of pulling the cord that sent the fabric covering the monument cascading down to its foundation, revealing it publicly for the first time. Confederate soldiers roared with approval, as did members of the Grand Army of the Republic, described by the *Daily Picayune* as having “cast up their hate as enthusiastically as the men who wore the



The unveiling of the Robert E. Lee monument in New Orleans in 1884 signaled a rededication to Confederate principles in the post-Reconstruction South. Hundreds of children form a “living battle flag” in front of the monument, symbolizing a future commitment to the values of the Lost Cause.

(Courtesy of the Historic New Orleans Collection, 2012.0208.2.198)

gray.” Northern veterans were not normally in attendance at such commemorations; that they were and that they joined Confederates in celebrating a monument to Lee proved an early sign that white northerners were softening to the spirit of the Lost Cause.³⁴

In describing the events of the day, nearly twenty years after the Civil War ended, the *Daily Picayune* editorialized, “We cannot ignore the fact that the secession has been stigmatized as treason,” an aspersion cast upon the South that, in the newspaper’s view, should be rejected. The paper further expressed the new defiance that the Lost Cause came to represent in the years after Reconstruction: “We must show to all coming ages that with us, at least, there dwells no sense of guilt.”³⁵

When all was said and done, the monument to Robert E. Lee in New Orleans rose 109 feet. The bronze figure of Lee alone stood 16 feet tall and was hailed at the time as “the largest bronze statue ever cast in New York.” The cost of the monument, including the \$10,000 paid to the sculptor, came to \$36,474—an estimated \$945,000 in 2020.³⁶



Richmond was not to be outdone in the contest to build the grandest monument to Lee in the South, but the infighting among men and women over design, funding, and placement delayed that effort another six years after the dedication of the New Orleans monument. Following Lee’s death in 1870, the white South’s eagerness to honor him was especially intense in his home state of Virginia. Lee’s character and military reputation among white southerners was unassailable, and he came to symbolize all that was noble about the southern cause—and, by association, all Confederate veterans. For men, especially, erecting a grand monument to Lee as the Lost Cause hero par excellence was seen as an opportunity to restore their own honor, as well as to erase any remaining residue of shame and emasculation caused by defeat. As such, the monument needed to reflect both his and their own importance to the region in scale and design.

Initial calls to create an equestrian statue of the general emerged among veterans in Lexington, where Lee last lived. Eventually, however, the momentum to build the statue resided in Richmond. The Lee Monument Association was headed by former Confeder-

ate general Jubal Early, who considered himself the leader of the movement to honor Lee. Certainly aware of how critical women's efforts had been to Confederate memorialization, he invited the Hollywood Memorial Association to "assist." Yet the Confederate tradition had long been dominated by women in Virginia, and they were not simply going to hand over the reins to the men. Serving as helpmeet was an unacceptable proposition, especially to the association's leader, Sarah Randolph, who descended from prominent Virginians. While on the surface the women appeared to back the men's monument group and reorganized themselves as the Ladies' Lee Monument Committee, in reality their experience made the difference in how events unfolded in Richmond. They raised the most money, they controlled the purse strings, and in the end, under Randolph's leadership, the committee selected the design and sculptor. In the long battle for control over the Lee monument, the women were the victors.³⁷

The unveiling was scheduled for May 29, 1890, and on May 25 the *Richmond Dispatch* announced a three-day schedule of events that included "Parades, Ceremonies, Addresses, Balls, and Other Entertainments." Wednesday before the unveiling would include a Memorial Day observance in the Hebrew cemetery, a military ball and reception, and a choral performance by the Young Men's Christian Association. In addition to a reunion of Confederate cavalry veterans, Thursday—the day of the unveiling—plans included a "parade of veterans, volunteers, civic societies, and [the] fire department." Later that evening, a fireworks display was arranged. On Friday, May 30, Memorial Day observances were scheduled in Hollywood Cemetery to feature addresses by governors from Virginia, West Virginia, and Florida. The names of guests from around the country, especially notable veterans from throughout the South, were listed in the *Dispatch* in alphabetical order and took up most of the front page.³⁸

The city of Richmond had worked up to the last minute to prepare for the onslaught of people in town for the unveiling of the massive statue of Lee on his horse Traveler. Monument unveilings, while initially few in number immediately after the war, had become celebrated events in the life of southern communities since Reconstruction, but they all paled in comparison to events

in Richmond. On the day of the unveiling, an estimated crowd of 100,000 people surrounded the platform and spilled down the streets as they eagerly awaited the moment white southerners everywhere had long anticipated. The grand statue of their hero was unveiled, the crowd roared in approval, and there, on stands built adjacent to this soaring figure, were hundreds of white children wearing clothing in red, white, and blue, arranged in the shape of a “living” Confederate battle flag. It was a harbinger of Lost Cause traditions.

The celebrations that took place throughout the city prior to and during the unveiling revealed how far the Lost Cause had come in twenty-five years. This was not just a monument to the region’s most cherished hero; it was about the restoration of Confederate men’s honor. The *Richmond Times* said as much in its editorial “Conquered Though Not Vanquished.” Reflecting on this historic moment in the city, the editor mused that “in the character of Robert E. Lee, the Southern civilization had attained its most consummate expression.” Lee’s character had a “tenacious hold upon the southern people,” the *Times* asserted. “He is not merely the exponent of a cause that has perished”; rather, Lee’s character represented “lofty traits” in which white southerners could take pride “as the highest expression of their own aggregate greatness.”³⁹

What happened in Richmond in May 1890 was emblematic of how the Confederacy’s defeat had transformed into something new in the haze of historical amnesia and Lost Cause rhetoric. It also signaled to those in attendance, both veterans and the generation of white southerners born since the war, that the lawful changes made possible by Reconstruction no longer had meaning. The rights of black citizens, in fact, were slowly being destroyed, and in the decade to come, elimination of those rights would be completed through both legal and extralegal means. The decade of the 1890s also marked a new phase in the Confederate tradition, one led by a new organization of women and that expanded beyond celebration, calling for complete vindication of the Lost Cause and the Confederate generation.



Three decades after the Civil War, white southerners continued their efforts to commemorate the Lost Cause, but between 1890

and World War I those efforts assumed a different tone and new intensity. Monument building, in particular, expanded to nearly every town and hamlet throughout the South and now appeared on courthouse lawns, in town squares, and on the grounds of state government. Commemoration took many forms. Highways were named for Robert E. Lee and even Jefferson Davis, and images of these same men were cast into the stained glass windows of churches. Confederate Memorial Day became an official state holiday in southern states, too, but monuments continued to be the most visible and tangible reminders of the Lost Cause and the white South's unceasing loyalty to the principle of states' rights, which in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries meant the right to maintain a system of segregation based in white supremacy.

The 1890s were also a decade marked by the disfranchisement of black men across the region. Southern states had long rejected the idea of black citizenship, but during this decade they amped up their efforts to eliminate it altogether. While southern legislatures passed laws that reversed voting rights, white men across the region used racial violence, especially lynching, not only to intimidate black voters but to subdue entire black communities. The result was that by the turn of the twentieth century, black men, even those who once served in Congress, were prohibited from voting and holding office. This left a vacancy in the southern polity, and southern white women assumed an even more public role as leaders of the Confederate tradition. When they did, it was primarily through the United Daughters of the Confederacy, which became the most influential southern women's organization for the next several decades.

During a decade that saw the rise of women's clubs and ancestral societies, the UDC became extremely popular with women across the region, and its ranks grew exponentially after its founding in 1894. The growth in monument building paralleled the growth of the UDC's membership, since the Daughters were primarily responsible for the vast majority of monuments and memorials built throughout the South, and even beyond its borders, during those years. The period between the mid-1890s and World War I represents the peak period of monument dedications and

demonstrates how seriously these southern white women took their role as leaders of the Lost Cause. The mark they made on the social, political, and physical landscape of the region in the early twentieth century is undeniable, such that the term “New South” is practically a misnomer.

The Daughters’ heightened visibility and their broader agenda to cement a loyalty to Confederate principles among future generations of white southerners provided the cultural foundation upon which rested the white supremacist legislation created by their male counterparts throughout the South. This was not a coincidence, since southern white women not only shared similar views on racial supremacy but were also related by blood or marriage to men of influence within the region, from local attorneys and judges to governors and state legislators.⁴⁰

Women who rose to the rank of president-general of the UDC included the daughters of Confederate generals and U.S. congressmen, and in Mississippi, two of the early presidents of the organization were daughters of U.S. senators. One was Lizzie George Henderson, whose father, James Z. George, authored the 1890 “Mississippi Plan.” She shared her father’s views on race and inherited his leadership skills, rising through the ranks of the UDC to become its president-general from 1905 to 1907. She once bragged that in her hometown of Greenwood, Mississippi, local members of the UDC’s J. Z. George Chapter, named after her father, placed framed copies of the state’s secession ordinance in the white public schools. She also led efforts to erect a Confederate monument on the grounds of Leflore County Courthouse and to construct the Confederate Memorial Building in town that contained a library of pro-southern texts.⁴¹

The Daughters were motivated not just to honor their veteran ancestors but to vindicate them as well, a term they used repeatedly in their writings. While funding monuments and memorials and lobbying for their placement were critical aspects of their work in the early twentieth century, their agenda looked toward the future as much as it commemorated the past. UDC members sought to ensure that future generations of white southerners would also hold up their Confederate ancestors as heroes and would themselves become defenders of the same principles for

which their ancestors fought and died, including a staunch defense of states' rights.

The UDC did so through a multipronged approach. In addition to raising the money to build the hundreds of monuments and memorials that dot the southern and national landscape, members' objectives included preserving and perpetuating the "true," albeit revisionist, history of slavery, the Confederate cause, and Reconstruction. The women also lobbied state legislatures to provide pensions to Confederate veterans and to build homes for Confederate soldiers and their widows. They even expanded their influence over public education by helping teachers develop lesson plans, monitoring textbooks, placing battle flags and portraits of Confederate generals in classrooms, and forming groups of the Children of the Confederacy. In sum, they offered a robust defense of the Lost Cause that, in many ways, is still with us to this day.⁴²

Of course, the most visible reminders of the Daughters' influence in the region are the monuments they erected in cemeteries and town squares, on the grounds of local and state courthouses, on national battlefields, in Arlington National Cemetery, and even at the United States Capitol. The equivalent of millions of dollars has been spent in this endeavor, some of which came through state and local government expenditures and involved an alliance between elected officials and the UDC. This alliance served to further protect the racial status quo.

That the majority of these monuments were built some thirty to fifty years after the Civil War and that so many were placed on sites of local and state government indicate that these statues were not simply works of public art or about honoring the dead; their larger purpose was to signal that white men were firmly in control of the southern legal system, the same system that disfranchised black voters and enforced Jim Crow legislation. And regardless of their artistic significance, monuments were intentional because white southerners regarded them as object lessons for future generations about the Confederate past and also about racial superiority.

Southern monuments were always supported by a narrative that Confederate veterans fought nobly and that defeat did not erase the justness of their cause. They were also a reflection of

beliefs held by the Jim Crow generation—whites who regarded African Americans as second-class citizens and whose leaders sought to maintain their supremacy through legislation. And if there were any doubts about the larger meaning and purpose of Confederate monuments within the context of the Lost Cause, the Daughters made it clear in the minutes of their meetings, the essays they wrote, the speeches they gave, and the actions they took. Moreover, the men they selected to give speeches at monument unveilings, while they reiterated the message of honor and sacrifice, also furthered the Lost Cause narrative about slavery, the war, and Confederate soldiers as valiant heroes who not only fought to defend the South against an invading North but who withstood Reconstruction and became stalwart defenders of white supremacy, including as members of the Ku Klux Klan.

While the Daughters expanded the Confederate tradition, they remained committed to the work begun by their predecessors in ladies' memorial associations. Some members of LMAs simply joined the UDC, which brought together two generations of Lost Cause women. And in the early years following the UDC's founding, both groups could be found working together to raise money for monuments in their communities, although eventually the Daughters superseded memorial associations in influence across the South. This transfer of cultural power was evident at the unveiling of the Confederate monument in Montgomery, Alabama, in 1898.

The Montgomery monument was thirty years in the making, after a committee of men was incorporated in 1865 with the goal of locating a monument on the highest ground in the city adjacent to the state capitol, where "a nation was born." The local LMA, previously organized to mark the graves of Confederate soldiers, had through various fundraising events already erected a statue in the city cemetery. Members had leftover funds to go toward the monument on Capitol Hill, but it was not their project. As had happened in Virginia with the Lee monument, the all-male monument committee had made painfully slow progress, although members managed to pay for the creation of a foundation and invited the South's former chieftain, Jefferson Davis, to assist in laying the cornerstone on April 26, 1886, Confederate Memorial Day

in Alabama. But right after the ceremonies, the men's monument association did what others like it had done—it handed over responsibility to the LMA, “realizing that memorial work belonged peculiarly to women.” From that point forward, the women expanded their fundraising efforts and a committee from the group “haunted the legislative halls of the State” seeking money for the monument. When it was unveiled, at a cost of \$45,000, it was considered to be “partly the gift of the State . . . a tribute by a generation that is here, to a generation that has gone.”⁴³

The LMA was joined in its fundraising by two new chapters of the UDC in Montgomery, which were formed in 1896 and 1897, respectively. The city was large enough to have more than one chapter, plus the LMA, whose membership numbered nearly 500. During dedication ceremonies, in fact, the Daughters held a place of prominence on the unveiling platform. Just a year earlier, the Sophie Bibb Chapter of the UDC placed a six-pointed brass star on the Capitol Building's west portico, marking the place where Jefferson Davis took his oath of office to become the Confederate president. In many ways, the monument unveiling symbolized the passing of the torch of the Confederate tradition to the next generation.

Thomas Jones, a major in the Confederate army and governor of Alabama from 1890 to 1894, was one of the special speakers of the day, and his words were those heard at Lost Cause ceremonies since 1865. He denied that the Civil War had been “fought over the justice or morality of slavery,” emphasized that the North's superior numbers and material sources were the reasons for defeat, and offered a dramatic critique of Reconstruction. After Lee's surrender, he told the crowd, “the weary soldier put aside his thought of vengeance and trudged home,” where “he found the slave his political master.” During that time, Jones complained, the rights of states were “dead for twelve long years.”⁴⁴

Jones then turned his attention to the monument itself, proclaiming that providing a written history that exonerated the Confederacy was the important next step, since “our duty is not ended with the building of this monument.” While he believed in the power of the statue to convey history and regarded it as a symbol to “stimulate youths to admire and to . . . emulate [if

not] surpass the famous deeds” of their ancestors, he pressed for a written history to do the same. His words were echoed by another speaker that day, Hilary Herbert, President Grover Cleveland’s secretary of the U.S. Navy. Herbert, who had served as a colonel in the Eighth Alabama infantry, spoke to the Montgomery crowd about the necessity of commemorative statues. “We build monuments to heroes,” he said, so “that future generations may imitate their [Confederate soldiers’] example,” adding that the monument before them would function to “keep . . . alive forever the glorious principles of liberty” for future generations.⁴⁵

The United Daughters of the Confederacy had already heeded Herbert’s call to “keep alive” the memory of the Confederate generation and teach future generations about the significance of states’ rights to the southern cause, what Herbert called “principles of liberty.” Since the organization’s founding, members affirmed the instruction of children as one of their primary goals. If taught properly, they reasoned, then white children would grow up to become “living monuments” of the Lost Cause. The metaphor of a monument was purposeful. UDC members understood that they were leaders of the region’s efforts to build statues of marble and bronze and remained dedicated to that purpose, yet they were also keenly aware that the most enduring monument to the Confederacy was a population of white southerners educated to defend both the memory and the principles for which it stood.⁴⁶

Nonetheless, in the first two decades of the twentieth century, the UDC built monuments at a blazing pace. Between 1900 and 1910, they erected nearly 200, an average of 20 per year. The peak year of monument building was 1911, when the Daughters erected 48 monuments, an average of 4 every month. Then, between 1910 and 1920, the UDC dedicated an additional 205 statues. They did so even as the general organization completed fundraising and erected significant regional monuments, including the one honoring Jefferson Davis on Monument Avenue in Richmond in 1907 at a cost of \$70,000; the Confederate monument in Arlington National Cemetery in 1914, which cost approximately \$64,000; and the \$50,000 monument at Shiloh National Military Park that was unveiled in 1917. In today’s currency, the Daughters spent millions of dollars on these projects, significant sums of which were ap-

propriated from state and local governments. Notably, this does not take into consideration the money spent on the numerous battlefield markers and other types of memorials these women also dedicated during these same years.⁴⁷

The financial beneficiaries of this monument frenzy were not only the sculptors who won the UDC's design competitions but also businesses located in the North, the South, and even Europe. Bronze works in New York and Chicago advertised in the *Confederate Veteran* touting their designs and products, as did stone quarries in the South. The best known was the McNeel Marble Company in Marietta, Georgia, which advertised regularly in the *Confederate Veteran* as "The Largest Monumental Dealers in the South." In one ad from 1913, the company touted that it was completing several orders for monuments being dedicated in Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, Texas, and Virginia and reminded UDC chapters that time was of the essence, "so the old heroes of the sixties can enjoy" a monument honoring them "before it is too late."⁴⁸ The ad tapped into the sense of urgency across the region to honor veterans whose numbers were rapidly dwindling.

There were also fundraising efforts, led by men, to raise monuments dedicated to the women of the Confederacy, several of which were placed on the grounds of state capitols, such as those in Mississippi and North Carolina. In 1908, Caroline Goodlett told the women of the organization she had cofounded fourteen years earlier that she kept hoping that "the monument fever would abate." For her, the more important work was education, not "the stone and mortar business." While the Daughters heeded her call and established a committee on education, their "monument fever" only grew worse.⁴⁹

While there was evidence that monument building was beginning to decelerate in the second decade of the new century, as fundraising in local communities slowed and monuments were taking longer to be completed, World War I interrupted even these efforts. The UDC completed most of the projects it had signed onto prior to the war except for Stone Mountain, which had been mired in controversy and false starts since it was first suggested in



Design for \$15,000 monument now being made by THE McNEEL MARBLE CO. for Hood's Texas Brigade, to be erected on the State Capitol Grounds at Austin, Tex., in January, 1910

50 Confederate Monuments

SOLD BY

THE McNEEL MARBLE CO.

IN the April issue of the VETERAN we announced that we had sold monuments to 37 U. D. C. Chapters, and called the attention of the Daughters to our proposition to furnish the different Chapters with our plans for raising funds for Confederate monuments.

In response to this advertisement we have received numerous requests from Chapters throughout the South, each of whom we have gladly furnished with plans. These Chapters are now on the high road to success, and several of them have already placed their orders with us.

Since our last advertisement our list of Chapters sold has been increased from 37 to 53, the following new Chapters having been added: Franklin, N. C., El Dorado, Ark., Monticello, Ga., McDonough, Ga., Jacksonville, Ala., Dresden, Tenn., Ozark, Ala., Union City, Tenn., Tifton, Ga., Eastman, Ga., Lakeland, Fla., Griffin, Ga., Tampa, Fla., Cochran, Ga., Marianna, Ark., and a \$15,000 monument to be erected to Hood's Texas Brigade, State Capitol Grounds, Austin, Tex.

Our plans for raising funds, our liberal terms, and reasonable prices have made it easy for the U. D. C. Chapters that have dealt with us to secure handsome monuments, and, best of all, to secure them **now**, before the Confederate Veterans and the good women of the sixties have passed away.

Our plans are yours for the asking.

A letter from your Chapter will be given careful consideration and will receive a prompt reply.

THE McNEEL MARBLE CO.
Marietta, Ga.

The Largest Monumental Dealers in the South
Branch House, Columbia, Tenn.

The McNeel Marble Company of Marietta, Georgia, targeted its advertisements to Confederate heritage groups, especially the UDC, as it sought to profit from the monument boom of the early twentieth century.

(*Confederate Veteran*, March 1909; courtesy Archive.org)

1916. More importantly, by the time the United States entered the First World War in 1917, UDC members redirected their efforts to support American soldiers abroad, as well as the president and their fellow southerner, Woodrow Wilson. The war also allowed Confederate organizations to revive the Lost Cause claim that southern soldiers had long been patriotic Americans, not traitors or rebels, as a new generation of southern men committed to serve in the U.S. military.

By the time of World War I, the reputation of Confederate soldiers had nearly been restored. The North's capitulation to the Lost Cause narrative, which began with veterans' reunions in the 1880s, had hastened reconciliation. In American popular culture, there was further evidence of a cultural reconciliation between northerners and southerners that allowed for the glorification of the Confederacy, whether through films like *The Birth of a Nation* (1915), where former Confederate soldiers become heroes in the guise of the Ku Klux Klan, or in popular songs like "The Dixie Volunteers," published in 1917, whose lyrics compared southern soldiers to their Confederate forebears. "See those great big southern lad-dies / just like their dear old dad-dies," the chorus went, "and they're going to be / fighting men like Stonewall Jackson and Robert E. Lee." It was the vindication that former Confederates and their descendants had wanted since surrender at Appomattox.⁵⁰

The momentum in monument building renewed after World War I, but the pace had slackened considerably. During the 1920s, seventy-five monuments were dedicated, along with another seventy-six in the 1930s. The Second World War once again interrupted those efforts, but by then memories of a war that had ended seventy-five years before meant less than it had even a generation earlier. After the war, but particularly in the 1950s and early 1960s, there was a renewed interest in Confederate memory and monument building, especially as the Civil War centennial approached. Those decades also marked enormous changes to the southern way of life, as the civil rights movement challenged the political system that had kept black southerners from enjoying the full rights of citizenship. Somewhere in the midst of these competing developments, the monuments of Jim Crow remained, not as

symbols of a long dead culture but as daily reminders of racial inequality.

CODA

On Confederate Memorial Day in North Carolina, May 10, 1933, Justice Heriot Clarkson of the state supreme court delivered an address to the Johnston Pettigrew Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy in Raleigh. Standing in Oakwood Cemetery, alongside the Confederate monument erected by the ladies' memorial association, Clarkson began his speech by extolling the character of General Robert E. Lee as a model of Christian manhood and then sang the praises of General Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson's actions at the Battle of Manassas.⁵¹

After this very brief beginning, Clarkson's tone grew dark as he spoke about the "men who laid down their arms, and of the women of the South . . . [who] suffered as no others." He launched into a harangue on the "Tragic Era" of Reconstruction, when "carpetbaggers and scalawags, like the Egyptian locust, overran this fair land." When "millions of negro slaves were turned loose on the prostrate white race," he claimed, "these political vultures with the illiterate negro ruled the South." The result, in his estimation, and without a hint of irony, was that "Confederate soldiers were disfranchised" and "no race of people on this earth suffered more." Not even the enslaved population of the South.⁵²

Clarkson's speech brightened, however, when he spoke of how white North Carolinians restored racial order in their government "founded on 'White Supremacy through white men.'" He specifically pointed to the 1899 general assembly in which a Democratic majority drafted the constitutional amendment that repudiated universal male suffrage, especially black suffrage, and "eliminated the illiterate." Then Clarkson softened, telling the Daughters that "when we look back at the crucifixion of the South, let us try to forgive and forget." It had taken sixty-eight years after the war for the South Carolina-born Clarkson, whose father had been a Confederate officer, to suggest that the white South could now express forgiveness for Reconstruction. He could do so because

of what had been accomplished in his lifetime. “When the Anglo Saxon race gained supremacy in 1899,” he recalled, “it was a turning point in this Commonwealth.” For this, Clarkson believed, “it [was] a beautiful picture for all our people to look upon, both white and black.”⁵³

Yet the portrait Clarkson painted for his audience, including UDC members who likely nodded their approval, was one of a southern state that embedded white supremacy within its constitution at the dawn of a new century. His speech was unapologetic and expressed no regret about the disfranchisement of an entire race of people, even as a member of the highest court in North Carolina. While Clarkson’s address undoubtedly pleased those gathered around the Confederate monument that day in 1933, it sent a message to African Americans that the doors of citizenship in the state where they made their home remained closed to them. Soon enough, they would begin to knock on those doors.

-archaeology/rebecca-latimer-felton-1835-1930 (accessed November 28, 2019).

14. Data mined from the SPLC data set as documented in Ryan Best, “Confederate Statues Were Never Really about Preserving History,” *FiveThirtyEight*, <https://projects.fivethirtyeight.com/confederate-statues/>.

15. “Richard Spencer: ‘Charlottesville Wouldn’t Have Occurred without Trump,’” *The Hill*, May 14, 2019, <https://thehill.com/blogs/blog-briefing-room/news/443666-richard-spencer-charlottesville-wouldnt-have-occurred-without>.

CHAPTER 2

1. *Jewels of Virginia*, 6, 17, 20.
2. *Ibid.*, 25.
3. *Ibid.*, 39.
4. *Ibid.*, 40.
5. Wilson, *Baptized in Blood*, x–xvii.
6. *Confederate Monument on Capitol Hill*, 6.
7. *Brief History of the Ladies’ Memorial Association of Charleston*, 5.
8. *Ibid.*, 6.
9. *A History of the Origin of Memorial Day*, 24.
10. *Memorials to the Memory of Mrs. Mary Amarithia Snowden*, 5.
11. Ockenden quote from *Confederate Monument on Capitol Hill*, 5; *History of the Wake County Ladies Memorial Association*, 7–8.
12. *History of the Origin of Memorial Day*, 24.
13. *Ibid.*, 25.
14. *Ibid.*, 25. See also Whites, *The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender*, 160–63.
15. *Ceremonies in Augusta, Georgia*, 17.
16. On New Bern, see *Ladies’ Memorial Association Confederate Memorial Addresses*, 6.
17. *Ceremonies in Augusta, Georgia*, 4–5.
18. *Ibid.*, 3.
19. *Ibid.*, 8.
20. *Ibid.*, 8–9.
21. *Ibid.*, 9–11.
22. *Ibid.*, 9–10.
23. *Burlington Free Press*, May 3, 1875, and *Pittsburgh Daily Post*, April 28, 1875.
24. *Ceremonies in Augusta, Georgia*, 21.
25. *Ibid.*
26. *Ibid.*, 22.
27. All calculations for monument values in 2020 are gathered from the “Historical Currency Converter” page, *Historical Statistics*, <https://www.historicalstatistics.org/Currencyconverter.html> (accessed January 20, 2020).
28. The initial quotation in 1866 is from the Lee Family Digital Archive, <https://leefamilyarchive.org/papers/letters/transcripts-UVA/vo76.html> (accessed January 18, 2020). The second quotation, from 1869, is also from the

Lee Family Digital Archive, <https://leefamilyarchive.org/9-family-papers/861-robert-e-lee-to-david-mcconaughey-1869-august-5> (accessed January 18, 2020).

29. "History and Description of the Confederate Monument in Greenwood Cemetery of New Orleans from the 1930s," Louisiana Works Progress Administration, Louisiana Digital Library, <https://louisianadigitallibrary.org/islandora/object/state-lwp%3A6396> (accessed January 20, 2020).

30. Ibid.

31. "History and Description of the Robert E. Lee Statue at Lee's Circle in New Orleans, Louisiana from the 1930s," Louisiana Works Progress Administration, Louisiana Public Library, <https://louisianadigitallibrary.org/islandora/object/state-lwp%3A7938> (accessed January 20, 2020); see also "Alexander Doyle," *New Orleans Times-Democrat*, February 22, 1884.

32. "The Lee Monument," *New Orleans Times-Democrat*, February 7, 1884; "Unveiling the Statue," *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, February 21, 1884; *St. Joseph (La.) Tensas-Gazette*, February 23, 1884.

33. "Unveiling the Statue," *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, February 21, 1884.

34. Ibid.

35. *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, March 12, 1903.

36. *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, February 7, 1884.

37. On the battle between men and women over Richmond's Lee monument, see Janney, *Burying the Dead but Not the Past*, 114–18. See also "On Monument Avenue," American Civil War Museum, October 9, 2017, <https://acwm.org/blog/monument-avenue-what-mean-ye-monument>.

38. *Richmond Dispatch*, May 25, 1890.

39. "Conquered Though Not Vanquished," *Richmond Times*, May 28, 1890.

40. Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 28–48.

41. Ibid., 38.

42. Information on the Daughters' agenda is drawn from Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*.

43. *Confederate Monument on Capitol Hill*, 11–21.

44. Ibid., 25–28, 35, 41–42.

45. Ibid., 55, 60, 65.

46. See chapters 6 and 7 of Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*.

47. Details on the numbers of monuments built can be found in the SPLC data set on monuments: <https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/17ps4aqRyalfpu7KdGsy2HRZaaQiXUflrpUbaR9yS51E/edit#gid=222998983> (accessed January 29, 2020). On the costs of monuments, see Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 56–57.

48. McNeel Marble Company advertisement, *Confederate Veteran*, February 1913.

49. Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 78, 89–90; Thomas J. Brown, *Civil War Monuments and the Militarization of America*, 105–16.

50. Edgar Leslie and Harry Ruby, "The Dixie Volunteers," 1917, IN Harmony: Sheet Music, Indiana University, <http://webapp1.dlib.indiana.edu/metsnav/inharmony/navigate.do?oid=http://fedora.dlib.indiana.edu/fedora/get/iudl:290803/METADATA> (accessed January 20, 2020).

51. *Address of Justice Heriot Clarkson*, 1–2.
52. *Ibid.*, 3–4.
53. *Ibid.*, 4–5.

CHAPTER 3

1. *Jackson (Miss.) Clarion-Ledger*, September 21, 1955. On the Till trial, see Tyson, *The Blood of Emmett Till*.
2. Rosa Parks's reaction to Till's murder is discussed in Tell, *Remembering Emmett Till*, 1.
3. *Tallahatchie (Miss.) Herald*, July 4, 1913.
4. Frederick Douglass, "Bombast," *New National Era* (Washington, D.C.), November 10, 1870.
5. Blight, "For Something beyond the Battlefield," 1169.
6. Kytle and Roberts, *Denmark Vesey's Garden*, 101–10; Fields, *Lemon Swamp*, 57.
7. According to historian Hilary Green, while children, teens, and young adults might make fun of a monument or deface one, older adults were less likely to take such risks. Email with author, September 12, 2020.
8. "The Lee Monument Unveiled," *Richmond Planet*, May 31, 1890.
9. "What of Virginia," *Richmond Planet*, June 7, 1890.
10. "The Voices of the Colored Press," *Richmond Planet*, June 14, 1890.
11. "Girl Sold for \$416 in Year of 1846," *Chicago Defender*, March 6, 1920.
12. "Tear the Spirit of the Confederacy from the South," *Chicago Defender*, July 16, 1921.
13. *Ibid.*
14. Roscoe Simmons, "This Week," *Chicago Defender*, November 4, 1922.
15. Roscoe Simmons, "This Week," *Chicago Defender*, April 28, 1923.
16. "What Do You Say about It?," *Chicago Defender*, September 10, 1932.
17. *Ibid.*
18. See, for example, "Vandals at Monroe Mutilate Confederate Monument," *Shreveport Times*, November 10, 1896.
19. Du Bois, "Perfect Vacation," 279.
20. Lucius Harper, "Dustin' Off the News," *Chicago Defender*, December 7, 1940. For more on Camp Forrest, see the website for Arnold Air Force Base, <https://www.arnold.af.mil/About-Us/Fact-Sheets/Display/Article/409311/camp-forrest/> (accessed April 23, 2020).
21. Dewey W. Grantham, "The South and Congressional Politics," in McMillen, *Remaking Dixie*, 25, 30, 31.
22. McMillen, *Remaking Dixie*, xv.
23. James R. Cobb, "World War II and the Mind of the Modern South," in McMillen, *Remaking Dixie*, 6–7.
24. "The Inaugural Address of Governor George C. Wallace, January 14, 1963," Alabama Department of Archives and History Digital Collection, <https://digital.archives.alabama.gov/digital/collection/voices/id/2952> (accessed October 22, 2020).

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