

Southern New Hampshire University

Righting an Injustice or American Taliban?

The Removal of Confederate Statues

A Capstone Project Submitted to the College of Online and Continuing Education in Partial  
Fulfillment of the Master of Arts in History

By

Andreas Wolfgang Reif

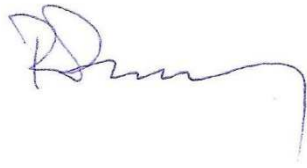
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## **Abstract**

In recent years, several racial instances have occurred in the United States that have reinvigorated and demanded action concerning Confederate flags, statues and symbology. The Charleston massacre in 2015 prompted South Carolina to finally remove the Confederate battle flag from state grounds. The Charlottesville riots in 2017 accelerated the removal of Confederate statues from the public square. However, the controversy has broadened the discussion of how the Civil War monuments are to be viewed, especially in the public square. Many of the monuments were not built immediately following the Civil War, but later, during the era of Jim Crow and the disenfranchisement of African Americans during segregation in the South. Are they tributes to heroes or are they relics of a racist past that sought not to remember as much as to intimidate and bolster white supremacy?

This work seeks to break up the eras of Confederate monument building and demonstrate that different monuments were built at different times (and are still being built). The monuments reflect other events in the country happening at the time, as well as the thinking of those who built them. This author hopes that these nuances will add to the general discussion and the usual three responses toward the statues of either taking them down to either destroy them, keep them, but add context, or place them in museums, cemeteries or private property. These nuances are important, possibly rendering all three as valid decisions. This author will use multiple lenses, including Union, Confederate, and African American lenses as interpreters for the various eras discussed.

## **Dedication**

I would like to dedicate this work to my family- my wife Lynn of 25 years and my seven children, Andreas J – (also a SNHU graduate), Hannah, Rebekah, Wesley, Shoshanna, Josiah and Christiana for letting me drag them across historical sites since they were babies. As homeschooling parents, and Lynn being a history graduate from UNH teaching New Hampshire history, my family has had no escape from the love and importance of history we have placed in our home. I hope I have not scared them all off, and that the love of history will follow their families and children as well.

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Second, I want to thank Dr. Stephen Shoemaker at the Harvard Extension School. While “History of Harvard and Its Religious Evolution” has been the only class I have ever taken at Harvard, it combined my love of religion with the history of Harvard, linking the importance of the two subjects in such an engaging manner, a teaching style I hope to emulate.

Third, I want to thank those who helped me in investigating the statues. First, my mother Renate Reif in Bethesda, Maryland let me stay with her and lent me the use of her car to go gallivanting all over Virginia and D.C. to Civil War sights. Second, Brian and Raquel Moore graciously let me stay at their home near Appomattox and helped guide me through the Museum of the Confederacy and Appomattox National Park in my pursuance of Confederate statues and history. Brian Moore is an author of *Purple Hearts & Wounded Spirits* (Lynchburg, VA: Liberty Mountain Press, 2015) which describes his military experiences in Iraq and Afghanistan and contains a foreword by Governor Mike Huckabee. He is a true American hero!

Lastly, I want to thank SNHU for the opportunity it allows its adjuncts to receive a scholarship to pursue additional degrees. Realistically, with financial constraints in having a large family and working multiple jobs, I could not have pursued this degree otherwise. President Le Blanc has turned the school into a truly remarkable university from the small business college I knew when I started working there 22 years ago. Thank you, thank you and thank you!

## Introduction

### Deuteronomy 12:3 New American Standard Bible (NASB)

<sup>3</sup> You shall tear down their altars and smash their *sacred* pillars and burn their Asherim with fire, and you shall cut down the engraved images of their gods and obliterate their name from that place.

### Joshua 4:6-7 New American Standard Bible (NASB)

<sup>6</sup> Let this be a sign among you, so that when your children ask later, saying, ‘What do these stones mean to you?’ <sup>7</sup> then you shall say to them, ‘Because the waters of the Jordan were cut off before the ark of the covenant of the LORD; when it crossed the Jordan, the waters of the Jordan were cut off.’ So these stones shall become a memorial to the sons of Israel forever.

That monuments are built or destroyed is thousands of years old. In Gaines M.

Foster's *Ghosts of the Confederacy*, Foster writes about Confederate statues:

In the early twentieth century, during an intense celebration of the Confederacy, the small Mississippi town of Ripley, like many other southern communities, put up a Confederate monument, a marble soldier standing at ease and leaning on a rifle. In 1971 a delivery truck hit Ripley's Confederate monument, knocked it down, and in the process decapitated and disarmed the soldier. Only thirteen years later did the town get around to putting up another one... The lonely stone soldiers still stand on town squares, but southerners going about their days of buying and selling usually walk or ride past and pay them little attention.<sup>1</sup>

Thirty years later, that would hardly be an accurate description. The ghosts seem to have revived! On August 12, 2017 at a white supremacist rally in Charlottesville, Virginia “20-year-old James Alex Fields Jr. drove into a crowd of counter protestors, injuring 19 and killing 32-year-old Heather Heyer.”<sup>2</sup> The white supremacists protested the removal of the Robert E. Lee statue near UVA. Earlier that year, the Lee statue in New Orleans had been removed along with three others. Some hearken recent Confederate symbol removals back to June 17, 2015, when white supremacist Dylann Roof, seen in photos with a Confederate flag, shot and killed parishioners at the AME Church in Charleston, South Carolina. That prompted the removal of the Confederate flag from state grounds by then Republican Governor Nikki Haley.<sup>3</sup> All around the South (and North) Confederate statues, flags and markers are being removed. These events have set into motion the whole idea of questioning Confederate imagery in an aggressive way,

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<sup>1</sup> Gaines M. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 3.

<sup>2</sup> Jessica Wade, “Confederate statues should be taken down-not destroyed.” *UNWIRE* Sept. 5, 2017. Accessed February 16, 2018. <http://uwire.com/?s=UNWIRE+Text&x=26&y=14&=Go>.

<sup>3</sup> Robert J. Cook, *Civil War Memories- Contesting the Past in the United States since 1885* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 2017), 1-2.

though the controversy goes back more than a century.<sup>4</sup> Soon, not only flags, but Confederate street names and school names were called into question and some changed. Some monuments that had been standing for a hundred years were defaced, and eventually some destroyed by force. The ambiguous and moral equivalency response of President Donald Trump to the Charlottesville riot further sparked controversy. The President gave a slippery slope argument stating, “This week it's Robert E. Lee. I noticed that Stonewall Jackson is coming down. I wonder, is it George Washington next week and is it Thomas Jefferson the week after? You know, you really do have to ask yourself, where does it stop?”<sup>5</sup> Historian Robert C. Cook concludes, “The murdering hand of Dylan Roof and subsequent debates over the destruction of Confederate symbols, however, left little doubt that constructed memories of a bitter civil war fought long ago retained the power to mobilize Americans in the politically and racially polarized present.”<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Gary W. Gallagher describes a controversy twenty years ago where Disney sought to build a theme park in Manassas, Virginia, encroaching on the battlefield sites, raising questions about the South in memory and the usefulness of having battlefield parks with the narrative of monuments there. See Gary W. Gallagher's, *Lee and His Generals in War and Memory* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1998), 264-283.

<sup>5</sup> As quoted in Max Greenwood, “Trump on removing Confederate Statues: ‘They’re trying to take away our culture’” *The Hill*. August 22, 2017. Accessed May 20, 2018, <http://thehill.com/homenews/administration/347589-trump-on-removing-confederate-statues-theyre-trying-to-take-away-our>.

<sup>6</sup> Robert C. Cook, *Civil War Memories- Contesting the Past in the United States since 1865* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2017), 8.



**Figure 1: Confederate Statue torn down, Durham, North Carolina, 2017<sup>7</sup>**

One major argument for tearing down the statues is that Confederate monuments are not patriotic military monuments honoring Confederate soldiers at all, but relics of a resurgent white supremacy and a time of oppression for blacks in the era of Jim Crow. Most were built much later than the Civil War and parallel racist tensions in American society (see figure 2). They are divisive and need to be removed. Those that want to keep them see them as a source of Southern heritage and pride. Removing them would remove history. Whether to keep them or not, the sheer number of them has sparked regional and national conversations. How many statues or monuments are there? “Following the Charleston massacre in 2015, the Southern Poverty Law Center launched an effort to catalog and map Confederate place names and other symbols in public spaces, both in the South and across the nation. This study, while far from comprehensive, identified a total of 1,503.

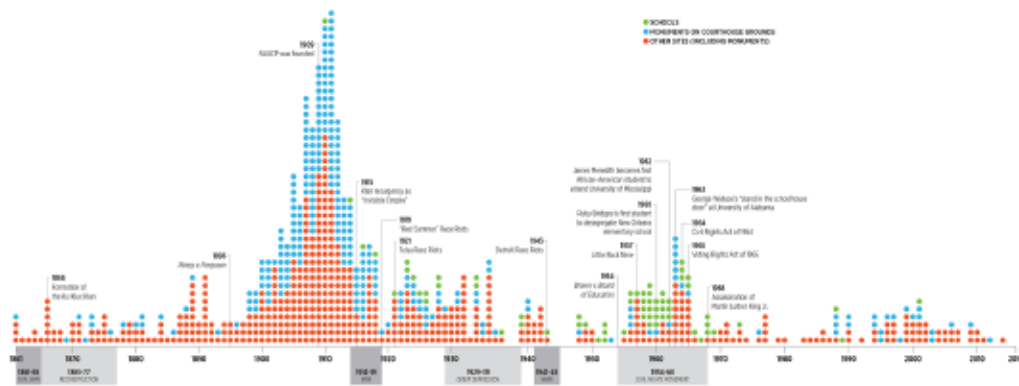
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<sup>7</sup> Photo from article by Jessica Shia, “DA drops charges against five protesters accused of toppling Confederate statue in North Carolina,” *Daily News*, February 21, 2018. Accessed May 20, 2018, <http://www.nydailynews.com/news/national/charges-protesters-dropped-toppled-statue-case-article-1.3832783>.

These include:

- 718 monuments and statues, nearly 300 of which are in Georgia, Virginia or North Carolina;
- 109 public schools named for Robert E. Lee, Jefferson Davis or other Confederate icons;
- 80 counties and cities named for Confederates;
- 9 official Confederate holidays in six states; and
- 10 U.S. military bases named for Confederates.<sup>8</sup>

Into this charged situation, three basic options have been proposed: keep them, remove and put into museums or other areas, or destroy them. It looks like all three options are currently being practiced, depending on the location.



**Figure 2: Confederate Monument Construction Timeline**

Associate Professor and Chair of the Department of Art and Architecture at the University of Pittsburgh Kirk Savage points out that monument building in America is a more recent phenomenon in American history, its having a strong history of resistance. “In the United States, the iconoclastic sentiment had strong cultural support from a variety of sources: the

<sup>8</sup> “Whose Heritage? Public Symbols of the Confederacy,” *The Southern Poverty Law Center*. April 21, 2016. Accessed May 15, 2018, <https://www.splcenter.org/20160421/whose-heritage-public-symbols-confederacy>.

Revolutionary critique of monarchy, the Puritan hostility toward graven images, and the Renaissance belief, seemingly verified by the ruins of antiquity, that words always outlived the grandest handiworks of sculpture and architecture.”<sup>9</sup> Yet, by the time after the Civil War and the final completion after the stalling of building the Washington monument obelisk, “public monuments had become commonplace and in their way populist. No longer the prerogative of kings and commanders, statue monuments had spread through cities and even small towns, honoring common soldiers, civil servants, and local politicians.”<sup>10</sup> Monuments have been raised honoring the common and the majestic alike. It looks like monuments of some kind are here to stay.

The questions that are raised are then, does the timing of when Confederate statues were built have a great deal of influence as to their worth in keeping them or discarding them? Does answering this question further determine the following questions: should they be removed at all? Should added context be given to the statues, or should additional statues be added in? Should these statues just be destroyed, or perhaps moved to museums? What about their aesthetic value, even if the cause was unjust? Do we not have statues of vile people throughout our history in museums, yet we keep them?

The purpose of this paper is to nuance the discussion and look at the initial building of Confederate statues, why they were built and to further understanding in resolving these deep-seated views that foster such responses. There is not much current writing on the statues, though due to the recent protests, a number of articles and books have come out or will come out soon.

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<sup>9</sup> Kirk Savage, *Monument Wars- Washington, D.C. The National Mall, and the Transformation of the Memorial Landscape* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2011), back cover, 1.

<sup>10</sup> Savage, *Monument Wars*, 2.

The thesis for this paper is *justification for the building or removal of Confederate monuments needs to be traced to perceptions of them due to larger trends and events in American history.*

In order to contextualize the building of Confederate statues and memorials, good scholarship needs to be pursued. Recognized historians will be consulted, those with respected academic degrees, time in the field of study, and those that have done good primary research and can document their findings. This author does not believe there is such a thing as a “pure” unbiased presentation. All presentations reflect, to some degree, the worldview biases held by the author which is further interpreted by the biases of the reader. Historiography also plays a role. Certain historical expectations, for instance in the Dunning School (Columbia University) of Civil War interpretation of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, would lead to an interpretation of monument building different than would be tolerated today, yet this was taught at the highest academic level.<sup>11</sup>

In selecting evidence, the historian does not just gather the information from good academic secondary sources, but also from good primary sources. In this project, what would that look like? Onsite observation is valuable, getting first hand a sense of the surroundings in which they are displayed today (This author will include photos and narrative of personal visits to historical sites). Newspaper articles, magazine articles, and books from the time periods that various monuments were built as well as current documentation will be utilized. This would also include magazine articles from several of the great catalysts of monument building, the Southern

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<sup>11</sup> See the chapter “The Negro Problem Always Ye Have with You” in Paul H. Buck’s, *The Road to Reunion 1865-1900* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1937), 283-297. See also Thomas J. Brown, ed., *Reconstructions- New Perspectives on the Postbellum United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 3-4.

Historical Society, the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) and Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV) from various times periods. Voices that have not often been heard would include African American sources, as well as those of Unionist Southerners.

There will be a number of gaps for this project. One, a few monuments will be selected from the hundreds, a sort of a sampling. Aesthetically I will not overtly dwell on all the intricacies of each one. This could be seen as inadequate. However, I will focus on the more known and controversial ones- like the Lee and Jackson statues on Monument Avenue in Richmond, Virginia in addition to the simpler, mass produced ones dotting much of the landscape.<sup>12</sup> I will discuss the placement of some of the monuments in national parks, versus public spaces (such as in front of courthouses), those in military cemeteries and those on private land. I will discuss the different dates and the histories of when these statues were made and the reasons they were built.

Second, I hope to untangle some of the Confederate personalities, which should perhaps lead to a better conversation about their removal or preservation in public spaces. This may be seen by some as arbitrary. For instance, Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson statues appear not just in Lexington, Virginia where they are buried, but all over the South (and even in the North). While Lee dissuaded people from building monuments and sought national healing, Lee's persona looms larger than the historical man and is a symbol for many viewpoints, further complicating the subject. This author feels that there are noble qualities about Lee, especially when it comes to be seen for those who can laud a military hero, while not supporting a cause.

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<sup>12</sup> See Timothy S. Sedor, *An Illustrated Guide to Virginia's Confederate Monuments* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2011), 99-192.

Some would see Lee as a defender of Southern racism, a slaveholder to protect a slave republic. Others would see Lee as one who fought for his “country” at a time when one’s country was defined by one’s state, not the national government, and understand such a decision. Lee statues may be seen in a different light than a Nathan Bedford Forrest, the one who led the massacre at Fort Pillow and was the founder of the Ku Klux Klan (KKK).

## Chapter 1: Four Narratives in Civil War Memory

The topic of Confederate statues is very worthwhile and current to our nation's continued issues with race relations, and America's historical memory having either ignorance or amnesia of all things Confederate. The "Lost Cause" narrative (discussed below) has had a tremendous effect on forging a narrative of the antebellum, the Civil War and Reconstruction that it has often been considered the *de facto* history. W. Fitzhugh Brundage points out, "For a century after the Civil War, whites ensured that public spaces conspicuously excluded any recognition of the recalled past of blacks. African Americans created their own understanding of the past, but whereas white memory filled public spaces and made universal claims, the black countermemory was either ignored by whites or was largely invisible to them."<sup>1</sup>

The Lost Cause has been promulgated over the years in the popular media as well. Southern writers such as William Faulkner, Eudora Welty, Carline Gordon, and Margaret Mitchell wrote from this viewpoint.<sup>2</sup> Films such as *Birth of a Nation* (1915), *The Littlest Rebel* (1935) starring Shirley Temple, *Gone with the Wind* (1939), and *Song of the South* (1946- currently banned by Disney for sale in the US) show a picture of the antebellum and Reconstruction in Lost Cause themes- happy slaves, benevolent masters, and aggressive Yankees imposing their will on a good people. As America approached its centennial of the Civil War and *Brown vs. Board of Education* (1954) passed contesting racial segregation, racial tensions and

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<sup>1</sup> W. Fitzhugh Brundage, *The Southern Past- A Clash of Race and Memory* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University, 2005), 10.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas L. Connelly & Barbara L. Bellows. *God and General Longstreet- The Lost Cause and the Southern Mind*. (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1982), 107-111.

the Civil Rights Movement coincided. More monuments were built once again. Confederate logos were added to state flags, and the Confederate battle flag was flown in Columbia, South Carolina, under the American one.

What “happened” and what people remember what happened is often discussed by historians. The idea of “memory” is key to how one understands the past and memorializes it going forward. To understand the different types of monument building, UVA historian Gary Gallagher points out that there are “four main memory streams of the generation that fought the Civil War.” The first is the *Union Cause* stream, that the war was a war fought over secession and insurrection, and the Union clearly was preserved. The second is the *Emancipation Cause* stream that saw the war through the eyes of slavery and the ending of it. The third stream is the *Lost Cause*, where slavery is pushed to the background, that the war was the Second American Revolution and the fight was over state’s rights. The South, had they the manpower and armaments would have prevailed, but fought a heroic war for a noble cause. The fourth is the *Reconciliation Cause* stream, white northerners and white southerners tried to acknowledge the heroism on both sides, but this usually also comes with pushing slavery to the background, and often sees Reconstruction as a noble failure in enfranchising concerning African Americans.<sup>3</sup>

While all streams were present since the war, this author contests that the first two streams were dominant in shaping the immediate postwar memory, at least of most Northerners, as well as white and black abolitionists, which affected Confederate memorial displays. The latter two streams would be dominant in the second phase, which reasserted white supremacy at

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<sup>3</sup> Watch “Gary Gallagher on the Coy Barefoot Program,” *The Center for Media and Citizenship at the University of Virginia* YouTube, 27:24, April 14, 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=e2xuZkXsub0&t=964s>.

the cost of African American enfranchisement. African American W.E.B. Dubois would see this too, as David Blight postulates in *Race and Reunion*.<sup>4</sup> Du Bois stated in 1935 that denying the impact of slavery and Reconstruction was the way for America to heal its wounds, “Our histories tend to discuss slavery so impartially, that in the end nobody seems to have been wrong and everybody was right. Slavery appears to have been thrust upon unwilling helpless America, while the South was blameless in becoming its center. The difference of development, North and South, is explained as a sort of working out of cosmic and economic law.”<sup>5</sup>

By the time the Civil War ended in 1865, it has been estimated that 620,000 died for both sides between 1861-1865 (more modern estimates place it higher, at 750,000).<sup>6</sup> More dead Americans, than in all other wars the US has fought before or since *combined*. If proportioned to today’s population, that would be about six million fatalities. While the whole nation felt the effects of the war, the defeated Confederate States of America was the most devastated. Invaded, pillaged and destroyed, one in five men that went off to fight the war never returned. Those that did return, came back to a destroyed economy, and often more so, returned psychologically defeated.<sup>7</sup> As Civil War historian and current Harvard president Drew Gilpin Faust so poignantly has pointed out, “Confederate men died at a rate three times that of their Yankee counterparts.”<sup>8</sup> In an era of *ars moriendi* ritualizing a good death, respect for the body, Christian piety and surrounding family, the sheer number of corpses, amputated limbs, distance from hearth and

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<sup>4</sup> See David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion- The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of the Harvard University Press, 2001), 32.

<sup>5</sup> W.E.B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America- 1860-1880* (Cleveland, OH: The World Publishing Company 1967), 714.

<sup>6</sup> Andreas W. Reif interview with US Park Ranger, Manassas Battlefield National Park, July 2017.

<sup>7</sup> See statistics cited in Drew Gilpin Faust, *The Republic of Suffering-Death and the American Civil War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2008), xi.

<sup>8</sup> Faust, *The Republic of Suffering*, xi.

home challenged soldiers on both sides at the most fundamental level. Not just questions of race, state's rights, but of manhood, God, suffering, the afterlife and what death meant "proved to be a concern by almost all Americans of every religious background."<sup>9</sup> This would psychologically affect how the dead would be remembered, and in some sense, would provide the gateway to reconciliation among the soldiers who on both sides had seen and lived through hell of death, disease and destruction. Their shared suffering would differ from those who had not engaged in the battle, versus the meta narratives of union, slavery and state's rights that initially launched the war. The shared experience would also instruct the memorization of the men that fought both immediately after the war, and in later eras.

Concerning the *Lost Cause* (coined by Edward Pollard of the *Richmond Examiner* in 1866) stream, right after the war, generals began writing their memoirs giving their account of what had happened.<sup>10</sup> In Alan T. Nolan's article "The Anatomy of a Myth," Nolan makes seven important points to how those memoirs were written, and how the "myth" evolved because of the history of what had happened. The Civil War lasted from 1861-1865. Eleven states seceded from the United States to form the Confederate States. The South had a slave economy, the North had a free economy with the exception of Maryland, Delaware, Missouri and the District of Columbia, which also had slavery. The US military defeated the Confederates, and with the surrender of Robert E. Lee's army, the war was effectively over in a few weeks.

To a defeated people, and the huge amount of carnage and wealth destruction in the South, some justifications were desperately needed for the defeated in light of that horrendous

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<sup>9</sup> Faust, *The Republic of Suffering*, 7.

<sup>10</sup> E. A. Pollard, *The Lost Cause (A Facsimile of the Original 1886 Edition)* (New York: Gramercy Books, 1994), cover.

loss. From facts of history came two very different interpretations of what had happened, and it is Nolan who believe that the regional Lost Cause myth pervaded so heavily it became in many ways the national myth, and that is a negative. With the input of the *Southern Historical Society* in Richmond, the memoirs of generals, and the works of former Vice President Alexander Stephens and later former Confederate President Jefferson Davis, key points are brought out by Nolan that shaped the Lost Cause.

First was that the abolitionists were “provocateurs.”<sup>11</sup> The abolitionists stirred up the South and their way of life, putting them on the defensive and engendering harsh feelings that were not there before. Second, the South would have given up slavery anyway “it was just a matter of time.”<sup>12</sup> Later Lost Cause arguments would include that other nations gave up slavery without a war (like Britain and Brazil), making the fighting unnecessary. Third, was “the nature of slaves.” Slavery, if it could be called that, was a benign form of servitude as practiced in the South. It raised the negro race to heights it never had in Africa, made them Christians, and prepared them for future emancipation. The slaves were well cared for by their paternal masters, unlike the cruelty of “wage slavery” in the North where all was money based.

Fourth was the difference in cultures. The South came from the Norman conquest ancestry who had conquered the Anglo-Saxons (the Northerners) in Europe. The South, therefore by culture, was “a race distinguished in earliest history for its warlike and fearless character, a race in all times since renowned for its gallantry, chivalry, honor, gentleness, and intellect.”<sup>13</sup> Concerning military loss, the Confederates were hopelessly outnumbered, despite their superior

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<sup>11</sup> Alan T. Nolan in Gary W. Gallagher and Alan T. Nolan, eds., *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2000), 15-16.

<sup>12</sup> Nolan, *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History*, 16.

<sup>13</sup> *Southern Literary Messenger* 30 (June 1860); 401-409 as quoted in Nolan, 16.

generals. Yet, had not Longstreet hesitated at Gettysburg, Lee would have won, and the South would have won the war. Longstreet was the betrayer (though early Lost Cause writers did not see it that way). Fifth, the “Idealized Home Front” showed a harmony between the aristocracy, other whites and the happy and faithful slaves who tended the plantations and protected the white women while the soldiers were off to war. Sixth, was the “Idealized Confederate Soldier” whom Nolan does have sympathy for and feels is actually a *victim* of the Lost Cause myth. The average Confederate soldier did not own slaves and did fight for hearth and home that was invaded, “believing what their leaders had told them was Northern aggression.”<sup>14</sup>

Seventh and perhaps the most strongly argued position was the lawfulness of secession. The states were sovereign, and just as they had a right to join the Union, they could dissolve from doing so. As Jefferson Davis stated in *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government* (1881) “the Southern States had rightfully the power to withdraw from the Union into which they had, as sovereign communities, voluntarily entered... The incentive to undertake the work now offered to the public was the desire to correct misapprehensions created by industriously circulated misrepresentations.”<sup>15</sup> One could say that Jefferson Davis’ *Rise and Fall* is the primary resource to review for the arguments for secession. The basic justification for Southern secession was the constitutional claim of state’s rights versus federal intrusion. Davis states that “sectional aggrandizement” and “looking for absolute control” was the culprit.<sup>16</sup> Slavery was not the reason. This over 1200 paged legal worded *apologia* for state’s rights as being constitutional includes justifications for being in line with the original US Constitution. Arguments are further

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<sup>14</sup> Nolan, *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History*, 18.

<sup>15</sup> Jefferson Davis, *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government, Vol. I* (New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1958), v.

<sup>16</sup> Jefferson Davis, *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government Vol. I*, 6.

buttressed by containing a parallel of the US Constitution and the Confederate Constitution, with the clarifications the latter brought in italics.<sup>17</sup> The Confederacy had been more faithful to the original Constitution, it was the North that had strayed.

Lastly, the major players of the Southern leaders were saints, Christlike figures and morally superior to those of the North. Robert E. Lee emerged as the greatest and most pious general, although Stonewall Jackson joined the hagiography as well. Nolan points out that even Nathan Bedford Forrest, a Calvary general and perhaps the Confederacy's best, has joined this elite group, though he was the butcher of negroes at the Fort Pillow massacre and founder of the first Ku Klux Klan, as already mentioned.<sup>18</sup>

John Shipley Tilley, a Georgian and Harvard (M.A.) graduate who became a successful attorney was born in 1880 grew up in the post- Civil War South. In his *Facts the Historians Leave Out- A Confederate Primer* (1951), he also gives a number of arguments that would later be used by today's "neo-Confederates." The first one begins with how the United States was born as a nation in the first place. It was begun by revolution, and most of its original leaders were southerners, including those that forged the Constitution. They were also slaveholders.<sup>19</sup> Second, did the North really fight the war initially to end slavery? No, Lincoln made that abundantly clear in his first inaugural and earlier speeches. His first Emancipation Proclamation (1862) allowed for slavery if the South would stop fighting. He just did not want slavery to spread into the new states but would allow it where it already existed.<sup>20</sup> Third, did southern

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<sup>17</sup> Andreas W. Reif, "HIS 502 4-2" (*Southern New Hampshire University*, October 25, 2015).

<sup>18</sup> Nolan, *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History*, 18-19.

<sup>19</sup> John S. Tilley, *Facts the Historians Leave Out- A Confederate Primer* (Toccoa, GA: The Confederate Reprint Company, 2014), 5-6. Reprint from Paragon Press, Montgomery, AL, 1951.

<sup>20</sup> Tilley, *Facts the Historians Leave Out*, 8.

armies fight to preserve slavery? Here Tilley cites a number of southerners who did not like slavery or opposed it, including Robert E. Lee.<sup>21</sup> Fourth, it is pointed out that northern ships were the ones that imported the slaves, and then sold them to the South. Though illegal, as late as 1858 a New York City slave ship secretly landed on the coast of Georgia with 420 slaves.<sup>22</sup> Fifth, was the question of brutality. There were brutal slave masters, but what of the northern slave traders and their treatment of the slaves coming over the ocean? The fact that most blacks adopted Christianity as their faith as well is evidence that even with some cruel slave masters, they accepted the religion of their masters, so there must have been some belief in Christian ideals. Sixth, the Emancipation Proclamation was a war measure, freeing only slaves in area NOT controlled by the US military, and freeing none that had been or in the slave states loyal to the North. Tilley points out that “had the proclamation abolished slavery altogether, Lincoln’s own family might have been affected. For, his father-in-law was a slaveholder, and Mrs. Lincoln’s share of her father’s estate was partly from the proceeds of the sale of slaves.”<sup>23</sup> Seventh, Lincoln was a racist. Though opposed to slavery, he believed the physical differences between whites and blacks made whites superior.<sup>24</sup> Eighth, the slaves in the North were sold to southerners when the North abolished slavery. Without any compensation, southern planters did not want to give up their property on which the whole agriculture and economy of the South was based.<sup>25</sup> Ninth, the states were separate from the federal government, and sovereign only ceding to the federal government some of their rights. When Great Britain signed the Treaty of Paris in

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<sup>21</sup> Tilley, *Facts the Historians Leave Out*, 10.

<sup>22</sup> Tilley, *Facts the Historians Leave Out*, 13.

<sup>23</sup> Tilley, *Facts the Historians Leave Out*, 21.

<sup>24</sup> Tilley, *Facts the Historians Leave Out*, 23-24.

<sup>25</sup> Tilley, *Facts the Historians Leave Out*, 25-26.

1783, they acknowledge each state separately, not the whole as a country. On that basis, the South had a right to secede.<sup>26</sup> Tenth, constitutionally the federal government had no right to interfere in slavery which was agreed to in the Constitution, no matter how bad slavery was, let alone overthrow the system violently as Nat Turner or John Brown had tried to do.<sup>27</sup> A number of other arguments Tilley points out is that secession was not treason, anymore when cases were made for secession in the North in 1803 with the Louisiana Purchase. George Washington was not a traitor when he fought the American Revolution against British tyranny, while Lincoln instigated the war by sending military supplies to Fort Sumter when even under siege it was supplied food by South Carolina. Charleston let the Union military leave with honor and escort. Yes, southern prisons were horrible, but so were northern ones. Military exchanges were not permitted by the North to keep southern men from being recycled back into fighting. The North had an enormous amount of men to choose from, the South did not. Supplies were blocked and blockaded by the North, which would also lead to poor military prisons. Jefferson Davis was manhandled and shackled, yet even abolitionists helped pay for his legal expenses. He sought to have a trial to vindicate the legality of secession but was denied his day in court.<sup>28</sup>

W. Loewen and Edward H. Sebesta have edited a number of Confederate and pro Lost Cause sources in their *The Confederate and Neo-Confederate Reader* (2010), from the antebellum, through the Civil War and Reconstruction, and the nadir of civil rights into modern times. This collection of primary sources shows what was believed in one generation, was not in the next, and demonstrates the progression of Lost Cause thinking. For instance, Confederate

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<sup>26</sup> Tilley, *Facts the Historians Leave Out*, 29.

<sup>27</sup> Tilley, *Facts the Historians Leave Out*, 31-34.

<sup>28</sup> Tilley, *Facts the Historians Leave Out*, 35-53.

Vice President Alexander Stevens' "African Slavery: The Corner-Stone of the Southern Confederacy" (March 22, 1861) speech is documented which interestingly does not align with the post-Civil War memoir from Stephens' "Conclusion" in his *A Constitutional View of the Late War Between the States* (1868). In the former, slavery was the cornerstone of why the South seceded, while in the latter, it was state's rights.<sup>29</sup>

Is the Lost Cause myth therefore a valid interpretation of the Civil War? Nolan thinks not. Though later denied, slavery *was* the reason for secession, and not just an "incident" for it, as President Davis would assert. Alexander Stephens's "Cornerstone Speech," at the beginning of secession made this abundantly clear:

But not to be tedious in enumerating the numerous changes for the better, allow me to allude to one other—though last, not least. The new constitution has put at rest, forever, all the agitating questions relating to our peculiar institution—**African slavery** as it exists amongst us—the proper status of the negro in our form of civilization. **This was the immediate cause of the late rupture and present revolution...Our new government is founded upon exactly the opposite idea; its foundations are laid, its corner-stone rests upon the great truth, that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery—subordination to the superior race—is his natural and normal condition.**<sup>30</sup> (bold mine)

Other secessionist states made similar comments, also based on the inferiority of the negro and white supremacy. Far from wanting state's rights, southern states became frustrated that the federal government was not intervening on their behalf in free states to return their "property" given the recent *Fugitive Slave Act* (1850). Here the South *wanted* federal intervention.

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<sup>29</sup> James W. Loewen & Edward H. Sebesta, eds., *The Confederate and Neo-Confederate Reader: The "Great Truth" about the "Lost Cause"* (Jackson, MS: University of Mississippi Press, 2010), 187-190, 251-253.

<sup>30</sup> Alexander Stephens, "Cornerstone Speech" (March 21, 1861) as quoted in *The US Constitution- A Reader* (Hillsdale, MI: Hillsdale College, 2012), 577-578. Accessed May 11, 2018, <https://online.hillsdale.edu/file/constitution-courses-library/constitution-101/week-6/Cornerstone-Speech.pdf>.

Nolan concedes that the abolitionists proved difficult. People have a natural tendency to push back when pushed. Anti- abolition laws were passed in the South that limited free speech. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was banned. Far from dying out though, slavery became more entrenched over time. Nolan cites several sources that point out it was easier to emancipate the slaves in 1789, than 1830, easier in 1830 than 1860.

If slavery was benign, why did so many slaves flee to the North when they had a chance? 180,00 African American men served in the northern army, many would die for the US. Many slaves ran away or started resisting. There were faithful slaves, but most saw the North as liberators. Nolan, among other scholars, also hold that there was no “southern” nation in a solid sense, but is a romantic notion that came after the war, not in fact, but in memory.<sup>31</sup> Also, the war may or may not have been lost at Gettysburg, and that this too is a myth, and “it disregards the remaining years of fighting as well as at Vicksburg, Missionary Ridge, Nashville, and Sherman’s March to the Sea.”<sup>32</sup> The war could have had a different outcome, the South winning.

What of the home front? Contrary to harmony between the aristocracy, other whites and slaves, “the South was bitterly divided politically on issues like the Confederate military draft, control of Southern armies, and requisition of supplies for the armies.”<sup>33</sup> Concerning the idealized soldier, Nolan contends that Lee was rightfully concerned at the high rate of mass desertions among his troops. It was a constant problem. Concerning secession, Nolan believes the South was asserting its right to “revolution” but the North “in practical terms was unwilling to allow the nation to perish.”<sup>34</sup> (It is this author’s contention that this is a weak argument and

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<sup>31</sup> Nolan, *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History*, 22-24.

<sup>32</sup> Nolan, *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History*, 24.

<sup>33</sup> Nolan, *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History*, 24.

<sup>34</sup> Nolan, *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History*, 26.

will be addressed in the conclusion). Lastly Nolan states that Lee, “contrary to the legend of his magnality was a hateful and bitter toward the North and during the war.” Jackson was religious, a “fanatical, like Oliver Cromwell among the Irish, killing people for the glory God.”<sup>35</sup> While certainly one could contest the hagiography of Lee and Jackson, to reduce these two generals to these comments is a bit of a stretch. Nolan’s good insights are somewhat undermined by doing so.

Nolan concludes that the Lost Cause is a “caricature of the truth.”<sup>36</sup> Here is what really happened. The eleven states that became the Confederacy seceded to keep the institution of slavery alive. African slavery was inhumane, brutal and immoral, and those that protested were “isolated, silenced, and driven out of the slave states.”<sup>37</sup> The Confederates took US property within their borders and attacked the United States. The North, though racists too, fought a war which included 180,000 blacks. As a consequence of the war, slavery was abolished (13<sup>th</sup> Amendment) and opened the way for blacks to attain full citizenship. However, the occupation of the North in the South was opposed through violence and terror, the North grew tired, and eventually white Confederates rose back to power and institutionalized segregation.

The two sides of interpretation of the Lost Cause could be seen as Blight’s *Union Cause* stream versus the *Lost Cause* stream. If the morality of the Confederate secession was wrong on all the seven points as Nolan states, then a *Reconciliationist Cause* stream will not work. It denied the racism and segregation that was the price for reunion. His view would also assert the *Emancipationist Cause* angle. Whatever the reader decides about the Lost Cause here will

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<sup>35</sup> Nolan, *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History*, 26.

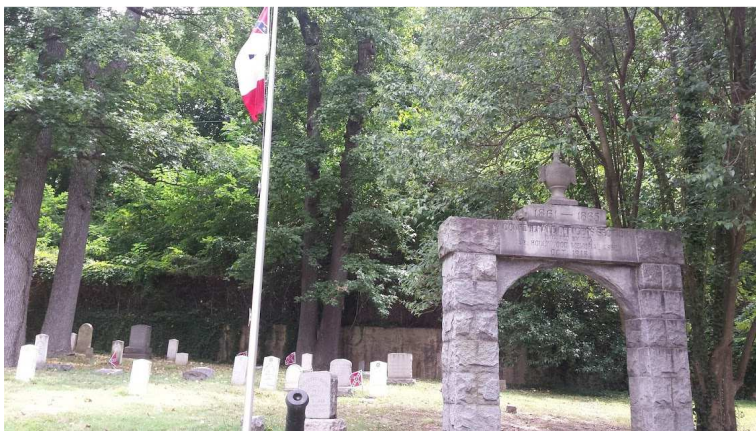
<sup>36</sup> Nolan, *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History*, 29.

<sup>37</sup> Nolan, *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History*, 29.

influence their views concerning the statue controversy. The Lost Cause is a powerful narrative for those who hold it, usually siding with keeping the statues. Nolan's arguments would tend toward their removal.

## Chapter 2: Types of Statues and How to Read Them

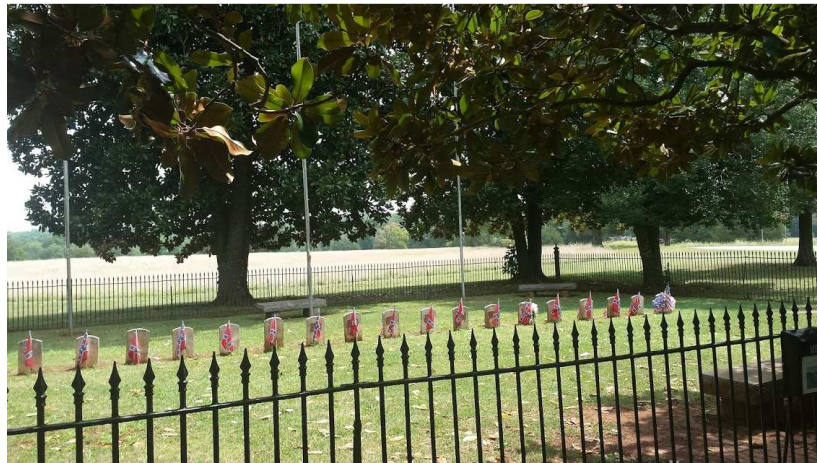
Statues from the Civil War come in different shapes and sizes. In fact, Timothy Sedore in his recently updated exhaustive *An Illustrated Guide to Virginia's Confederate Monuments* (2018) states, "The idea of the standard or typical Confederate monument is a myth. There are no types. None is typical. They may look the same, even banal, but they're not."<sup>1</sup> Many Confederate graves in cemeteries throughout the South and (North) are just simple tombstones with names, dates, and where the soldier was from. More elaborate monuments contain the basic plinth, base and dado (often made of granite). They may include to the "Confederate Dead" and may contain the seal of the Confederacy *Deo Vindici* (God will vindicate) with an equestrian George Washington. On top there may be an obelisk or statue (often of bronze). Some of these monuments would house the names of individuals or even regiments. Some would just be monuments, others, mostly in cemeteries, would have the individuals buried there as well.



**Figure 3: Arch of Confederate Officer's Section (1918), Hollywood Cemetery, Richmond, VA**  
*Photograph by Andreas W. Reif (July 2017)*

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<sup>1</sup> Timothy S. Sedore, *An Illustrated Guide to Virginia's Confederate Monuments* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2018), xxi.



**Figure 4: Confederate Cemetery, Appomattox Court House National Historical Park, VA**  
*Photograph by Andreas W. Reif (July 2017)*



**Figure 5: Confederate Soldiers (1889 and 1898)**  
**“At left, a Monumental Bronze Co. sculpture of a Union soldier, erected in Westfield, N.J., in 1889. On the right, a sculpture of a Confederate soldier, by the same company, erected in Windsor, N.C., in 1898. (Sarah Beetham)”<sup>2</sup>**

<sup>2</sup> Marc Fisher, “Why those Confederate soldier statues look a lot like their Union counterparts,” *The Washington Post*, August 18, 2017. Accessed April 10, 2018, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/why-those-confederate->

Amending Sedore's view is the role that perhaps economics played in monument building. *Washington Post's* Marc Fisher in "Why those Confederate soldier statues look a lot like their Union Counterparts" agrees with other authors that state that the statues that were built between 1880 and 1920 were built mostly by women as a "place to honor their fallen husbands and fathers." Yet, "communities that erected those statues were also looking for a way to assert their doctrine of white supremacy at a time when they were passing Jim Crow laws to codify the separation of the races." While some monuments are elaborate, many are just a humble statue of a soldier guarding the town. Falling prices and technological innovation made the mass production of statues possible. Monuments were sometimes pre-fab, shipped to a town, and assembled there. Monument makers were not interested in fighting a cause, but in making money. *Monumental Bronze* of Bridgeport, Connecticut made soldier statues affordable, selling both Union and Confederate versions of their solitary soldier statues, though because of some pushback, made some minor changes between the two. Fisher comments that "this celebration of ordinary soldiers was a revolutionary break from the classic commemoration of great men on horses."<sup>3</sup>

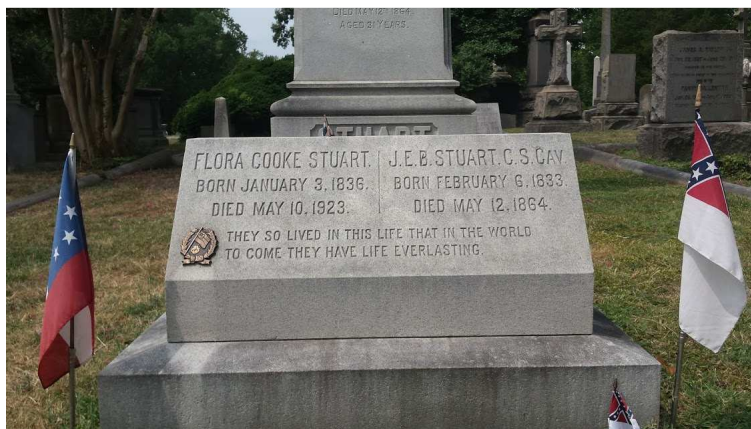
While equestrian and often more expensive statues appeared across southern cities, the more common lone soldier (a copy of the Union one) dotted the countryside overlooking graves, court houses or centers of town. Monument building was just big business, as the methods of mass production made their propagation all that easier. The closing of foundries after the war gave these factories something else to build. Other statues are much more elaborate, especially

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soldier-statues-look-a-lot-like-their-union-counterparts/2017/08/18/cefcc1bc-8394-11e7-ab27-1a21a8e006ab\_story.html?utm\_term=.cfd54991af0c.

<sup>3</sup> Marc Fisher, "Why those Confederate soldier statues look a lot like their Union counterparts."

those of generals. In some places like Gettysburg, both sides set up monuments. Interestingly, though Maryland stayed in the Union, it had soldiers from both Confederates and Union divisions fight each other at Gettysburg. Between 1886-1888, both sides dedicated monuments.<sup>4</sup>



**Figure 6: J.E.B. Stuart- Hollywood Cemetery, Richmond, VA**  
*Photograph by Andreas W. Reif (July 2017)*



**Figure 7: Pickett's Division Cylinder (1888), Hollywood Cemetery, Richmond, VA**  
 Pickett's Division at Gettysburg is mentioned. Both George and his wife LaSalle Corbell, are buried there.<sup>5</sup> *Photograph by Andreas W. Reif (July 2017)*

<sup>4</sup> Tom Huntington, *Guide to Gettysburg Battlefield Monuments* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2013), 25-17.

<sup>5</sup> Sedore, *An Illustrated Guide to Virginia's Confederate Monuments*, 161-164.

In addition to Sedore, another excellent resource on the building of Confederate monuments include Robert S. Seigler's *A Guide to Confederate Monuments in South Carolina...Passing the Silent Cup* from the South Carolina Department of Archives and History (1997). In this 580-page work, Seigler gives a detailed listing of all statues and markers of Confederate origin, their location, date of building, who paid for them, their inscription and even directions to get there. From the pictures as well, one can see a *quantitative* and *qualitative* shift, for instance from earlier markers in the 1860s to more elaborate ones in later periods. Also, from the list of donors, one can see that the majority of these were dedicated by the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC). In the section "Towns, Monuments and Organizations," the top listings are the UDC, then LMA (Ladies Monument, Monumental, or Memorial Association), the SVC (Sons of Confederate Veterans), the UDC (United Confederate Veterans), and interestingly the DAR (Daughters of the American Revolution).<sup>6</sup> In another excellent work, Douglas J. Butler in *North Carolina Civil War Monuments- An Illustrated History* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2013) presents a similar, but less detailed scenario.

Kirk Savage edits *The Civil War in Art and Memory* from the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C. (2016). Here, both Union and Confederate monuments, paintings, sculptures, drawings and photographs are discussed by various authors, including African American statues like the *1898 Memorial* in Wilmington, North Carolina where blacks were killed or forced out in 1898. Backgrounds, authors and details of statues are given. This statue was built in 2008.

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<sup>6</sup> Robert S. Seigler, *A Guide to Confederate Monuments in South Carolina...Passing the Silent Cup* (South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1997). See pages 514-524.



**Figure 8: 1898 Memorial, Durham, North Carolina**  
*Photo Rusty Long*

According to the UNC University Library:

The 1898 Memorial commemorates the coup d'état in which prominent white citizens of Wilmington overthrew the legally elected biracial government of the city. It consists of an arc of six elongated, 16-foot tall freestanding bronze paddles fronted by a two section low, curved wall also of bronze. Incised into the top of the wall is a rather lengthy text describing the historical events. In front of each paddle is a small lectern shaped bronze box. This array stands on a large concrete circle with a primary brick walkway leading to the memorial from the parking area. A plaque placed near the parking area explains that the paddles refer to the role of water in "the spiritual belief system of people from the African continent." To the right of the memorial is brick and concrete circle framed with a brick wall and three short columns. This feature is called the "Peace Circle." Two of the columns hold bronze plaques listing donors to the project. This feature is repeated to the memorial's left and is called the "Hope Circle" with three plaques listing donors.<sup>7</sup>

In a contrast is an earlier statue from 1924 built in the same area during Jim Crow, Francis Parker and Henry Bacon's *To The Soldiers of the Confederacy 1861-1865*.

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<sup>7</sup> "Commemorative Landscapes" UNC University Library, (n.d.) Accessed May 23, 2018. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/comm/land/monument/842/>.



**Figure 9: Confederate Memorial, Durham, North Carolina**  
*Photo by Edward Orde.*

According to the UNC University Library, this statue was:

Erected to honor the courage and self-sacrifice of New Hanover County's Confederate soldiers, this monument presents two bronze sculptural figures framed by a tall granite stele. The figures represent two Confederate soldiers as the figures of courage and sacrifice. The figure of courage stands tall and determined, as he protects the body of his fallen comrade, the figure of sacrifice. ...It includes the Latin phrase *Pro Aris et Focis*. This phrase, literally translated as "for our altars and hearths", is also translated into the patriotic motto, "for God and country."<sup>8</sup>

The contrast in message, construction and timing may show how to present, perhaps in parallel form, various lenses of the Civil War and Reconstruction and race relations in statuary form without moving either.<sup>9</sup> In another article from the same time period as the 1898 event in Wilmington, but one year earlier, Augustus Saint-Gaudens' famous Robert Gould Shaw

<sup>8</sup> "Commemorative Landscapes" UNC University Library, (n.d.) Accessed May 23, 2018.  
<http://docsouth.unc.edu/commland/monument/116/>.

<sup>9</sup> Dell Upton, "The Long Shadow of the Civil War" in Kirk Savage (ed), *The Civil War in Art and Memory*. (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 2016), 172-188.

monument (who commanded the 54<sup>th</sup> Massachusetts all colored regiment) is discussed, including its construction in Boston (1884-1897). Here in this Union monument, blacks possess individual identity as they march off to war, but are still led by a white officer, Robert Gould Shaw, who is the only one riding a horse. Questions of race hierarchy, even in a sympathetic relief, are presented. It points out that race relations were a problem in the North as well during this time, and not just a southern one. This was a period of time when blacks became disenfranchised, and “reunion” was desired between the North and the South, but at black expense.<sup>10</sup>



**Figure 10: Robert Gould Shaw Memorial, Boston.  
*Public Domain.***

In another work, *Monument Wars- Washington, D.C. The National Mall, and the Transformation of the Memorial Landscape* (2009), Kirk provides a very useful book, describing the philosophy of monument building in the first place. Here the politics, the power maneuverings as well as the pushbacks, are discussed in the monument building of Washington,

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<sup>10</sup> Charles H. Karelis, “The Problem of Racial Hierarchy in the Shaw Memorial” in Kirk Savage (ed), *The Civil War in Art and Memory* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 2016), 203-212.

D.C.. What makes this work interesting is that some monuments have been moved over the years due to political or just ergonomic reasons to make room for others. Often lost in the moment debate is aestheticism. Cluttered monuments areas are distracting. How do they blend with other parts of the landscape and previous existing monuments? Should trees be cut down? Who gets to put what where? Debates on monument building may not just be culturally driven but come up against competing requests for land and integration.

When it comes to monument building, context is key. For instance, unlike Lincoln, Jefferson Davis lived until 1889. His imprisonment played into the image of the suffering Christ in a very conservative and religiously based South. In a sense, Davis was “resurrected” along with Lee and Jackson and were written about as hagiography. The stated justness of the Southern cause in the Lost Cause myth gave moral sanction to the building of their monuments after their death with liberty and state’s rights being the drivers, not slavery.<sup>11</sup> Davis, Lee and Jackson would later appear on Stone Mountain Georgia in the nadir of race relations. In fact, their statues appear all throughout the South.

Another point is that some of the monument building was given high academic sanction. Looking at the historiography of the Civil War and Reconstruction, historian Eric Foner points out:

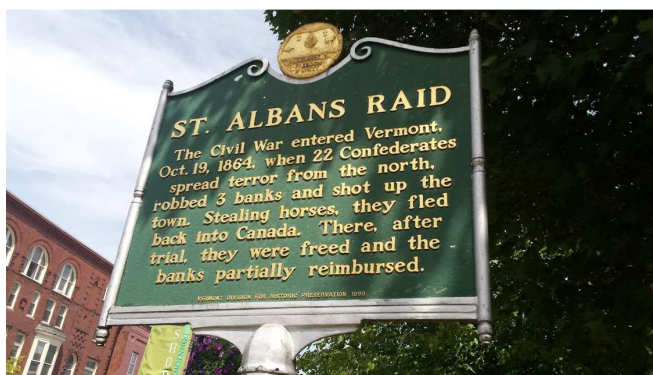
The traditional or Dunning School of Reconstruction was not just an interpretation of history. It was part of the edifice of the Jim Crow System. It was an explanation for and justification of taking the right to vote away from black people on the grounds that they completely abused it during Reconstruction. It was a justification for the white South resisting outside efforts in changing race relations because of the worry of having another Reconstruction. All of the alleged horrors of Reconstruction helped to freeze the minds of the white South in resistance to any change

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<sup>11</sup> Andreas W. Reif, “HIS 790 Annotated Bibliography” (*Southern New Hampshire University*, March 14, 2018).

whatsoever. And it was only after the Civil Rights revolution swept away the racist underpinnings of that old view—i.e., that black people are incapable of taking part in American democracy—that you could get a new view of Reconstruction widely accepted. For a long time it was an intellectual straitjacket for much of the white South, and historians have a lot to answer for in helping to propagate a racist system in this country.<sup>12</sup>

A final note here concerning the types of monuments, is the geographic reach that Confederate monuments have had. Monuments and markers are found in northern states, as well as foreign countries (like Great Britain) and active exiled Confederate colonies, like Americana in Brazil. While this paper focuses on the those mostly in the South, some markers are found as far north as the Confederate attack on St. Albans, Vermont by escaped Confederate prisoners of war from New York, who attacked Vermont:



**Figure 11: Marker St. Albans, Vermont**  
*Photograph by Andreas W. Reif (July 2017)*

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<sup>12</sup> Mike Konczal, “How Radical Change Occurs: An Interview with Historian Eric Foner,” *The Nation*, February 3, 2015. Accessed March 31, 2018, <https://www.thenation.com/article/how-radical-change-occurs-interview-historian-eric-foner/>.



**Figure 12: Confederados monuments in Americana, Santa Barbara D'Oest, Brazil.<sup>13</sup>**

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<sup>13</sup> John Cobin, "Confederate Heritage in Santa Barbara D'Oeste and Americana, Brazil," *Escape America Now*, August 3, 2009. Accessed May 31, 2018, <http://escapeamericanow.info/confederate-heritage-in-santa-barbara/>.

### Chapter 3: Bereavement and Funereal Era 1861–1889

Soldiers had often been buried in shallow graves, some without markings. Both sides sought to either properly bury their dead where they lay or retrieve the bodies. The North, as well as the freemen, could bury their dead with government subsidies. They were given headstones and monuments in national tax funded cemeteries. The Confederates, the rebels, were not. Occupying forces in the South were often on edge and did not allow display of any Confederate insignia. Parades were allowed for the victors, they were not allowed for the losers. As William Blair points out, “Reconciliation in the five years or so after the war was to be a one-way street, with the defeated accepting the terms of the victorious.”<sup>1</sup> The Confederate dead were cared for by societies run by widows and women (LMA- Ladies Memorial Associations), this seemingly being allowed. Gravestones were simple, and monuments few. These were in graveyards, but not allowed much fanfare, though there was some. As David Blight points out,

A Union quartermaster general’s report shortly after Appomattox noted that only about one-third of the Union dead in the war were interred in identifiable graves. The federal government instituted an elaborate program of locating and burying the Union dead All over the South in newly created national cemeteries, and by 1870, some 300,000 Norther soldiers had been reinterned in seventy-three national cemeteries, with 58 percent identified. Retrieval and recognition of the Confederate dead took much longer due to inadequate resources. Early Reconstruction policies had not extended the federal program of reinternment to Confederates.”<sup>2</sup>

Ironically, “Memorial Day” was founded by African Americans and northern white abolitionists in the South in Charleston, South Carolina. 257 Union troops had been interned as

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<sup>1</sup> William A. Blair, *Cities of the Dead* (Durham, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 50.

<sup>2</sup> David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2001), 68.

prisoners, died, and were buried without coffins in the pre-war race track that had been operated by the slaveholding elite. By May 1 of 1865, the liberated city of Charleston involved thousands of blacks, placing flowers on the graves, offering speeches and colored troops drilling. School children marched, and a regimental band played “John Brown’s Body,” “America,” “We’ll rally around the Flag” and “the Star Bangle Banner.”<sup>3</sup> Northern memorial celebrations began in earnest in May of 1868 and 1869. Parades, flowers, songs and eventually picnics followed. In 1873, “New York made May 30 a legal holiday, and by 1890 every other Northern state had followed its lead.”<sup>4</sup>

Confederates started having their “decoration days” as well, though different from those of blacks and unionist. Spring made sense for practical reasons, and also since the Confederacy surrendered then, various days were celebrated to honor the dead. Also, Stonewall Jackson died on May 10, 1863 and J.E.B. Stuart on May 11, 1864.<sup>5</sup> At first in 1866, the decorations did have some Confederate symbology present. Some officers did come in their uniforms, though insignia removed. Some did wave a Confederate flag. As in previous processions and parades, prayers were offered, speeches were given, and soldiers dedicated. By 1867, though, the South under Reconstruction had their state government’s power curtailed when they were put under the control of federal districts. Now, even such displays were subdued. Decorations were done in silence with no real fanfare. In 1868, the Union did begin the observation of Decoration days also in the South. Thousands were buried there and were reinterred into permanent national

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<sup>3</sup> Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 70.

<sup>4</sup> Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 72.

<sup>5</sup> Blair, *Cities of the Dead*, 54.

cemeteries. Union parades with black troops, the forced enfranchisement of blacks and Confederate loss of power, made decoration days, a sore reminder that they were defeated.

What did the initial Confederate statues and monuments look like following the Civil War? Southerners too wished to recollect their fallen dead, and give them a decent burial, but identification was hard. The following below is of the “Pyramid and Adjacent Tablets” in Hollywood Cemetery in Richmond, Virginia. This pyramid, erected by the Hollywood Memorial Association in 1869, in mass and size is the “the largest Confederate Monument in Virginia” and “may be the largest single monument to military dead in North America.”<sup>6</sup>



**Figure 13: The Pyramid and Adjacent Tablets (1869)**  
**“To the Confederate Dead.” Hollywood Cemetery, Richmond, Virginia, July 2017.**  
*Photograph by Andreas W. Reif*

Standing ninety feet high and made of granite, it is “a monument to thousands of Confederate soldiers buried nearby including about 2000 who were killed at Gettysburg.”<sup>7</sup> The early date of this monument comes before any UDC (United Daughters of the Confederacy) or SCV (Sons of

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<sup>6</sup> Timothy S. Sedore, *An Illustrated Guide to Virginia's Confederate Monuments* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2018), 159.

<sup>7</sup> “Hollywood Cemetery” brochure, *Friends of Hollywood Cemetery* (Richmond, VA, 2010).

Confederate Veterans) influence. Its simple but imposing figure gives the viewer a sense of the enormity of the number of soldiers killed, 1/3 of this cemetery (which also houses US Presidents Tylor and Monroe, as well as Confederate President Jefferson Davis) is made of Confederate soldiers. Many of the tombstones are just simple markers, with Confederate battle flags placed near them. The US Presidents and the generals buried here, like J.E.B. Stuart and George Pickett, have more prominent markers in Hollywood Cemetery.

One argument against memorializing Confederate statues comes from perhaps the most popular Confederate himself, Robert E. Lee. Dying in the Funeral and Bereavement era just five years after the Civil War, the president of Washington College (now Washington and Lee University) died in 1870. Robert E. Lee championed the position to accept the terms of surrender, become good citizens and submit to the reconstructed Union. It could be argued that he was the most powerful Confederate who held the highest moral ground. While other generals already started publishing their memoirs of the war, including Edward Pollard and his “Lost Cause” narrative, Lee showed uncommon restraint in what must have been deep bitterness and loss.<sup>8</sup> Adding to this devastation was the question of what to do with the dead. The first order of the day was to bury the dead. Those who wish away Confederate monuments often quote Lee. In a letter in 1866, Lee rejected the building of a Jackson memorial. In another letter, Lee rejected building statues when he stated that, "As regards the erection of such a monument as is contemplated, my conviction is, that, however grateful it would be to the feelings of the South, the attempt, in the present condition of the country, would have the effect of retarding instead of accelerating its accomplishment, and of continuing if not adding to the difficulties under which

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<sup>8</sup> E. A. Pollard, *The Lost Cause: A Facsimile of the 1866 Edition of the Standard Southern History of the War of the Confederates* (New York: Gramercy Books, 1994), cover.

the Southern people labor.”<sup>9</sup> As Cook points out, “Robert E. Lee cautioned publicly against commemorative activities that would sustain festering wounds, on the grounds that such behavior would prevent the reintegration of the southern states into the Union on the best possible terms for the former Rebels.”<sup>10</sup> Lee biographer Jonathan Horn points out that

Lee did not want such divisive symbols following him to the grave ... At his funeral in 1870, flags were notably absent from the procession. Former Confederate soldiers marching did not don their old military uniforms, and neither did the body they buried. Lee believed countries that erased visible signs of civil war recovered from conflicts quicker,” Horn told PBS. “He was worried that by keeping these symbols alive, it would keep the divisions alive.” According to Horn, Lee's daughter wrote, “His Confederate uniform would have been 'treason' perhaps!”<sup>11</sup>

Unlike later statues, Lee’s reclining statue in Lexington, Virginia is rather simple, though there was a push to have him buried in Richmond against the wishes of his wife.<sup>12</sup> Lee is actually buried below the chapel, this not being his sarcophagus. While here Confederate battle flags are displayed, these were removed recently in 2015 after the church massacre in South Carolina. While noble, this monument is rather simple. Lee’s death paved the way for much pent-up admiration and vindication. While Lee’s wife had Lee entombed in Lexington, Virginia in civilian clothes that of the president of Washington College, already clamors for a memorial in Richmond were in the works. It would be to Richmond that a series of large and expensive statues would go as symbols of the once Confederate capital.

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<sup>9</sup> As quoted in Daniel Brown, “Here’s what Robert E. Lee thought of Confederate Monuments,” *Business Insider*, August 16, 2017. Accessed May 8, 2018, <http://www.businessinsider.com/robert-e-lee-opposed-confederate-monuments-2017-8>.

<sup>10</sup> Cook, *Civil War Memories- Contesting the Past in the United States since 1865*, 29.

<sup>11</sup> Brown, “Here’s what Robert E. Lee thought of Confederate Monuments.”

<sup>12</sup> Gaines M. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 53.



**Figure 14: Lee memorial in Lee Chapel, Lexington, VA at Washington and Lee University.**  
*Public Domain.*

## Chapter 4: Reconciliation or Celebration Era 1890 to 1920

Waving the “bloody shirt” became old, and even President Grant grew weary of enforcing the military occupation of the South. As William Blair points out, “Northern white people wanted reunification with the white South...when Grant assumed office in 1869, he stressed peace between the sections in his inaugural address. Even the many Republicans who championed antislavery often took this position to validate the ideals of free labor and representative democracy rather than because they shared priorities with black people. Many were nation builders who bid good riddance to slavery because it propped up a planter aristocracy, demeaned the dignity of white labor, held down the wages of working men, limited the advancement of poor white people in general, served as an antiquated and immoral system that prevented the country from achieving its full potential, or made American claims for freedom appear hypocritical in the eyes of the world.”<sup>1</sup>

After a close election between Tilden (D) and Hayes (R), Hayes got support from the Democrats in the *Compromise of 1877* by cutting a deal to end Reconstruction and bring the troops home from militarily occupying the South. With the last vestiges of Republican and black occupation falling away, white supremacy ousted African Americans in positions of power, though at the time still courting their vote. As W.E.B. Du Bois noted, “The slave went free; stood a brief moment in the sun; then moved back again to slavery. The whole weight of America was moved to color caste.”<sup>2</sup> The general mood was to reconcile the nation, that the blue and the gray were now one nation and going forward. While there were still resisters among the Rebels as

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<sup>1</sup> William A. Blair, *Cities of the Dead* (Durham, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 109.

<sup>2</sup> W.E.B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America 1860-1880* (Cleveland, OH: Meridian Books, 1967), 30.

well as Yankees who could not and would not reconcile, meetings were held at reunions between the soldiers at places like Gettysburg with the noticed absence of African Americans. As the North continued to build its monuments, the South predominately now did so too unshackled. After the end of Reconstruction in 1877, the “Lost Cause” narrative really started picking up steam. Karen Cox points out that “monuments served the region as symbols of mourning.” While earlier monuments overlooked Confederate graves, after the mid-1880s and the Spanish-American to World War I, “the meaning and purpose of Confederate memorialization changed. The restoration of home rule in the South set the stage for building monuments that **celebrated**, rather than **mourned**, the former Confederacy and its heroes. Statues of soldiers now appeared in civic spaces, such as town squares and on the grounds surrounding courthouses (bold mine).”<sup>3</sup>

The first statue on the new Monument Avenue in Virginia was the equestrian one of Robert E. Lee on May 29, 1890. Led by Fitzhugh Lee, Lee’s nephew, 15,000 to 20,000 marched in line stretching four-miles. The march ended at the monument, where prayers were said, and Dixie played. General Joseph E. Johnston unveiled the statue.<sup>4</sup> Gaines Foster states, “the ceremonies brought the participants out of their day-today world and for a ritual moment, returned them to past peopled by glorious heroes.” 100,000 attended.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Karen L. Cox, *Dixie’s Daughters*, 66.

<sup>4</sup> Gaines M. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 101.

<sup>5</sup> Foster, *Ghosts*, 102.



**Figure 15: Lee Monument (1890)- Monument Avenue, Richmond, VA**  
*Photograph by Andreas W Reif (July 2017)*

It is interesting to note that Lee's statue was built on the outskirts of the city at the time. It was a real estate development for the new South and an upscale avenue. While hearkening to the past, it was looking forward to a new and rebuilt Richmond.<sup>6</sup> The statue rivals the one of Washington near the state capitol downtown, and Lee's is actually bigger. He faces South. As Sedore states, "French sculptor Jean Antonin Mercie refused to seat Lee on Traveler [his famous horse], contending that Traveler was too slender a horse for a heroic statue." Also, it is pointed out that Lee has his hat off his head, because according to the *Richmond Times Dispatch* Mercie felt Lee's brow so noble it must not be hidden.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> "C-Span's LCV Profile: Monument Avenue," *Marcus Rice Team*, December 17, 2010, YouTube, 5:30, accessed June 25, 2018. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jXuxdeHWpdc&t=174s>.

<sup>7</sup> See Sedore, *An Illustrated Guide to Virginia's Confederate Monuments*, 146-147.

One other important figure that is usually included with Davis and Lee is Stonewall Jackson. These three emerged together as popular not only in Richmond where they all had ties to Virginia (being buried there), but throughout the South. Monuments, roads, and schools are named after them. In 1919, the Jackson statue was unveiled on Monument Avenue, described as “a great equestrian bronze figure 17 1/2-foot-high on an oval granite pedestal 20 1/2-foot-high of General Jackson astride his horse. The statue is oriented to the North.”<sup>8</sup> One can see the Lost Cause emphasis since he is facing the enemy, the North. Interestingly, like Lee, Jackson is not riding his smaller “Little Sorrel” but a racehorse.<sup>9</sup> When the Jackson monument was built much later in Manassas, this was corrected. But strangely, here Jackson is also wearing a winter overcoat, not what he wore at Manassas in June when it gets rather hot.

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<sup>8</sup> Phil Riggen, “Stonewall Jackson on Monument Avenue,” January 10, 2010. Accessed May 23, 2018, <https://rotj.wordpress.com/2010/01/10/stonewall-jackson-on-monument-avenue/>.

<sup>9</sup> Sedore, *An Illustrated Guide to Virginia's Confederate Monuments*, 143.



**Figure 16: Stonewall Jackson Monuments (1919 and 1940)  
Monument Row, Richmond, Virginia and Manassas Battlefield Park, Manassas National  
Park, Virginia -Photo by Andreas W Reif, July 2017.**

Unlike Abraham Lincoln who died in 1865, the Confederate president lived until 1889. He was captured in Georgia in May of 1865 as the Confederacy fell, and held as a prisoner in Fort Monroe, Virginia from 1865-1867. What is even more remarkable, is that his bail was paid for by abolitionist Horace Greeley among others. He waited for trial to vindicate his case and cause. It never came. When Jefferson Davis died in 1889 he was originally interned in New Orleans (hence a monument was there until recently). He was later moved to Richmond and his gravesite was dedicated in 1899. His statue was completed in 1907. Though already in later stage, his gravesite is relatively modest as the Confederate's sole President. However, one can

see the markings of the *United Daughters of the Confederacy* in his wife Varina Davis' gravesite, dying some years after the President and buried next to him. The UDC added a marker in 1997, 100 years after Varina became a founding member of the UDC.



**Figure 17: Jefferson and Varina Davis Gravesites**  
Hollywood Cemetery, Richmond, Virginia, July 2017 -*Photographs by Andreas W Reif*

When one reads Jefferson Davis's biographical account, one reads about happy slaves subservient to white masters, infinitely better off than in Africa or the North. In his *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, he quotes a speech he gave to the Confederate Congress on February 17, 1864 concerning arming negroes. Davis stated that slavery "includes the fulfillment of the task which has been so happily begun- that of Christianizing and improving the condition of the Africans who have by the will of Providence been placed in our charge. Comparing the results of our own experience with those of experiments of others who have born similar relations to the African race, the people of the several States of the Confederacy have abundant reason to be satisfied with the past, and to use the greatest circumspection in determining their course."<sup>10</sup> Davis, Lee and Jackson would later also appear together on Stone Mountain, Georgia in the nadir of race relations.

Davis wanted a trial to show the constitutionality of secession and the reasons for the war. Confederates hoped that they would have won the case. Not only was the Lost Cause that of gallant men fighting off invaders of the South, but also of strong constitutional arguments justifying secession. Already in 1866, former Confederate Vice President Alexander Stephens, (whose statue currently resides in the Capitol Rotunda as one representing Georgia), appealed to *The Declaration of Independence*. The states were sovereign and had the right to secede. If they had not, why were they now the present time under military occupation, if they had never left and been part of the Union? "Have not the Constitutions of ten States, as made and adopted by

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<sup>10</sup> Davis, *Rise and Fall*, Vol. I, 517-518.

the People thereof, founded on such principles and organized in such form as seemed to them most likely to effect their safety and happiness, been swept from existence by military edict?”<sup>11</sup>

In the original Lost Cause narrative immediately following the war, Davis was not seen as all that popular. Pollard openly criticized him as an ineffectual leader. Some even blamed him for the Confederacy’s defeat. Davis’ imprisonment, however, played into the image of a suffering Christ figure. In a very conservative and religiously evangelical based South, Davis was “resurrected” while later touring the South in his later years. Along with Lee and Jackson, they were written about as hagiography, and constitute three of the five Confederate statues on Monument Avenue in Richmond. The justness of the Southern cause in the Lost Cause myth gave moral cover for the building of monuments after their death. Liberty and state’s rights being the drivers, not slavery.<sup>12</sup>

When one looks on Monument Avenue in Richmond, the Davis statue is more than just of Davis himself, as he extends his arm out toward the capitol as if still arguing his case. Quoting his farewell address to the US Senate in January 21, 1861, it reads across the arch, “Not in hostility to others, not to injure any section of the country, not even for our own pecuniary benefit, but from the high and solemn motive of defending the rights we inherited, and which it is our duty to transmit unshorn to our children.” Davis is vilified as an “exponent of constitutional principles” and “defender of the rights of states.” His case is part of the monument’s vindication for the Confederate’s “yearning their deep desire to clothe their country with freedom.” This statue was unveiled in 1907 and built with the UDC as a vindication of the

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<sup>11</sup> Alexander Stephens, *A Constitutional View of the Late war Between the States- Its Causes, Character, Conduct and Results; Presented in a Series of Colloquies at Liberty Hall, Vol. II* (Boston: National Pub. Co., 1870), 15. Reprint.

<sup>12</sup> Andreas W. Reif, “HIS 790 Annotated Bibliography” (*Southern New Hampshire University*, March 14, 2018).

Confederate cause who fought from “Sumter to Appomattox- four years of unflinching struggle against overwhelming odds.”<sup>13</sup>



**Figure 18: Jefferson Davis Monument (1907)**  
**Monument Row, Richmond, Virginia -All photos by Andreas W Reif, July 2017.**

By 1894, many of the ladies' memorial societies merged to form one national group, the *United Daughters of the Confederacy* (UDC) which would escalate monument building and place hundreds of monuments all over the South. The UDC would also become a major political power to be reckoned with until it reached its zenith around 1915 with 100,000 members. Originally founded by a small group of upper class white women in Nashville, they would move their headquarters to Richmond. While the UDC appealed to women honoring their Confederate dead, their upper class political connections funded monuments, not only in cemeteries, but in front of court houses and in other public spaces. Many in leadership were married into political families or had connections. Interestingly, the UDC, though conservative and Christian in values, also harbored some suffragettes, carrying political clout at a time when women did not have the

<sup>13</sup> Sedore, *An Illustrated Guide to Virginia's Confederate Monuments*, 144-145.

vote. They raised funding for veterans, widows, and did other charitable work. Their greatest legacy though, even beyond monuments, was to make sure that the Lost Cause was the orthodoxy that was promulgated in all textbooks, that the Lost Cause was the narrative passed on to the children in schools and public institutions. Any variation was strongly attacked. In UDC literature, the war was lost due to overwhelming military odds, the soldiers were all brave, slavery was a benevolent institution, and the faithful slave was heralded as an example of how happy the antebellum once was until Yankee aggression. While some in the UDC were hostile to Northerners, others were fine with reconciliation as long as the “truth” was told of Southern heroism. UDC children often unveiled the statues, and these unveilings were viewed by hundreds, if not thousands in all the towns and cities across the South, and sometimes even the North. There would be a parade of Confederate soldiers, women dressed in antebellum outfits, speeches, prayers, presentations of colors, food and even fireworks.

An example of good scholarship here would be Karen L. Cox’s, *Dixie’s Daughters*. Cox is professor at the University of North Carolina (UNC website), and a reputable scholar. In her book she demonstrates that the UDC was really the main driver for many of the monuments that were built in the early 20th century when most Confederate monuments were built. The end of Reconstruction, Jim Crow laws and national reunification after the Spanish American War, reasserted white dominance and the desire for Lost Cause narrative in southern states. Her work includes a number of pictures of Confederate monuments being built (including the one of Jefferson Davis in New Orleans recently removed), and the history behind them. She also shows other influencers for the thinking of these monuments. For instance, an advertisement for Rose’s primer for children adopted by the State of Mississippi as a supplementary for textbooks includes

a favorable work on the KKK which “leading educators, historians, and U.D.C. and S.C.V...will operate in placing the book in schools and libraries.”<sup>14</sup>

One might ask how African Americans, slavery and “freedom” fit into this narrative. Blacks were invited, if they fit the narrative of subservience. Black Confederate “veterans” were even invited as guests to these events, some offered pensions and receiving medals. These once faithful slaves had earned the honors they received. They had guarded the homes and plantations of their absent masters, some having gone to war themselves protecting their masters, even directly fighting the Yankees. This fit well into a narrative that the blacks were happy in their former position before Reconstruction ruined relationships between the races.<sup>15</sup> One prominent monument built during the second phase (Reconciliation and Celebration era) that depicts this is the UDC’s Confederate Monument unveiled in 1914 at Arlington National Cemetery and attended by President Woodrow Wilson. Designed by Moses Ezekiel, one can see a faithful male slave marching off with the troops dressed in uniform, and a “Mamie” holding a baby as a Confederate soldier says goodbye. The African American woman is weeping:

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<sup>14</sup> Karen L. Cox, *Dixie’s Daughters- The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture* (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 2003), 109.

<sup>15</sup> Karen L. Cox, "Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture" *Archives and History Library of the Culture Center in Charleston (WV)*. June 4, 2013 You Tube 1:05:08 Accessed June 25, 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I267zedzL78&t=3194s>.



**Figure 19: Confederate Monument, Arlington National Cemetery  
Arlington, Virginia-1.<sup>16,17</sup>**

Neo-Confederate author Lochlainn Seabrook gives his additional insight concerning this statue (though debunked by other scholars):

Note that the man second from the right: not merely a black slave or a body servant, but a real armed black Confederate soldier, marching proudly side-by-side with his white Confederate brothers. The memorial was designed by Southern artist Moses Ezekiel, one of 12,000 Jewish Confederate soldiers who routinely witnessed thousands of blacks in the Rebel armed forces firsthand- which is why, after all, he included an African-American in this typical Civil War scene as experienced by Southerners. About the time this monument was erected in 1908, the North began suppressing the truth about the reality of black Confederate soldiers....at least

<sup>16</sup> "Confederate Monument- S face tight" Arlington National Cemetery, June 23, 2013. Accessed May 11, 2018, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Confederate\\_Memorial\\_\(Arlington\\_National\\_Cemetery\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Confederate_Memorial_(Arlington_National_Cemetery)).

<sup>17</sup> "Blacks Loyally fought for the Confederacy" *The American Cowboy Chronicles*, May 22, 2014. Accessed May 11, 2018, <http://www.americancowboychronicles.com/2014/05/blacks-loyally-fought-for-confederacy.html>.

300,000 served as combatants in the Confederate army and navy, far more than went North and fought for Lincoln (many who did so with regret)<sup>18</sup>

Two years later, in 1896 the *Sons of Confederate Veterans* (SCV) would be founded for similar reasons as the UDC. Often working in conjunction with the UDC, the SCV also sought to carry on the Lost Cause through monument building, but their appeal was more to the common soldier as the GAR (Grand Army of the Republic) was in the North. Unlike other wars where veteran groups were for officers only, the Civil War gave rise to a truly “democratic” view of the fallen soldier. Military gallantry and reenactment also played a larger role in the SVC than the UDC. The UDC and SCV were in many states the catalyst for monuments not just in cemeteries, but in overt displays in public spaces, in front of court houses, government buildings, in parks and on traffic circles. With the death of Lee in 1870, all bets were off holding back the torrent outpouring of sentiment for those seeking to reconcile the loss of men and treasure that was the Confederacy. The myth of the Lost Cause became a living reality, the memory that the Confederates wished to build on and pass on to posterity.

As the mood changed in white America toward reconciliation, one major change in fomenting major memorial building statuary also had to do with the change in law. Already being contested in practice, the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> Amendments were rejected by most white southerners. As Pollard already pointed out in 1866 in his *Lost Cause*:

The war has not swallowed up everything. There are great interests which stand out of the pale of the contests, which it is for the South still to cultivate and maintain. She must submit fairly and truthfully to *what the war has properly decided*. But the war properly decided only what was put in issue: the restoration of the Union and the excision of slavery; and to these two conditions the South submit. But the war did not decide negro equality; it did not decide negro suffrage; it did not decide State Rights,

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<sup>18</sup> Lochlainn Seabrook, *Everything You Ever Were Taught About the Civil War is Wrong- Ask a Southerner*, 214.

although it might have exploded their abuse; it did not decide the orthodoxy of the Democratic party; it did not decide the right of a people to show dignity in misfortune, and to maintain self-respect in the face of adversity. And these things which the war did not decide, the Southern people will cling to, still claim, and still assert in them their rights and views.<sup>19</sup>

The resentment of black rule was demonstrated by the presence and terror of the Ku Klux Klan, the attacks on blacks and white Republicans, and determination of many Democrats to overturn or limit blacks from being equal by institution black codes. With *Plessy vs. Ferguson* (1896), the Supreme Court upheld the idea of “separate but equal” in public places. This legalized the Jim Crow laws and kept blacks down until *Brown vs Board of Education* (1954) fifty-eight years later. The many monuments built after this time, while using Civil War figures, could be also used to demonstrate the assertiveness of white supremacy as well as the military and manly prowess of its generals and rank and file soldiers. The motives may have been mixed. A Confederate monument in every public square was a reminder to blacks of white rule. Slavery was over, and the Union was restored, but the ideals of the Confederacy lived on. Negroes would know their place as subservient to whites. The Confederates had lost the physical war, but they had won the ideological war.

Racist and popular novelist Thomas Dixon Jr. championed the Lost Cause narrative in his books, *The Leopard's Spots- A Romance of the White Man's Burden 1865-1900* written in 1902. He states in the character of the Preacher, “If General Lee had dreamed of such an infamy being forced on the South two years after his surrender, as this attempt to make the old slaves the rulers

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<sup>19</sup> E.A. Pollard, *The Lost Cause (A Facsimile of the Original 1886 Edition)*. (New York: Gramercy Books, 1994), 752.

of their masters, and to destroy the Anglo-Saxon civilization of the South- he would have withdrawn his armies into that Appalachian mountain wild and fought till every white man in the South was exterminated.” He continues, “The Confederacy went to pieces in a day, not because the South could no longer fight, but because they were tired of fighting the flag of their fathers, and they were tired of it. They went back to the old flag. They expected to lose their slaves and repudiate the dogma of Secession forever. But they never dreamed of Negro domination, or Negro deification, of Negro equality and amalgamation, now being rammed down our throats with bayonets.”<sup>20</sup> These sentiments would be later incorporated in *The Clansman* (1905), on which the epic film *The Birth of a Nation* (1915) would be based, which in turn would inspire the novel and movie *Gone with the Wind* (1936 and 1939 respectively). Dixon’s reasoning also mutes the negative statements of Lee concerning statues and memorialization. Had he known what lay ahead in Reconstruction, he might have been of a different opinion.

With the Spanish American War in 1898, the white Southern man got to prove his manliness in a reunited army and loyalty to the restored Union. Northerners more and more exhibited sympathy instead of animosity to their old southern foe. This war united the nation militarily and both side shared in its victory over a common enemy. Monuments would memorialize this new unity as well.

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<sup>20</sup> Thomas Dixon Jr., *The Leopard’s Spots- A Romance of the White Man’s Burden 1865-1900* (London: Forgotten Books (n.d.). Reprint of New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1902), 136.



**Figure 20: Confederate and Spanish American War Memorial, Carrollton, AL**  
**“The Confederate and Spanish American War memorial has stood outside the historic courthouse on the square in Carrollton, Alabama since 1927”<sup>21</sup>**

With the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Civil War, and the onset of the First World War, the major monument building thrust by the UDC was over. While some monuments still went up, they had accomplished what they set out to do, to have installed monuments and memorials of some kind in all major areas and won the ideology what for many Americans was the Civil War. The Lost Cause and Reunion became the dominant streams of Civil War memory.

<sup>21</sup> Sheila Flynn, “Monuments to Oppression,” *The Daily Mail*, August 17, 2017. Accessed May 23, 2018, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4800548/History-monuments-honoring-defended-slavery.html>.

## Chapter 5: Commemorative Era 1920 -Present

After WWI, statue building declined. The military imagery after the “Great War” did not incite monument building. Many were disillusioned by the war, feeling they had been deceived into it. America’s mood was isolationism, nativism, white supremacy and anti-any ideology other than Americanism. It was a time of the second Ku Klux Klan, numbering in the millions. It was the time of “business” a growing stock market, flapper girls, prohibition and speak easies. While the last Confederate and Union men started dying off, the UDC had its greater impact in controlling all the textbooks of school children and making sure that their textbooks perpetuated the Lost Cause ideology of the Civil War. These children would be brought up with the belief that the war was about state’s rights, that slavery was not as bad as made out to be, that the South could have won had they had the resources, and that though they lost, their cause was just. When Civil Rights became an issue in the 1950s and the centennial of the Civil War approached, these children would have come of age seeing the Civil Rights movement as going against their learned history of Southern and Confederate honor. These would be the “Dixiecrats” and resistance to change. Confederate flag waving and monument building once again started up, though not nearly as aggressive as in the early twentieth century.

During this era, Civil War “monuments” of memory also took the form of movies, with a plethora coming forth. D.W. Griffith’s *Birth of a Nation* (1915) Lost Cause version of the war heavily influenced how all of America saw the war. It was blatantly racist, but also *Reconciliationist* between whites. Though blacks were in the movie, the leading black roles were played by whites in black face. This movie had been heavily opposed by the NAACP and

coincided with Woodrow Wilson, the first southern president since the war, who introduced segregation into the federal government's civil service around the same time. Gallantry of both sides was emphasized, and negro rule was deemed a disaster until the KKK and white supremacist rule gained the upper hand. Now the nation could reunite, in fact have its "birth" as one people. Lincoln is seen as a reconciler, based on white supremacy.

Twenty years later, during the Great Depression, rising child actress Shirley Temple became famous in the early 1930s dancing with a black man named Bill Robinson, known also as "Uncle Billy." Griffith wrote Winfield Sheehan at Fox proposing this racially controversial idea stating, "there is nothing absolutely nothing, calculated to raise the gooseflesh on the back of an audience more than that of a white girl in relation to Negroes."<sup>1</sup> Both 1935 movies *The Little Colonel* (set in Reconstruction) and *The Littlest Rebel* (set in the Civil War) show a Lost Cause motif of contentment blacks serving whites, of the justness or at least gallantry of the Confederates, and that slavery was not that bad. In *Colonel*, Temple's character's mother marries a Yankee, the father, a Confederate colonel disapproving (played by Lionel Barrymore). Like in many Temple films, both sides are reconciled because of love for her. Paralleled is also a *Reconciliationist* Lincoln as in *Birth of a Nation*. Shirley Temple's character Virgie in *Rebel* meets Lincoln, along with Uncle Billy, securing the release of her Confederate father spy and the Union man that saved him, ending the movie on a *Reconciliationsit* hope. As war is declared earlier in the film, Will Robinson (Uncle Billy) states, "no one knows why there will be a war. There's a man up north who wants to free slaves." Virgie asks, "What does that mean?" Robinson replies, "I don't know myself." Throughout the movie, the slaves help the family

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<sup>1</sup> As quoted in Shirley Temple Black, *Shirley Temple Black-An Autobiography* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1988), 90. Autographed copy.

against the Union soldiers, who are mostly portrayed as unruly and uncivilized, except for the generous major who helps them on account of Virgie.<sup>2</sup>

Wetta and Novelli write in *The Long Reconstruction- The Post-Civil War South in History, Film and Memory* concerning the impact of Griffith and the movie that paralleled its Lost Cause themes of the Civil War and Reconstruction. They state that, “*The Birth of a Nation* had an incredibly negative impact on race relations in the United States but, by 1939, ‘the talking pictures,’ as they were first called, were over a decade old and silent films had retreated to the margin of public attention. The year 1939 was a golden year for motion pictures. Unfortunately, among the most golden was a film that- in a less savage fashion- continued the damage done by Griffith twenty-four years later.”<sup>3</sup> Margaret Mitchell’s 1936 novel, *Gone With the Wind* (movie- 1939) became for many the definitive Civil War movie.<sup>4</sup> In color (along with *The Wizard of Oz*), it broke new technological ground that “would define the Old South and Reconstruction into the twenty-first century.”<sup>5</sup> Unlike *Birth of a Nation* and Mitchell’s novel, the KKK was not even mentioned. In the novel, it is the KKK that vindicates Scarlett’s attacks, while in the movie is just a group of men led by Rhett and Ashley. Once again, slavery is diminished, Southern culture fielded as superior, and the Yankees as invading antagonists.

Other movies would follow featuring *Reconciliationist* themes with Lost Cause overtones, downplaying slavery, and giving essentially a stalemate in gallantry between Union and Confederates. These include *Santa Fe Trail* (1940), *Renegade Girl* (1946), *Drums in the*

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<sup>2</sup> Frank J. Wetta and Martin A. Novelli, *The Long Reconstruction- The Post-Civil War South in History, Film and Memory* New York: Routledge, 2014), 37.

<sup>3</sup> Wetta and Novelli, *The Long Reconstruction*, 85.

<sup>4</sup> William C. Davis, *The Lost Cause- Myths and Realities of the Confederacy* (Lawrence, KS; University of Kansas Press, 1996), 194.

<sup>5</sup> Wetta and Novelli, *The Long Reconstruction*, 86.

*Deep South* (1951), *Kansas Pacific* (1953), *Yellowneck* (1955), and *The Proud Rebel* (1958).

Interestingly, both in *Sante Fe Trail* and *The Proud Rebel*, the still living Olivia de Havilland plays a leading role, as she played the Southern Belle archetype as Melanie Wilks in *Gone with the Wind*. In none of these movies is an *Abolitionist* theme presented as necessarily superior, if it is presented at all. Even in the much later acclaimed movie *Gettysburg* (1993), there is only one black man even shown, though the theme of slavery is discussed on both sides of the conflict. It would take until the 1989 movie *Glory* concerning the Massachusetts 54<sup>th</sup> Voluntary Infantry to really present an *Abolitionist* and black perspective. The film include black actors Denzel Washington, Jihimi Kennedy, and Morgan Freeman.<sup>6</sup>

Stone monument building started again as the Civil Rights movement started picking up steam in the 1950s and 1960s. America in the Cold War had to show a unified front of democracy to a belligerent and expanding atheist Communist world. Yet the oppression of blacks in the segregated South was an international embarrassment for the nation that had liberated the concentration camps of Nazi Germany and won against imperialist Japan. Now, Confederate memorabilia made a comeback, especially with the passage of *Brown vs. Board of Education* and the forced integration of the races. It was during this time that the Confederate battle flag reasserted itself as a flag of protest. Monument building spiked as Confederate monument were built in reaction.

Today, Confederate monument building continues, even while some are being torn down or moved. This may seem surprising, but the UDC and SCV are having to fight a rear-guard action, seeking to shed their racist past. Both the UDC and the SCV are considered hate groups

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<sup>6</sup> Wetta and Novelli, *The Long Reconstruction*, 72.

by the Southern Poverty Law Center. The “Heritage, not Hate” theme promulgated by the SCV has been somewhat effective. Recognition of African American members is also playing a role. African American women are joining the UDC. It could be argued that this gives cover to these groups, providing an inclusive witness. Lost Cause African American H.K. Edgerton (whom this author has corresponded with) is quite a spokesperson and an honorary member of both the SCV and UDC. Having walked across the South bearing a Confederate battle flag, he is a favorite at SCV meetings and has several YouTube videos out supporting the Confederate flag, Confederate statues and opposing federal tyranny.<sup>7</sup> The UDC has Georgia Benton, an African American, who joined in 2014.<sup>8</sup> Both groups require Confederate ancestry, whether slave or free.



**Figure 21: H. K. Edgerton, Black Neo-Confederate<sup>9</sup>**

<sup>7</sup> Brenton Mock, “Rewriting History: A Black Neo-Confederate Speaks,” *The Southern Poverty Law Center*, November 8, 2007. Accessed May 6, 2018, <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2007/11/08/rewriting-history-black-neo-confederate-speaks>.

<sup>8</sup> Chuck Mobley, “African-American Savannah woman takes her place among United Daughters of the Confederacy,” *Savannah Morning News* <http://www.savannahnow.com/accent/2014-02-22/african-american-savannah-woman-takes-her-place-among-united-daughters-confederacy>.

<sup>9</sup> Brooks D. Simpson, “What’s Wrong with This Picture?” *Crossroads*, January 16, 2012. Accessed May 16, 2018, <https://cwcrossroads.wordpress.com/2012/01/16/whats-wrong-with-this-picture/>.



**Figure 22: United Daughters of the Confederacy**  
**UDC members Georgia Benton, left, and Elizabeth Piechosinki visit the Confederate**  
**Veteran's section of Laurel Grove Cemetery. The Statue 'Silence' is in the background.”<sup>10</sup>**  
*Photo by Steven Bisson, Savannah Morning News.*

Though a considerable minority, one can scout the SCV and other YouTube channels and see several clips of recent monuments. What one notices is though, several of them are really rededications. The newer ones are also rather modest as compared to the ones done a century ago. One headstone granite monument was installed recently to a CSA unknown soldier in Brantley, Alabama at the Confederate Veterans Memorial Park, claiming 500 attended at its unveiling.<sup>11</sup> In 2015, the UDC dedicated Minorcan Monument, including the mentioning of three

<sup>10</sup> Chuck Mobley, “African American woman takes her place among United Daughters of the Confederacy,” *Savannah Morning News*, February 22, 2014. Accessed May 24, 2018, <http://www.savannahnow.com/article/20140222/NEWS/302229811>.

<sup>11</sup> “New Confederate Monument unveiled in Alabama,” *Fox News* August 28, 2017 YouTube Video 1:35, August 28, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PrGbgwCCDz0>.

black Confederates which they are still researching and looking to have grave markers for while being positively interviewed by an African American reporter. The event was hosted as in UDC events gone by, with women dressed in the antebellum dresses of widows, men in Confederate uniforms, singing, prayers, and solemn dedication.<sup>12</sup>

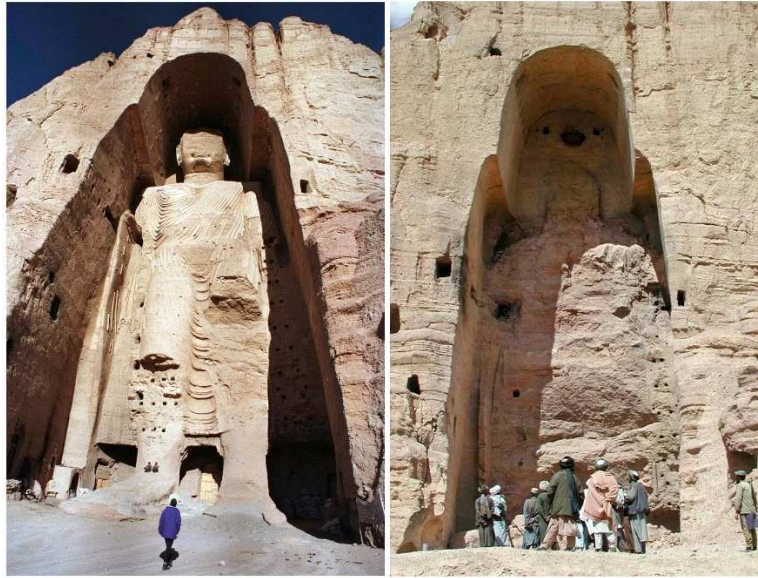


**Figure 23: Minorcan Monument Dedication. Savannah, Georgia, April 26, 2015.**  
*FirstCoast.tv*

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<sup>12</sup> “Minorcan Monument Dedication and The Confederacy,” *FirstCoast.tv*, April 25, 2015, YouTube Video, 8:12, April 26, 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=K0JgOC-O4MM>.

## Chapter 6: American Taliban, or Setting History Right? Changing Perceptions



**Figure 24: Destruction of a Statue of Buddha, Bamian, Afghanistan (1997)**  
**“A combination photo of the 180-foot-high Buddha statue in Bamian, central Afghanistan on Dec. 18, 1997, left, and after its destruction on March 26, 2001. (Muzammil Pasha, Sayed Salahuddin/Reuters)”<sup>1</sup>**

In March of 2001, the Taliban destroyed the 6<sup>th</sup> century Buddhist statues in Bamian, Afghanistan. These statues had been there for centuries, but they offended a Muslim dominated people with fundamentalist leanings. The “civilized” and art world was aghast. In 2003 following the invasion of Iraq, the statue of Saddam Hussein was toppled with the help of the American military. Many cheered.

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<sup>1</sup> Adam Taylor, “What Mohammad Omar took from Afghanistan that can never be returned,” *The Washington Post*, July 30, 2015. Accessed May 24, 2018, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2015/07/30/what-mullah-omar-took-from-afghanistan-that-can-never-be-returned/?noredirect=on&utm\\_term=.80407af51102](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2015/07/30/what-mullah-omar-took-from-afghanistan-that-can-never-be-returned/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.80407af51102).



**Figure 25: Destruction of a Statue of Saddam Hussein, Baghdad, Iraq (2003)**  
**“Iraqis watching a statue of Iraqi President Saddam Hussein as it is pulled down in Baghdad's al-Fardous square on April 9, 2003. Patrick Baz/AFP/Getty Images, File”<sup>2</sup>**

What are the perceptions of Confederate monuments today? Do the various times and stories behind these monuments nuance and help Americans decide whether to keep them (and perhaps contextualize them), remove them, or perhaps just destroy them? What about motives? Are some of those offended really *offended* at the statues, or do they serve as a *ruse* for other social and political agendas? Timothy Sedore asks, “Was it the madness of a twenty-one-year old man committing multiple homicides at a prayer meeting in South Carolina in 2015, or a thunder-struck impulse to take offense at a statue of Robert E. Lee in Charlottesville, Virginia, in 2017?”<sup>3</sup> Statues that have been dormant or forgotten have become flashpoints and forced many to reconsider their existence.

<sup>2</sup> MSNBC staff, “10 years ago today: Saddam Hussein statue toppled in Baghdad,” *MSNBC*, April 9, 2013. Accessed May 24, 2018, <http://www.msnbc.com/andrea-mitchell/10-years-ago-today-saddam-hussein-statue-top>.

<sup>3</sup> Timothy S. Sedore, *An Illustrated Guide to Virginia's Confederate Monuments* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2018), xxv.

Current mayor of New Orleans, Mitch Landrieu, removed four statues in 2017 in New Orleans making national news. He explains in his just released *In the Shadow of Statues- A White Southerner Confronts History* (2018) how these statues that he passed by everyday as a kid now came into focus:

Learning the story of these structures, why they were built and by whom, made clear to me, probably for the first time in my life, the lens through which many, though certainly not all, Southerners have seen our regional identity since the Civil War. The statues were not honoring history, or heroes. They were created as political weapons, part of an effort to hide the truth, which is that the Confederacy was on the wrong side of humanity. They helped distort history, putting forth a myth of Southern chivalry, the gallant “Lost Cause,” to distant from terror tactics that deprived African Americans of fundamental rights from Reconstruction years through Jim Crow until the civil rights movement and the federal court decisions of the 1960s...I hope that this book meets each reader wherever they are in their own journey on race, and that my own story gives each reader the courage to continue to move forward.”<sup>4</sup>

On the other end of the spectrum, in another recently published work *Robert E. Lee’s Orderly- A Modern Black Man’s Confederate Journey* (2018), African American Al Arnold writes about his great-great- grandfather Turner Hall, who was Robert E. Lee’s orderly, present at Appomattox and the surrender, and owned by Nathan Bedford Forrest. When Arnold found this out, he started some investigations and couldn’t believe that his great-great grandfather proudly lived and died a Confederate, was decorated and invited to the reunions between North and South soldiers, the last at Gettysburg in 1938. Arnold argues:

that African Americans dishonor their ancestors by attempting to destroy Confederate heritage and by neglecting the historical impact that slaves had on both sides of the Civil War ...Although Black history has always been a subject of intense excitement for me, I must admit that my zeal of being connected to a Black Confederate had to grow over time. For a modern Black man, the very thought of a Black Confederate can be repulsive. Proudly, as a result of embracing this dilemma through the eyes

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<sup>4</sup> Mitch Landrieu, *In the Shadow of Statues- A White Southerner Confronts History* (New York: Viking, 2018), 3,6.

of my great-great-grandfather, this journey has brought me to a deeper appreciation of who I am as an African American. It has heightened my love for history and the unique roles that African Americans played throughout the development of this great country.”<sup>5</sup>

Not just the statues themselves, but the multiple reactions along racial lines concerning them add to the discussion concerning their future. However, it has also been argued that this issue may have moved on. 2017 is not 2018, and like Gaines Foster’s broken monument story, the ghosts of the Confederacy have receded until the next flashpoint situation calls them haunting. From the latest (as of this writing) *UDC Magazine* one would never know there even was a recent controversy! Along with the usual articles and meetings information, pictures are presented on several pages with the *Daughters* in front of monuments, including Robert E. Lee in the US Capitol building for the Annual District of Columbia Commemoration of February 2, 2018.<sup>6</sup>

The October 2017 issue of *Civil War Times* contained an article quoting prominent historians and others concerning the public display of Confederate monuments. Its title was “Empty Pedestals- What Should Be Done with Civic Monuments to the Confederacy and its Leaders?” The three options were part of that conversation. James J. Broomall, director of the George Tyler Moore Center for the Study of the Civil War Shepherd University stated that “Make no mistake, the bronze sentinels and stone plinths found primarily in Southern cities and towns offer an incomplete, even dangerous message if they remain silent....Interpretive signage and additional memorials or statuary offer one way to convey the thick historical and aesthetic

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<sup>5</sup> Al Arnold, *Robert E. Lee’s Orderly- A Modern Black Man’s Confederate Journey* (self-published [www.orderlyforlee.com](http://www.orderlyforlee.com), 2018), 15,17. Foreword by Otis W. Pickett, Professor of History, Mississippi College.

<sup>6</sup> *UDC Magazine* June/July 2018 issue, Richmond, VA. 17.

layers associated with these relics.”<sup>7</sup> William Davis, retired Virginia Tech history professor stated and warned:

Confederates represent a part of our history. Judge past figures by today's values, and our Capitol's "Statuary Hall" would become "Empty Pedestal Hall." Instead, consider Budapest's Memento Park. Rather than destroy statuary from the Communist era, the city moved it into one park as a "monument" to democracy's triumph." Lost Cause" mythology claims that Confederates seceded over self-determination. Ironically, as local populations today reevaluate who to memorialize, that argument is ascendant. Urban demographics will continue to shift, along with popular will, meaning that in the future if the people so desire, ***Davis and Lee may march back into town.*** (emphasis mine)<sup>8</sup>

UVA professor and Civil War authority Gary Gallagher believes in adding additional statues, not removing them, “I also support erecting new monuments devoted to previously slighted groups or events. The controversy over the equestrian statue of Robert E. Lee in Charlottesville is a good example of current debates. I would preserve the statue, add panels discussing its history, rename the park, and commission a memorial to the more than 250 men born in Albemarle County who served in United States Colored Troops units.”<sup>9</sup> African American and founder of *The Slave Dwelling Project* looks at the ramifications of removal:

In our efforts to sanitize history by removing Confederate monuments that are reminders of slavery and white supremacy, we must ask ourselves: Where do we stop? As an African- American male, I do not buy into the "Heritage not Hate" defense of Confederate flags and monuments. That said, I am in support of Confederate monuments remaining on the landscape. My reason being, Confederate soldiers were defending a way of life that was passed down to them. If we remove Confederate monuments, then we should also remove the monuments of their fathers and the fathers before them. In this sanitizing of history, we will eventually get to our Founding Fathers, some of whom were slave owners.

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<sup>7</sup>“Empty pedestals: what should be done with civic monuments to the confederacy and its leaders?” *Civil War Times* no. 5 (2017): 26. *General One File*. EBSCOhost (accessed March 29, 2018), page 28.

<sup>8</sup> “Empty Pedestals,” 31.

<sup>9</sup> “Empty Pedestals,” 31.

How would Washington, D.C., look without the Washington Monument or the Jefferson Memorial? <sup>10</sup>

Megan Kate Nelson, and author of *Ruin Nation: Destruction and the American Civil War* simply states, “They should be destroyed, and their broken pieces left in situ.”<sup>11</sup> Art historians take a different trek, “many art historians have also joined the debate about what should be done with the Confederate monuments. The consensus among most scholars is that the statues should be kept but moved.”<sup>12</sup>

While people applaud the destruction of the statue of Saddam Hussein with the American invasion, and no one wants to build Nazi monuments (except perhaps the Nazis), iconoclasm has consequences. President Trump was criticized for making a slippery slope argument concerning Robert E. Lee and Washington, but following Charlottesville, that connection was made. Other slaveholders, like Washington and Jefferson could also be removed. Recently, statues of Columbus have been desecrated in New York, as have statutes of Catholic saints in California for their alleged exploitation of Native Americans. Historical memory is so poor, removal without discussion may miss important historical context of the national character to other generations, warts and all.

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<sup>10</sup> “Empty Pedestals,” 34.

<sup>11</sup> “Empty Pedestals,” 34.

<sup>12</sup> Kelley Helmstutler Di Dio, ed., *Confederate Monuments: Revisiting Our History* (Burlington, VT: University of Vermont/Art and Its Destruction, 2017), 69.



**Figure 26: Columbus statue destroyed in Westchester Park, New York City, August 2017.<sup>13</sup>**



**Figure 27: Junipero Serra Statue vandalized in Mission Hills, California. August 2017.<sup>14</sup>**

<sup>13</sup> Terence Cullens, "Columbus statue destroyed in Westchester park," *New York Daily News*, August 30, 2017. Accessed June 2, 2018, <http://www.nydailynews.com/news/national/christopher-columbus-statue-destroyed-westchester-park-article-1.3454368>.

<sup>14</sup> "Junipero Serra statue vandalized in Mission Hills." *CBS Los Angeles*, August 17, 2017. Accessed June 2, 2018, <http://losangeles.cbslocal.com/2017/08/17/junipero-serra-statue-vandalized/>.

## Conclusion

This author is a white German born naturalized American (2001) male citizen. Having grown up in the Washington, D.C. area, he became intrigued by all things American history, but especially the Civil War. Though a Union state, Maryland is below the Mason-Dixon line, and is in the South. Washington D.C. is its own unique world but travel north of D.C. or south into Virginia past the suburbs, and a different culture emerges. Here the Civil War and its tensions with race relations is remarkably still present, and not just in its monuments. Even in 2017, this author saw a huge Confederate flag fly off I-95 north of Richmond just before the visitor's center for Virginia past D.C.



**Figure 28: Confederate Battle Flag, I-95, south of Washington, DC. July 2017.**  
*Photograph by Andreas W. Reif*

Even inside the state capitol in Richmond, the second Confederate national flag awaits as one enters the visitor's area. Robert E. Lee's statue is also present.



**Figure 29: Confederate flag (far right), statue of Robert E. Lee in Richmond, Virginia state capitol building, July 2017.**

*Photographs by Andreas W. Reif*

Neo-Confederacy is a force to be reckoned with. Neo-Confederacy is the legacy of secessionist thinking and state's rights given by Jefferson Davis. While one may consider someone like Lochlainn Seabrook a biased pseudo-scholar, his arguments finds resonance among his followers. An author of over fifty books, this is the type of literature and reasoning that is

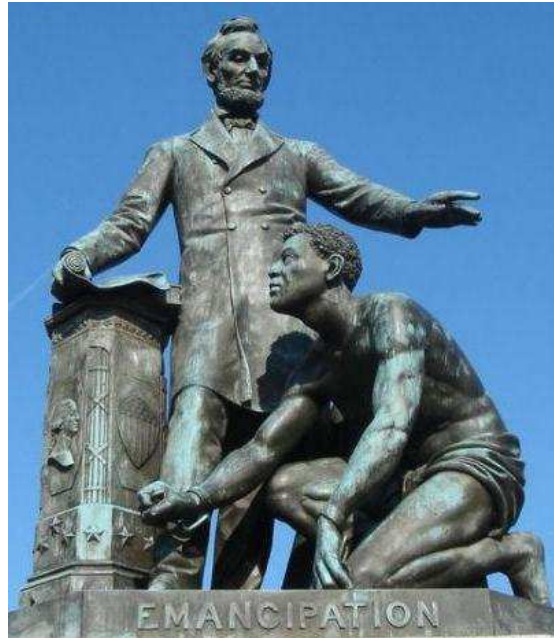
emulated by other neo-Confederates and continues the Lost Cause narrative on a pop level.<sup>1</sup> In his 2012 book, *Everything You Ever Were Taught About the Civil War is Wrong- Ask a Southerner* he even includes a forward and section from Nelson W. Winbush, an African American educator and grandson of Private Louis Napoleon Nelson, C.S.A.<sup>2</sup> Seabrook's very recent *Confederate Monuments- Why Every American Should Honor Confederate Soldiers and Their Memorials* is a 431-page pictorial guide and explanation of various Confederate monuments in a number of states, North and South (and England) documenting their erection, and the stated goals of each from this neo-Confederate perspective. He sees these as heritage, and certainly not hateful, and is part of the mythological narrative that thousands of blacks willingly fought for the Confederacy. A minority of African Americans agree.

Works like Seabrook's are problematic. They keep a myth alive, perpetuating a storyline that is divisive, not to mention questionable in terms of historic accuracy. Conversely, though, the lack of historical knowledge among Americans, the political posturing that wishes to remove not just Confederate statues, but all past American heritage, is also problematic. There is much myth concerning the *Emancipationist* stream as well. Statues of Lincoln and the racial hierarchy here too may be problematic, containing imagery which would by today's standards be considered unacceptable (see figure 30). Will Lincoln statues be torn down as well?

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<sup>1</sup> Andreas W. Reif, "HIS 502 4-2" (*Southern New Hampshire University*, October 25, 2015).

<sup>2</sup> Lochlainn Seabrook. *Everything You Ever Were Taught About the Civil War is Wrong- Ask a Southerner* (Franklin, TN: Sea Raven Press, 2012), Introduction.



**Figure 30: Thomas Ball, Freedmen's Memorial to Abraham Lincoln, Washington, D.C. (1876).**

*Wikipedia Public Domain.*

If one has to be a saint, even someone like Martin Luther King could come down some day because of a #MeToo Movement. Many people, black and white were even unaware of the hundred-year-old statues in their own towns until recent events. Freedom of speech is also at stake. The United States is a relatively open and innovative society. Some speech offends, but that is precisely the speech that needs to be protected. If being offended is the baseline, nearly all art and culture would have to disappear. Someone will always be offended.

The "South" is also not only the domain of Confederates' ancestry, but Unionists and African Americans, who together actually formed a majority in parts of the South though not in its collective memory.<sup>3</sup> Confederates are not the only Southern voices of the Civil War. If statue

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<sup>3</sup> W. Fitzhugh Brundage, *The Southern Past- A Clash of Race and Memory* (The Belknap Press of Harvard University press, 2005), 1-4.

removal is to be done, it should be done at the local level and after much discussion. The Confederate statues that are on state land, in front of court houses or state office building, in traffic circles or public squares, would be the first to go if they do. The many national parks, from Gettysburg, Manassas, Antietam, Appomattox, Richmond, etc. keep alive a memory of the Civil War in a way that a secluded museum cannot. Sadly, this author having lived decades in the North is now only noticing Union (GAR) statues and monuments since the writing of this project. Many northern ones look neglected and in disrepair. The enthusiasm for preservation that one sees in Richmond's Hollywood Cemetery and other sites seems to be lacking in the northern monuments. Perhaps it is this heritage, race and history tension that keeps this all alive, for better or worse. Keeping the statues where they are, however, provides opportunity for needed historical and educational discussions.

As an aspiring historian, this author is also a Christian theologian of sorts, holding two seminary degrees. A religious and metaphysical lens concerning the statues should also be considered. For many African Americans these statues are relics, "idols" to man's pride and monuments to the abuse of their race. American historiography has been complicit, not just in the South, but also in the North, when it comes to silencing African American voices. This, in a nation overwhelmingly professing Christianity, should make this even more morally reprehensible. Suppose the South had won? Would they have abolished slavery? Would race relations have been better without force Reconstruction? Would the narrative of The Lost Cause have even happened, or at least been vastly different? What ifs are always problematic. However, we don't live in a world of what ifs, but reality.

The Apostle Paul had to deal with a practical problem in first century Christianity. Converts were coming out of paganism. Eating meat sacrificed to idols posed no problem for a Christian who knew they were false gods having no power. It presented a problem though to some converts in reminding them of their previous lives. Paul writes:

**1 Corinthians 8:11-13 King James Version (KJV)**

<sup>11</sup> And through thy knowledge shall the weak brother perish, for whom Christ died?

<sup>12</sup> But when ye sin so against the brethren, and wound their weak conscience, ye sin against Christ.

<sup>13</sup> Wherefore, if meat make my brother to offend, I will eat no flesh while the world standeth, lest I make my brother to offend.

Many of these statues offend. They are the “meat sacrificed to idols.” False gods? They certainly do not project the *Abolitionist Cause*, *Unionist Cause*, and falsely allow for the *Reconciliationist Cause*. They mostly follow only the *Lost Cause*. Despite a strongly professing biblical southern Christian culture, these statues are a reminder that whites allowed reunion at the expense of African Americans. As Brundage states, “When white southerners set about codifying their heroic narrative and filing the civic landscape with monuments to it, they were conscious that the rituals of black memory represented a form of cultural resistance. For a century after the Civil War, whites ensured that public spaces conspicuously excluded any recognition of the recalled

past of blacks.”<sup>4</sup> Perhaps at a time when people thought like this, when even the more secular Ivy League gave “scientific” reasons for white supremacy and championed nation state building, it made sense (at least to whites). These statues are now a blot on America’s history going forward. It is worth noting the sentiments of former slave Frederick Douglass, discussing memorialization and Christianity written in 1852 at the 4<sup>th</sup> of July oration in Rochester, New York prior to the Civil War:

What, to the American slave, is your 4<sup>th</sup> of July? I answer: a day that reveals to him, more than all other days in a year, the gross injustice and cruelty to which he is a constant victim. To him your celebration is a sham; your boasted liberty, an unholy license; your national greatness, swelling vanity... You boast of liberty, your superior civilization, and your pure Christianity, while the whole political power of the nation (as embodied in the two great political parties) is solemnly pledged to support and perpetuate the enslavement of three millions of your countrymen. You hurl your anathemas at the crown-headed tyrants of Russia and Austria and pride yourself on your democratic institutions, while you consent to be the mere *tools* and *bodyguards* of the tyrants of Virginia and Carolina... You shed tears over fallen Hungary...but, in regard to the ten thousand wrongs of the American slave, you would enforce the strictest silence and would hail him as an enemy of the nation who dares to make those wrongs the subject of public discourse.<sup>5</sup>

When this author’s home country, Germany, reunited in 1990, the Berlin Wall came down- but not all of it. Part of the wall remained up to remind the Germans that they were once divided. Often the earlier Nazi argument is invoked as well in this discussion. No Nazi flags, salutes or symbology is permitted in Germany. There is no “free speech” here. Hitler’s bunker was destroyed to have no rallying points. So, what of Stone Mountain? The Confederate monument at Arlington? The many markers, roadways and schools? What of Robert E. Lee? Is

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<sup>4</sup> W. Fitzhugh Brundage, *The Southern Past- A Clash of Race and Memory*, 10.

<sup>5</sup> Frederick Douglass 1852 4<sup>th</sup> of July oration at Rochester, NY as quoted in W.E.B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction*, 14.

he really to be equated with Nazis? Moral equivalency of the Confederates and Nazis needs to be really be established. All nations “sin,” and it is easy to label someone with the term Nazi without looking at the ramifications of such an indictment. Robert E. Lee made a decision, perhaps a bad one, to fight for his “country” (Virginia) threatened with invasion at a time when the role of federal and state government was thought of differently. This author does not equate the Confederacy with Nazi Germany, but neither should the “sins” of the Confederacy, as well as the complicity of the North in the original Constitution and laws that followed be swept under a rug. More voices should be added to the historical discussion, not less.

An important point in the debate is that state grounds represent all citizens and display the ideals of that state. Removing the Confederate monuments here makes the most sense. Second, those on military grounds (like at Arlington) should be left alone, though some additional contextualization could be appropriate. Let the dead, especially the military dead, have their grave, and markers affirm what they believe they died for. *They have no recourse*. Other monuments can be removed to private lands or museums. Having said that, this author hopes *some* stay for teaching purposes, perhaps like the Berlin Wall has. Richmond’s Monument Avenue’s five Confederate statues have had a non-Confederate statue added (African American tennis player Arthur Ashe, 1995), making the avenue more inclusive. The Confederate monuments here are aesthetic masterpieces, too large to be hidden in a museum. The Davis statue “may be the most expensive Civil War monument in Virginia” and “between eighty thousand and two hundred thousand people” came to its unveiling 1907.<sup>6</sup> That means it was very

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<sup>6</sup> Sedore, *An Illustrated Guide to Virginia’s Confederate Monuments*, 145-146.

important to a section of the population at one point, and tourists still flock to Monument Avenue to visit. Also, as Garry Gallagher states, “fewer and fewer are going to museums.”<sup>7</sup>

New statues could be erected next to current Confederate statues as in Richmond. Statues could be built honoring the Union dead that fought for the South, as there also should be slave monuments. In Germany they have markers on streets and in various location commemorating where people were rounded up to be deported to concentration camps. There should be plaques in New Orleans and other cities like Alexandria, Virginia, designating places where slaves were sold. Silencing speech is not the answer, more speech is. The Civil War Museum in Richmond is an example where multiple lenses are simultaneously given for all aspects of the war. They contain the Confederacy (red), Union (blue), and Freedom (black) lenses for all their exhibits at Tredegar Works, the Museum of the Confederacy (with the Confederate White House) and Appomattox. Christy Coleman, a female African American is its chief director. Hearing and seeing three versions of the same story is highly educational and does not force only one interpretation.

It is 2018. We no longer think of race, ethnicity, gender, and other aspects of humanity the way people did in 1860. Without destroying or white-washing the past, statues and memorabilia are public declarations of what a people believe. Our perceptions have changed, and so should how we respond to our monuments, and as we build new ones, keeping in mind that those perceptions may once again be challenged by a later generation. When judging the past, we should also be careful knowing that we too will be judged.

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<sup>7</sup> Gary Gallagher, “American Forum, the Worst First Year of a Presidency” *WVPT Public Media*, May 29, 2016, YouTube, 26:46, Accessed May 29, 2016. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NLz15nXyS4c>.

**Jesus according to Matthew 7:3-5 King James Version (KJV)**

<sup>3</sup> And why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye?

<sup>4</sup> Or how wilt thou say to thy brother, Let me pull out the mote out of thine eye; and, behold, a beam is in thine own eye?

<sup>5</sup> Thou hypocrite, first cast out the beam out of thine own eye; and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye.

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