Something So Dim It Must Be Holy: Civil War Commemorative Sculpture in Arkansas

1886-1934

By Charles Russell Logan

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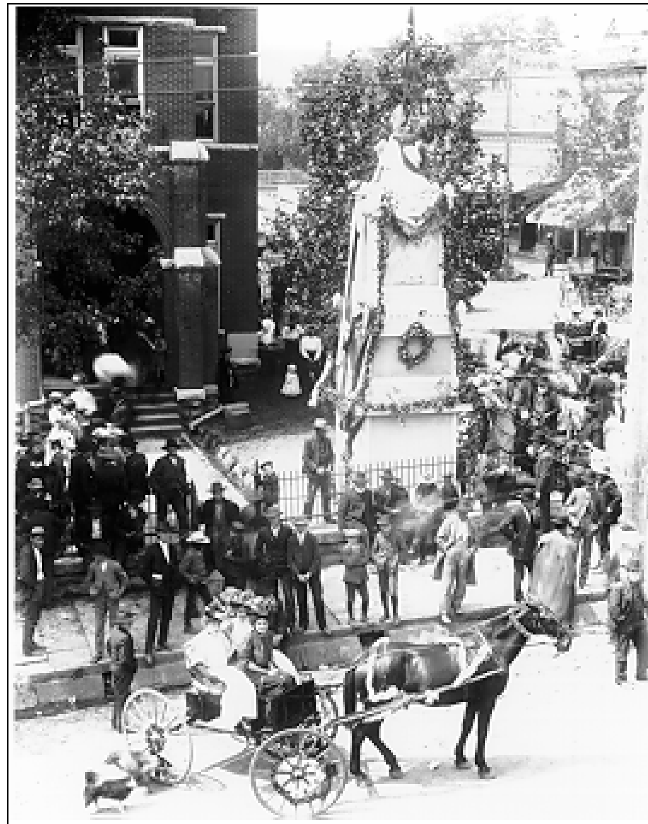

Batesville Confederate Monument

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Something So Dim It Must Be Holy
Civil War Commemorative Sculpture in Arkansas, 1886-1934

I. Introduction

> It wasn't for slavery,
> that stale red herring of Yankee knavery,
> Nor even states-rights, at least not solely
> But something so dim it must be holy.[i]
>
> Stephen Vincent Benet,
> from *John Brown's Body*

On June 2, 1934, members of the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC), Hot Springs Chapter No. 80, gathered in Como Square along with Hot Springs Mayor Leo P. McLaughlin, the Hot Springs High School band and an enthusiastic crowd to see the unveiling of the UDC's commemorative sculpture of a Confederate soldier, a project the Hot Springs chapter had worked on for more than a decade.[ii] The dedication ceremony included performances of "Dixie," "The Star-Spangled Banner" and "Taps" by the high school band. The crowd also heard speeches by, among others, McLaughlin and Mrs. C.S. Lothrope, the UDC's Arkansas Division president. Lothrope "paid a very beautiful tribute to the heroes of the Confederate army and to all southern heroes." The Mayor "lauded the chapter for erecting the monument, declaring it a credit to the state as well as to the city."[iii]

No one in attendance that day could know the ceremony would in time come to represent the passing of an era in state history, but the dedication of the Hot Springs Confederate Memorial was the final time in the historic period that Arkansans would unveil a Civil War commemorative sculpture. By 1934, Arkansas already was home to more than 30 Civil War monuments, including at least three honoring Union troops. Nationally the landscape was literally dotted with thousands of Civil War monuments. Yet, in 1934, almost 70 years after the war, Hot Springs was one of the last cities "of size" in Arkansas without a marble or bronze Confederate "soldier" in its downtown area.[iv] Hot Springs Chapter No. 80 was the third oldest UDC group in the Arkansas Division and had long played a leading role in the state organization. Hot Springs also had hosted the national UDC convention twice, in 1898 and 1925.[v] It was somewhat unusual for such a strong and respected chapter to be without a monument to show off its Confederate pride, and the members of the Hot Springs chapter worked tirelessly to correct this. In the 1920s and early 1930s, the group hosted numerous tag days, card parties, teas and other functions until it finally raised enough money to purchase a McNeel Marble Company statue. The women also persuaded the city of Hot Springs to donate a prominent piece of land -- Como Square in the heart of downtown Hot Springs -- as a home for their new statue.[vi]

Citizens and ancestors of the former Confederate States raised more monuments to a defeat than any other civilization in history, and their dedication to a "Lost Cause" is in large part the

reason why Civil War monuments outnumber those to all other notable events in American history.[vii] In the 69-year interval between the close of the Civil War and the Hot Springs monument dedication, the nation witnessed Reconstruction, industrialization, urbanization, the Spanish-American War, heavy immigration, World War I, economic expansion, a stock market collapse and the Great Depression. By 1934, the celebration of the Confederate soldier and what he fought for should have become something of an anachronism. However, despite the crushing weight of history, the idea of a "Lost Cause" survived well into the twentieth century, its ideals kept alive mostly by southern patriotic groups such as the UDC, the United Confederate Veterans (UCV) and the Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV). As the UDC's Arkansas Division historian said of her group's mission in 1907: "While the aim of [the United Daughters of the Confederacy] should be to silence rancor and sectional prejudice, at the same time it should strive to keep alive a deep-seated love for the history of our South ... It behooves us to make a deliberate effort to study the achievements of our soldiers in war and peace, as well as to erect columns of marble and granite ... Let us celebrate their glory in poetry and song, remembering that while we have our faces to the front, their holiest memories are swept back into the past."[viii]

Of course, celebrating the Confederate soldier and what he fought for meant forgetting the destruction caused by the war for southern nationalism. In Confederate Arkansas in 1865, few felt like trumpeting the Confederate cause. The state was a socially, economically, psychologically and politically shattered entity. One Arkansas diarist noted at the end of the Civil War that the Confederate army and its citizens were left "defeated and scattered, our resources nearly exhausted, and our men dispirited and demoralized."[ix] Another diarist of the time wrote that Arkansas was "in a state of perfect anarchy. We have no Government, military or civil, a condition most to be dreaded of all others!"[x]

The impact on the state in terms of human cost was profound. An estimate of Arkansas casualties during the war concluded that 6,862 of the Confederate soldiers from Arkansas died during the war from disease or battle. Federal deaths included 1,713 Arkansans. Few Arkansas families escaped mourning for relatives or friends killed in the conflict. The total casualties represented more than 12 percent of the 69,016 white men in the state between the ages of 15 and 40, which one Arkansas historian called the "real legacy of the war for Southern independence on white Arkansans."[xi]

Historian Frederick Jackson Turner wasn't thinking about southern patriotic groups when he wrote that "Each Age writes the history of the past anew with reference to the conditions uppermost in its own time," though he could he could have been.[xii] The southerners who joined and participated in patriotic organizations and their events by the thousands in the late 1800s and early 1900s celebrated a vastly different legacy than the "real" one left by the war in Confederate Arkansas and throughout the South in 1865. In one period, from 1898-1912, almost 100,000 people attended each yearly UCV reunion and "general festival of the South." In 1907, the dedication of a monument to Jefferson Davis in Richmond drew 200,000 spectators, the largest crowd ever assembled to honor the Confederacy. The enthusiastic response to Confederate patriotic activities during this period had its genesis as much in the Gilded Age as in the antebellum era. According to Gaines M. Foster, a "Lost Cause" historian, "Although this Confederate celebration had its roots in persisting anxieties resulting from defeat, increasing fears generated by the social changes of the late nineteenth century provided the immediate impetus for the revived interest in the Lost Cause. In the public commendation of the Confederate cause and its soldiers, veterans and other southerners found relief from the lingering fear that defeat had somehow dishonored them. At the same time, the rituals and rhetoric of the celebration offered a memory of personal sacrifice and a model of social order that met the needs of a society experiencing rapid change and disorder."[xiii]

Southern patriotic organizations were not merely quaint, backward-looking groups satiated

and sedated by nostalgia for a bygone era; instead, they were a potent cultural and political force that attempted to regenerate, apply and preserve the antebellum social order based on the notion of man's (both white and black) innate inequality. Through commemorations and sponsorship of oratories and written histories of the War Between the States, Southern patriotic groups engaged in cultural warfare to establish a "Confederate tradition," a dominant complex of attitudes and emotions that constituted the white South's view of history and its application in contemporary times.[xiv] Essentially, the tradition boiled down to an appreciation of the virtues of elite rule, a fear of the enfranchisement of blacks, and reverence for the Confederate cause. In Arkansas and throughout the South, according to historian Fred Arthur Bailey, the patriotic groups' activities "crafted an image of the past suitable to their particular needs. For generations they had produced an intellectual paradigm that not only justified racial separation, but also stressed the virtues of an aristocratic South as contrasted to a degenerate and aggressive Yankee society." History texts, speeches and memorial celebrations combined to form a public memory that secured in the "hearts and minds [of southerners] victories denied in the military defeat of 1865" and also immunized Southerners against democratic reforms, such as the enfranchisement of blacks, which threatened many Southern whites. In Arkansas, an alliance between Confederate patriotic societies and the state educational establishment ensured the presentation of "a canted interpretation of the past." The groups believed it was important for Arkansas's children to be "guarded from false shame as to the political actions of their ancestors," as Mrs. Richard B. Willis, a historian for the Arkansas Division of the UDC, said in 1904.[xv]

In the battle of traditions, the South once again found a worthy opponent in the North. Union soldiers liked to believe that the Civil War was a once-in-a-millennium struggle to preserve American democracy, and their primary patriotic organization, the Grand Army of the Republic, helped ensure the public would never forget the Union soldier's part in this heroic endeavor. Just as southerners celebrated the Cavalier, northerners worshiped the idea of the citizen soldier, ideally a farm boy who immediately stopped his plowing to answer the nation's call for men to preserve the Union. In time, the Grand Army of the Republic developed its own traditions revolving around unconditional loyalty to the Union, the American flag, and patriotism.[xvi]

The ideas incorporated in the Confederate and Union traditions might seem naive nonsense to today's American citizen, but to Victorian Americans, who were hungry for tradition in their still-young nation, the terms were neither oxymoronic nor absurd. "Instant" traditions fulfilled definite social, political, cultural and ideological needs, and the nation witnessed the beginning of an astonishing number of traditions in the late nineteenth century. The idea of "inventing" traditions was not without its comic moments. For example, in 1892, graduate students and their instructors at the University of Chicago met to organize a graduate dorm. "The suggestion was made that any person desiring to establish a tradition should present the same in writing, and, after lying on the table for two weeks, it could be established by a two thirds vote... ."[xvii]

The influence of previous patriotic societies and veterans organizations in the U.S. had been comparatively modest in the years prior to the Civil War. Conversely, the Confederate and Union traditions would be consequential well into twentieth century, and four factors aided post-war patriotic societies in becoming culturally and politically important. First, the Civil War produced unprecedented numbers of potential members. Second, continued economic growth produced a level of prosperity that aided associational activity on a broad scale. Third, the rapid growth of cities helped in the creation of numerically strong local chapters. Finally, rapid expansion of a national rail network made it easier for veterans and their families to attend regular encampments and meetings.[xviii]

Born out of unresolved debates from a bloody and divisive war, the Confederate and Union traditions represented ways in which people from both sides could ameliorate their own lingering

anxieties over the war. The contradictions that had to be overcome were complicated: remembrance of a great victory versus the convenient amnesia of humiliating defeat; reconciliation versus intransigence; conflicting perceptions of patriotism versus treason ... and "the need to depoliticize the past without making it vacuous or meaningless."[xix] Unfortunately, most of these conflicts were merely soothed, not resolved. By 1915, the celebration of Golden Jubilee of the end of the Civil War, a synthesis of ideals from both traditions became the popularly accepted interpretation of the meaning of the war: Secession had been wrong and preserving the Union right; blacks were not equal to white men, but terminating the moral blot of slavery was a good thing; Reconstruction was misguided because attempts to provide equal rights for former slaves resulted in injustices against white southerners. Not everyone believed this, of course, but the aforementioned themes appeared in a surprising number of histories, fictional works and films of the period.[xx] This selective memory and partial amnesia helped North and South achieve a certain measure of sectional reconciliation. However, the road to such a synthesis also had damaging effects, allowing political parties to return to sectional power and diverting attention away from the problem of Negro inequality -- a problem that would rise again as the "second reconstruction" in the 1950s and race riots in northern cities in the 1960s. Ultimately, sectional traditions provided diversions that allowed people to ignore a discussion about the fatal flaws that drove them to fight the most bloody war in American history.[xxi] Instead, they preferred to "speak in the language of monuments."[xxii]

II. The Language of Monuments

The use of monuments, architecture and other works of art to demonstrate a sense of continuity or allegiance to the past was not an invention of Gilded Age America. The Aztecs, for example, used pictographic images carved in stone to assist memory, classical cultures used sculpture to depict gods and the most notable political and military leaders, and various religions had long used iconography as part of worship. In the early nineteenth century, Napoleon found that public monuments honoring French military heroes impressed the public and promoted devotion among his generals. However, never had public monuments been used to celebrate events, ideas or heroes on a such a broad scale as in the post-Civil War era. The decades between 1870 and 1910 comprised the most notable period in U.S. history for monuments in honor of "mighty warriors and unsung heroes" and spread a sort of contagion as plaques and other memory aids became vogue. Michael Kammen, an American cultural historian, suggests that the boom in erecting monuments was caused in part by the replacement of religion in civic culture with nationalism and political ideology.[xxiii]

Most of the early Civil War monuments were placed in cemeteries. In the Victorian era, cemeteries often functioned as an additional town park, offering a peaceful spot for a family picnic.[xxiv] The North was the first to break from this convention *en masse*, erecting numerous monuments in town squares and parks starting in the late 1860s. This trend of building monuments in the city rather than in the cemetery caused little of the debate in the North that it would later engender in the South. Often, because the victorious northerners could afford them, these monuments were quite large, such as the Soldiers and Sailors' Monument in Brooklyn's Prospect Park, which stood 71-feet high and cost $250,000. Rarely did the grandiose scale of many Union monuments cause controversy.[xxv]

By contrast, Southerners often were divided over where to locate their monuments and the style in which they should be constructed. For example, in 1886 the women's memorial group of Little Rock decided to construct a tribute to the Confederate dead, but they divided over whether to place it in a cemetery or town square. After a decade of fund raising, the memorial group had only $285. In 1897, Colonel J.N. Smithee, editor of the *Arkansas Gazette*, launched a campaign to raise

$5,000 for a monument "that the children of veterans can feel proud of." The catch was that Smithee wanted the monument in a prominent place, not in a cemetery, so that "we can mourn our dead in the silent cemeteries and commemorate their deeds from the house tops." At the 1901 state encampment of the United Confederate Veterans, a heated debate ensued when one veteran offered a resolution calling for the placement of the monument in a cemetery. The Arkansas UDC submitted a report to the convention recommending a graveyard because a cemetery "was the one place in Arkansas that will remain throughout the ages sacred to the memory of our Confederate dead." The report added that the monument would probably be of modest character and thus would be best suited for a cemetery. In response, a veteran said that the memorial groups in his home town of Helena consigned their monuments to a cemetery where they "went unnoticed by those whom it was intended to instruct."[xxvi]

The veterans voted 61 1/2 to 44 1/2 in favor of placing the monument in a city park. Eventually, the state legislature kicked in more than $5,000 and noted sculptor Frederick Wellington Ruckstuhl received the commission. The finished product, an elaborate work featuring a bronze representation of "Fame" atop a stone pillar with a bronze likeness of a Confederate soldier on a tier below her, was unveiled on June 3, 1905. Its location was in front of the as-yet uncompleted state capitol building.[xxvii]

The Little Rock Confederate Soldiers Monument is good example of the change in the nature of commemoration that started around 1885. The move toward dedicating monuments in towns showed the growing strength of the Confederate tradition. In the first years after Appomattox, southerners' bereavement over the loss of the war led to the mourning of their soldiers and the "dead cause." Southerners genuinely feared reprisals from the occupying Federal army if they attempted to bring Confederate commemoration into town from the graveyards. As the first cultural expression of what would grow into the Confederate tradition, the memorial movement began the process of interpreting defeat. Throughout the South -- but not acting in concert -- communities and their memorial associations created cemeteries, erected monuments and established a memorial day. In the South, memorial ventures were about the only cultural expression concerned with extracting meaning from the war. (Memorial day fell on a different day depending on what southern state a person visited. Arkansas's fell on June 3, Jefferson Davis' birthday.) The North quickly adopted the southern custom of decorating graves and established its own memorial day. Some historians have claimed that southern memorial ventures were "a clever subterfuge" for celebrating the southern cause. However, it's clear that most of the early memorial activities revolved around mourning, not celebration. Gaines M. Foster believes the early southern memorial activities were something of a ghost dance that gave authority to the deceased, ensuring the dead became powerful cultural symbols.[xxviii]

The monuments completed by 1885 differed significantly from the later ones that usually featured a Confederate soldier atop a tall shaft on the courthouse lawn. Early monuments incorporated themes of ceremonial bereavement, and more than 90 percent of them had some funereal aspect, either in placement or design, and 70 percent were in cemeteries. Apparently most southerners agreed with the historian of the Charleston (South Carolina) Ladies Memorial Association who maintained that "a memorial of a lost cause" should "not be a triumphal memorial. Placed in the City of the Dead, and near the entrance, the sight of it cannot fail to call back the memory of the sad history which it commemorates." (A notable exception to the funerary trend involved the 1875 unveiling in Richmond of the first statue to Stonewall Jackson. The crowd at the dedication was massive and raucous.) Although some memorial associations chose romantic Victorian cemetery sculptures for their monuments, most groups in this period chose simple, dignified obelisks or some slight derivation. The oratories accompanying these unveilings were generally somber.[xxix]

The observance of memorial day continued through the 1880s, although its nature began to change. In 1889, at a Memorial Day service in Augusta, Georgia, for example, a man read the following poem: "Yes, soon with the tolling/Of Funeral Knells,/Will Mingle the rolling/Of Famed `Rebel Yells.' Be ready to meet it --/This Great Day so near, --/And zealously greet it, Ye Citizens dear." The poem was hardly an invocation to mourning. Just as the tone of the memorial day oratories gave way to defiant celebration, so did monuments and the mood of the dedication services.[xxx] The unveiling of a Robert E. Lee Monument in Richmond on May 29, 1890, drew a crowd of 100,000 who cheered wildly and tossed their hats in the air as the canvas was pulled from the sculpture.[xxxi] This was a distinct change from the wistful commemoration of Lee's tomb at Washington and Lee University in 1883, an affair attended by 8,000 people, including the grieving widows of generals George Pickett, J.E.B. Stuart and Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson.[xxxii]

Led after 1889 by the new southern patriotic groups -- the UCV, UDC and SCV -- the number of monument dedications continued to increase through the turn of the century. Between 1886-1899, the proportion of Confederate monuments placed in cemeteries declined from 70 percent to 55 percent. The use of funereal designs dropped to 40 percent. From 1886 to 1899, more than 60 percent of the new monuments featured a Confederate soldier. Obviously, as Gaines Foster notes, "the memory of the war was no longer relegated to the city of the dead."[xxxiii]

The increase in the number of monuments placed in cities rather than in cemeteries coincided with the enormous growth of cities in general. This urban expansion provided sculptors unprecedented opportunity to create monuments and architectural works for civil enhancement. At the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893, architectural and freestanding sculptures were ubiquitous and designed to make ideological assumptions "stand out both formally and iconographically." The increase in the importance of sculpture in cityscapes led to the creation of the National Sculpture Society in New York, 1893. The society -- founded by Frederick Wellington Ruckstuhl, who, as mentioned, sculpted the Confederate Soldiers Memorial in Little Rock -- hoped to promote commissions for American sculpture in homes, public buildings, parks and squares. The society intended works to be personally expressive as well as tools for socialization.[xxxiv] Those cynical about the sincerity of the society's emphasis on the creation of works for socialization might find Ruckstuhl's description of his Confederate Soldiers Memorial of interest:

> On the lower pedestal stands a bronze figure, nearly eight feet high, of a young Arkansas soldier grasping the butt end of a flagstaff while the flag flutters back and about him. With feet firmly planted, he holds his ground in the midst of the din of battle and wreck and ruin, apparently unmindful of everything but the holding of the half-destroyed banner in the face of overpowering numbers. On his face are expressed that profound devotion to the cause of his people and that indomitable grit and courage which have immortalized the Confederate

soldier.[xxxv]

The building of monuments featuring the lone Confederate soldier, while not as artistically expressive as the Confederate Soldiers Monument, nonetheless helped convey ideological assumptions and aided in socialization to the Confederate tradition. The stone or bronze warriors atop these memorials hardly seemed suited for a war memorial, the soldiers usually standing at ease with rifles resting on the ground -- hardly a representation of the "dashing" Cavalier. As town after town across the South erected similar monuments, one Confederate soldier began to look like the next. Yet, despite their lack of flair, the stone soldiers performed an important duty. One memorialist claimed that the soldiers acted as a form of history for children or workingmen who did not or could not read. "Books are occasionally opened," he said, "monuments are seen every day, and the lesson of that lofty figure [is] ... `Live nobly, there is reward for patriotic duty. Republics are not ungrateful.'" Stephen D. Lee argued that monuments were erected not just to honor the dead but more "for the sake of the living, that in this busy industrial age these stones to the Confederate soldier may stand like great interrogation marks to the soul of each beholder. Are you ready to die for your country?" The monuments paid homage to the veteran and reminded Confederates that they answered the call to defend a "just" cause with honor and nobility. Yet, for future soldiers, the statues also informed the masses that the typical soldier is a disciplined and loyal supporter of society and that those are virtues worth celebrating and emulating.[xxxvi]

Ironically, these monuments that helped socialize the masses ultimately became mass-produced themselves. About three-fifths of the Confederate monuments erected before 1913 were unveiled between 1900 and 1912. Of those, 80 percent featured a lone Confederate soldier, and more than 85 percent of those were placed on courthouse lawns and other public places. Only 25 percent had any funerary aspect. For many southern towns, a monument downtown became a physical symbol of vindication, and to show this spirit a few southern patriotic organizations moved their old monuments from cemeteries to various high-profile locations downtown. In 1899, a group in Waynesboro, Georgia, moved its 22-year-old monument from the cemetery to the town's main intersection.[xxxvii] In 1906, the Sons of Confederate Veterans in Van Buren, Arkansas, moved the town's seven-year-old Confederate monument from the Fairview Cemetery to the Crawford County Courthouse lawn. The Van Buren monument, known as "Our Beloved Confederate Dead," was built in 1899 by the Mary Lee Chapter of the UDC in honor of the Confederate soldiers buried in the cemetery who died at the battles of Elk Horn (Pea Ridge), Prairie Grove and Oak Hill (Wilson's Creek). The UDC placed the monument over the grave of Captain S. Churchill Clarke, an Arkansan who died at Elk Horn at the age of 20. Clarke's brother was one of the larger donors of money to the UDC's monument project, and he requested its placement over the grave.[xxxviii]

As commemorations of the lone Confederate soldiers grew to a fever pitch, commercialism crept into the Confederate celebration. By the early 1900s, monument companies became far more aggressive and actively encouraged the construction of memorials. The McNeel Marble Company of Marietta, Georgia -- maker of the Hot Springs monument as well as monuments in Marianna and

Pine Bluff -- was perhaps the most active exploiter of patriotism. McNeel even dispatched agents to encourage and coach patriotic organizations on how to orchestrate a monument campaign. The company also offered special prizes to chapter presidents who successfully oversaw a successful unveiling. Another one of its creative marketing strategies was the introduction of a Confederate Memorial Drinking Fountain, which the company advertised as combining "Art, Sentiment, and Utility."[xxxix] Of course, other companies employed similar tactics, but McNeel was by far the most successful. In 1910, the company took out an ad in *Confederate Veteran* magazine congratulating the UDC for erecting more monuments in 1909 than in the entire previous decade, with McNeel claiming 95 percent of those statues.[xl]

Some veterans complained that increased commercialization was desecrating the Confederate celebration by instilling the values of materialism and industrialism they fought against so many years before. The desecration didn't stop with monuments. Anyone with a product -- from hair tonic to caskets -- and a copywriter who could come up with a pitch for the veterans or their families tried their luck. In 1908, for example, at the UCV reunion in Nashville, Tennessee, a National Casket Company float carrying a sarcophagus won first prize in the "Commercial Division." The float featured four black horses that pulled a "realistic imitation of a marble sarcophagus" draped with a Confederate flag. A "Son" and a "Daughter" stood nearby. The sign below read: "Your Sons and Daughters will forever guard the memory of your brave deeds." The honoring of Confederate dead, supposedly the most sacred of the patriotic groups' duties, had become an opportunity to sell, of all ironies, a "National" casket.[xli]

III. Confederate Monuments

A. Ladies Memorial Associations

From the immediate close of the Civil War until the rise of southern patriotic groups in the 1890s, most memorial and monument activities in the South were performed by local ladies memorial associations. These groups tended to focus on mourning the dead rather than creating or celebrating the Confederate tradition -- a predilection seen in their typically simple, sepulchral monuments. According to legend, the first ladies monument association formed in 1865 in Winchester, Virginia, after a farmer plowed up the remains of two Confederate soldiers. Women in the area were outraged that their fallen heroes were buried unmarked and thus unworshipped. The women met and planned a Confederate cemetery in which they planned to re-inter Confederates buried on nearby battlefields. The Winchester association eventually buried 2,494 soldiers, by state sections, with a mound at the center of the cemetery for unknown soldiers. The group even provided headstones for each grave. When the task was completed in October 1866, the group dedicated the graveyard as the "Stonewall Cemetery."[xlii]

By the spring of 1866, memorial organizations were common in the eastern part of the former Confederacy. One group in Columbus, Georgia, held a springtime memorial service to commemorate the Confederate dead. The Columbus women were inspired by the public's positive reaction to the memorial service and they purchased newspaper advertisements across the South urging other cities and towns to form memorial associations and to host memorial events. Although it is practically impossible to determine whether the first memorial exercises occurred in the North or South, as mentioned previously the credit for the inception of the memorial day tradition generally is given to these early ladies memorial associations. Whether inspired by the Columbus women or acting independently, many of the new southern memorial associations held special ceremonies in May and June 1866. In Richmond, the newly formed Hollywood Memorial Association enlisted nearly 800 men to spend a day in May 1866 "moulding and clearing" graves in the Hollywood Cemetery for the Confederate dead.[xliii] The Grand Army of the Republic would not celebrate its first

"official" Memorial Day exercises until 1868.

Although enthusiasm for the ladies memorial associations spread rapidly, reaching the most western regions of the former Confederacy by 1870, each group's genesis usually remained local. The typical memorial association was composed of women who had lost a loved one or had been part of a ladies' relief organization during the war. Often such groups were informally organized, although a few applied for and obtained state charters. Most groups of the period that regularly performed memorial duties used the term "ladies memorial association" or "memorial association" in their titles. Despite the similar missions and names of the scattered groups, no statewide or regional organizations emerged until the birth of the patriotic groups. The name "ladies" association was often misleading as well. Men often played a significant role in the groups and provided much of their financing. In Richmond, a man is credited with organizing the famous Hollywood Memorial Association. A few male memorial organizations formed on their own, but those rarely lasted more than a year.[xliv] Ladies memorial associations fell in number and influence in the 1890s as the United Confederate Veterans and its ancestral organizations changed the nature of memorialization from grief to celebration.

The chief duties of the early memorial associations was the creation of cemeteries, the celebration of memorial day and the building of monuments. Meetings and dedications involved little discussion of political or historical issues, especially during the Reconstruction period, when many southerners feared reprisals from Federal occupation troops for overt displays of Confederate patriotism.[xlv] The expense of creating and maintaining cemeteries and erecting monuments primarily limited the associations' members to those in the professional and "high-white collar" classes, especially in the immediate aftermath of the war, when the southern economy was in a shambles. A study of membership in the Charleston Ladies Memorial Association from 1866 to 1879 revealed that the percentage of working class members averaged a mere three percent during the 13-year period. Despite their rather elite membership, the associations' memorial day activities and monument unveilings enjoyed great popular support.[xlvi]

Prior to 1890, Arkansas probably had numerous ladies memorial associations scattered about the state. Yet, because of the loose and undocumented way many societies formed and disbanded, attempting to determine their number is problematic. Essentially, any group of people who banded together in the interest of burying and mourning the Confederate dead might be called a "memorial association." Wherever one finds a grouping of Confederate graves or a pre-1890 cemetery devoted to Confederates and their dependents, chances are that something like a "ladies memorial association" was responsible. If a memorial group never adopted a name or received a charter, in some cases it would credit its work to "the citizens of" a certain locale.

For instance, in Washington, Arkansas, site of the state Confederate capital after the fall of Little Rock to the Union in 1863, 74 Confederate soldiers are buried in a group in the Presbyterian Cemetery. In the middle of the plot is a marble obelisk on a brick base dedicated in 1888 and containing the following inscription: "Erected by our citizens/To the memory of our Confederate soldiers/Who died at this Post during our late Civil War/Far from home and kindred." Historical documents claim an "association" was responsible.[xlvii] Likewise, Camden's Confederate Cemetery, which is located in the Oakland Cemetery, contains the graves of some 200 Confederate soldiers who were killed in the battles of Poison Spring and Jenkins' Ferry. After a particularly moving decoration ceremony in May 1885 that included participation by survivors of the Camden Rifles, "a movement was inaugurated to erect a suitable monument in memory of the honored dead." A committee of four men and three women were selected, and on May 29, 1886, Mrs. A.A. Tufts unveiled an impressive, 25-foot shaft of polished granite topped by a cannon ball. Officially, the monument was "Erected by the Citizens of Camden." Even if the men and women of Camden and Washington did not consider themselves to be a memorial association, they nonetheless functioned

very much like one.[xlviii]

Ladies memorial associations that maintained their membership rosters and a semblance of order sometimes became United Daughters of the Confederacy chapters in the 1890s. In Little Rock, for example, memorialists created a Confederate cemetery next to the Little Rock National Cemetery. In 1884, Little Rock memorialists reinterred the remains of 640 Confederates in the new cemetery and that same year erected a monument to their memory.[xlix] Later, the group initiated the fund-raising drive for the Confederate Soldiers Monument before folding into the Memorial Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy -- a name that pays homage to the work of many of the chapter's older members.

Two of Arkansas's best-organized and most-enduring ladies memorial associations were in Helena and Fayetteville. The Phillips County Memorial Association created Helena's Confederate Memorial Cemetery in 1869 in a corner of the Maple Hill Cemetery. About 2,500 to 3,000 Union soldiers had been buried on the grounds, but in 1867 they were moved to the National Cemeteries in Memphis, Tennessee, and Louisville, Kentucky.[l] More than 100 Confederates are buried in the cemetery's one-acre plot, several of whom were killed in the July 4, 1863, Battle of Helena. Most of the Confederates buried there were reinterred in the cemetery by the Phillips County Memorial Association in 1869 or shortly thereafter. This includes perhaps the best-known and most-respected Arkansan to fight in the Civil War, General Patrick R. Cleburne. Cleburne, one of the Confederacy's top divisional commanders, was brought to the cemetery in 1870 from St. John's Cemetery in Ashwood, Tennessee, where he was buried following his death leading a charge on foot at the Battle of Franklin on November 30, 1864. The graveyard also contains some ex-Confederates who survived the war and chose to be buried in the cemetery.

In addition to the creation of the cemetery and years of caring and decorating its graves, in the 1890s the Phillips County Memorial Association erected two monuments in the cemetery. The Cleburne Memorial was unveiled in 1891 in honor of the general known as "the Stonewall Jackson of the West."[li] The monument is a tall marble shaft by an urn with flames shooting above its rim. The following year, in 1892, the association dedicated the Confederate Memorial. The monument is a tall granite shaft topped by a marble sculpture of a Confederate soldier. The unveiling of the Confederate Memorial in 1892 was "one of the most largely attended events ever to be held in this county."[lii] The Phillips County Memorial Association continued to thrive well into the twentieth century, erecting a "doughboy" monument to the veterans of World War I in 1927.

Another memorial association in Arkansas that continued to thrive during the Daughters of the Confederacy's ascent was the Southern Memorial Association in Fayetteville. The group eventually played a significant role in organizing a coalition of ladies memorial associations across the South. The Southern Memorial Association was founded by a group of 38 Fayetteville women in June 1872 to care for the graves of the Confederate dead in and around Fayetteville. Lizzie Pollard, wife of Dr. T.J. Pollard, a former Confederate surgeon, was named as first president.[liii] The groups's first task was to acquire land to use as a cemetery. This they procured from the Walker family, one of Fayetteville's most prominent families. (David Walker was president of the Arkansas Secession Convention in 1861 as well as chief justice of the Arkansas Supreme Court in 1866.) Next the

memorialist reinterred hundreds of bodies from the Pea Ridge and Prairie Grove battlefields. At Prairie Grove, most of the Confederates had been buried in a trench.[liv]

The memorialists dedicated the Fayetteville Confederate Cemetery on June 10, 1873. At the time, the cemetery contained more than 500 graves. The work of collecting bodies continued and eventually the cemetery would be the final resting place of more than 900 Confederates. While the ladies continued to make improvements at the cemetery, in the late 1880s they also started a monument campaign. According to Mrs. Pollard, who remained president of the association for years, the raising of a monument "was a long cherished dream, the ultimate end around which the dearest hope of the Association twined." The bronze statue of a Confederate private was unveiled June 10, 1897. Later, Mrs. Pollard wrote about the monument:

> These monuments we build will speak their message to generations. These voiceless marbles in their majesty will stand as vindicators of the Confederate soldier. They will lift from these brave men the opprobrium of rebel, and stand them in the line of patriots. This is not alone a labor love, it is a work of duty as well. We are correcting history.[lv]

Mrs. Pollard's statement is atypically aggressive for ladies memorial association sentiment. However, its tone reveals that the Southern Memorial Association had changed with the times, which perhaps was one of the keys to its surviving the United Daughters of the Confederacy onslaught. As part of its contemporary attitude, the group sought to consolidate memorial associations throughout the South. At a regular meeting of the Southern Memorial Association in the spring of 1900, Miss Julia A. Garside suggested that the Fayetteville group contact the few remaining ladies monument associations across the South about forming a general confederation. The object of the confederation "was to commemorate the work already done and insure its continuance." Miss Sue Walker, corresponding secretary for the Southern Memorial Association and the granddaughter of David Walker, wrote the other associations and received a favorable response. Thirteen ladies memorial associations met on May 30, 1900, in Louisville, Kentucky, where a national reunion of the UCV was being held. After the 13 groups agreed to form the Confederated Southern Memorial Association, they met with delegates from the UCV.[lvi] Mrs. Pollard read a paper to the convention in which she explained that the confederation's "work is solely memorial and monumental ... We are not willing to lose our identity as memorial associations, nor to merge ourselves into the younger organization, `The United Daughters of the Confederacy.'"[lvii] Because the idea originated with the Fayetteville group, the Confederation decided its organization should be incorporated in Arkansas. A charter was granted in the Circuit Court of Washington County on October 30, 1900, with J.D. Walker, the son of David Walker and Sue Walker's father, acting as the Confederation's attorney.[lviii]

Although the Phillips County Memorial Association and the Southern Memorial Association continued to thrive, most ladies memorial associations lost membership and influence to the UDC after 1895 because the ancestral organization had a more active and broad agenda that was in tune with the nascent manifestation of the Confederate tradition. Certainly, the UDC was concerned with monuments and memorials, but it also organized and participated in numerous other Confederate patriotic exercises such as oratories and the writing of histories. Perhaps the difference in the two groups is best summed up by the location favored for the placement of their respective monuments. The memorialist favored a cemetery, whereas the Daughters favored the courthouse lawn.

B. United Confederate Veterans

Early Confederate veterans associations, such as General Jubal Early's Southern Historical Society, founded in 1869, failed because they focused on such things as Confederate revitalization

and Confederate colonization of South America rather than soldierly comraderie and a celebration of the Lost Cause. However, the Southern Historical Association's work was important because it was the first southern association to defiantly attempt to interpret the meaning of the Civil War in a light favorable to the Confederacy and the institutions of the Old South. As Early said, "Let us, who are soon to be in the past of which we properly belong, see there are no gaps in the record. Thus shall we discharge a duty to the fathers, whose principles we inherit, to the children, who will then know whether to honor or to dishonor the squires that begot them."[lix]

In the 1880s, Confederate army units began to meet regularly for reunions, and a few of the meetings resulted in the creation of veterans' societies such as the Association of the Army of Tennessee. In 1887, statewide associations of Confederate veterans formed in Virginia, Tennessee and Georgia. The following year, the trend continued with the formation of the Benevolent and Historical Association, Veteran Confederate States Cavalry, in New Orleans. The Confederate States Cavalry originally was intended to include only veterans from Louisiana, but veterans from several states in the region attended the first convention, and Stephen D. Lee, a Mississippian, was elected its first president. Because of the group's regional success, and because some veterans had seen an "inspiring and suggestive" reunion of the Grand Army of the Republic and thought Confederate veterans should have similar occasions, members of various veterans associations from Louisiana, Tennessee and Mississippi met in New Orleans in June 1889 and founded a national Confederate veterans' organization, the United Confederate Veterans.[lx] The group was to foster "social, literary, historical and benevolent" ends. The last article of the group's constitution forbade at the risk of expulsion "discussion of political or religious subjects," topics that help divide and destroy the Southern Historical Society.[lxi]

The veterans' choice for the organization's first leader was John B. Gordon. Gordon had a distinguished war record -- people in his home state of Georgia called him by the ironic title, "the hero of Appomattox" -- and was established as a member of the southern elite. A Democrat, Gordon was the sitting governor of Georgia when he was chosen to head the UCV, which he fronted until his death in 1904. He had worked with the Ku Klux Klan, helped redeem his state from Republican rule, defended Southern racial orthodoxy and championed state's rights. He also was accused of taking bribes from railroad interests, but "that did not seem to bother many people." In many ways, Gordon was a perfect mix of the unreconstructed and reconstructed Southern gentleman, which gave him broad appeal across class lines. This was important, because although the veterans had gone to war to preserve the values of the "traditional southern elite," the UCV was not a patrician organization. In fact, most UCV members were middle-class business men, which helped spread the group's influence throughout the culture. The UCV's semi-egalitarianism should not be taken to mean that the Confederate tradition was tied to more progressive ideas about class and race, as the UCV's auxiliary organizations proved.[lxii]

The UCV eventually was wildly successful but not so immediately. At the 1891 reunion in Jackson, Mississippi, only 36 camps sent representatives. However, 188 camps participated in the reunion in New Orleans the following year. By 1898, the number of camps attending the yearly reunion mushroomed to 1,555 camps. Under Gordon's leadership, and with the work of his tireless adjutant George Moorman, one in three Confederate veterans, or up to 160,000 men, would join the UCV.[lxiii] The period of 1898-1912 marked the zenith of the UCV, after which the veterans began to die off rapidly. During its apex, the UCV's annual reunion was the social event of the year in the South. At the 1911 UCV reunion in Little Rock, a crowd estimated at more than 100,000 veterans and guests crowded into a city that at the time had a population less than half that size.[lxiv]

The rise of the UCV and its ancestral organizations -- the Sons of Confederate Veterans and the United Daughters of the Confederacy -- to cultural prominence at the same time as the Democratic party's rise to political dominance signaled a significant shift in the temper of the times

in the South. Both the Democratic party and the southern patriotic groups appropriated Old South ideals and applied them to contemporary ends. The public's enthusiastic reaction to the UCV and its general celebration of the glories of the Confederate veteran helped soothe veterans' fears that defeat had dishonored them. At the same time, the rituals and rhetoric of its celebrations, as well as its push for school textbooks with a secessionist slant, helped shape the Confederate tradition, which would have a profound impact on southern culture in the years to come.[lxv]

Because the UCV never released comprehensive membership statistics, the number of UCV members in Arkansas is difficult to determine. According to an 1890 census, 6.18 percent of all living Confederate veterans resided in Arkansas, which was eighth among former slave states. According to UCV figures in 1890, Arkansas had 6.26 percent of all veterans camps, fifth among former slave states. Between 1890 and 1912, the UCV formed at least one camp in four out of five Arkansas counties.[lxvi] At the First Annual Convention of the United Confederate Veterans July 3-5, 1890, in Chattanooga, Tennessee, only one Arkansan -- James Eagle, an "Aid to the Commanding General" -- was listed among the top 70 officers of the organization.[lxvii]

Colonel Benjamin Taylor Duval is generally credited with founding the Arkansas Division of the United Confederate Veterans. Duval proposed the bill for secession of Arkansas from the Union in 1861, and when hostilities ensued was appointed paymaster-general for Arkansas's Confederate troops. In 1862, he became quartermaster for General James F. Fagan and saw action in the battles of Helena, Marks' Mills, and in General Sterling W. Price's Missouri raid. He was breveted brigadier general a week before the cessation of hostilities.[lxviii]

Although United Confederate Veterans chapters blanketed much of the state prior to 1912, the state's gray veterans were usually content be honored by their ancestral organizations. Thus, the SCV and, particularly, the UDC did most of the monument building and memorializing in Arkansas. In fact, the veterans erected only three monuments in Arkansas that they might consider to be their own. They participated in the building of two more monuments with help from SCV and UDC chapters.

In 1897, the James Adams Camp of the United Confederate Veterans decided to establish a cemetery at the location of what had been Camp Nelson, near Cabot and Old Austin, during the war. General Allison Nelson's Texas Cavalry camped on the site in June 1862 and surrounding area eventually was populated with some 10,000 Confederates. When a measles epidemic hit the camp, more than 500 of Nelson's men died and were buried in graves scattered about the vicinity.[lxix]

The owner of the site was a former Confederate soldier who donated the land to the UCV. The veterans then re-interred as many bodies as they could locate in furrows they plowed in the ground.[lxx] In 1905, the Arkansas General Assembly gave the veterans $1,000 to beautify the cemetery, which the veterans used to add headstones and a rusticated, obelisk-like monument. The monument and cemetery were dedicated on October 4, 1906.[lxxi]

The final monument the veterans helped build was the David O. Dodd Memorial in Little Rock on the lawn of the Old State House. The work, dedicated in 1923, is a relief portrait of a young male, although it is unknown whether the artists worked from a likeness of Dodd. The United

Daughters of the Confederacy, Sons of Confederate Veterans, and United Confederate Veterans all participated in its construction.[lxxii]

The state's veterans also erected three monuments in some part related to the idolatry of Southern womanhood that was such a large part of the Confederate celebration. An article in an 1890 edition of *The Century* claimed that "there is no changing the fact that American civilization has nowhere produced a purer and loftier type of refined and cultured womanhood than existed in the South before the War." W.J. Cash once quipped that this worship of the virtues of the Southern woman as "downright gyneolotry."[lxxiii] Appropriately, then, the majority of the Arkansas UCV's monument-making oeuvre concerned southern womanhood. The first of these was the tower-like Batesville Confederate Monument erected in 1907 on the Independence County Courthouse lawn by the Sidney Johnston Camp No. 135, Daughters of the Confederacy and the Sidney Johnston Camp No. 863, United Confederate Veterans. The monument, designed by Otto Pfeiffer and made with Batesville marble, was dedicated to the county's Confederate soldiers (Independence County produced 23 companies of Confederate infantry and cavalry) and the women of Independence County.[lxxiv]

The Arkansas UCV's grandest work is the Monument to Confederate Women, also known as "Mother of the South," located in Little Rock on the State Capitol grounds. The idea of raising monuments to Confederate women was launched at the 1896 United Confederate Veterans reunion in Richmond, Virginia, by Dr. G.H. Tichnor of New Orleans, who had written a glowing tribute to the beauty, manners, fidelity and sacrifices of Confederate women. The UCV convention decided that each state should have such a monument. The UDC, however, rejected the idea in 1902, and the project languished until the 1906 UCV reunion at which General C. Irvine Walker of South Carolina trumpeted the cause. At Arkansas's 1906 meeting in Fort Smith, Confederate veterans established a committee to promote the idea of a statue to southern women. To raise money to build it, the UCV decided to publish and sell a book, *Confederate Women of Arkansas, 1861-1865: Memorial Reminiscences*, which contains many first-hand accounts of the suffering and bravery of Arkansas women during the Civil War. The *Arkansas Gazette* reported that the book was "historically and otherwise interesting, but it was rather slow of sale."[lxxv] The state legislature ended the UCV's fund-raising woes, appropriating $10,000 for the monument.[lxxvi]

The six-tier monument, made by noted Swiss sculptor J. Otto Schweizer, depicts a mother and daughter saying goodbye to their 16-year-old son and brother before he joins his father at the front. The monument was unveiled before 3,000 onlookers, including Governor J.M. Futrell, on the State Capitol lawn on May 1, 1913. The *Arkansas Gazette* wrote that the monument "will serve to remind future generations of the patient bravery and silent sufferings of those who stayed at home through four long years of civil strife and gave courage and inspiration to the men who wore the gray."[lxxvii]

Arkansas's Confederate veterans would again celebrate southern womanhood two years later in Camden. The Camden Confederate Monument, also called the Confederate Women's

Memorial, was dedicated on the Ouachita County Courthouse lawn in 1915. The work was sponsored primarily by the Hugh McCollum Camp No. 778, United Confederate Veterans. The monument's main feature is a sculpture depicting a female figure in a period dress clutching a flagstaff. The Camden Women's Memorial was erected at the county courthouse in mid-April 1915. The featured orator, Judge W. T. Martin, stated:

> [The monument] will perpetuate in stone the unparalleled sacrifices, loyalty and devotion of the women of that momentous period, an episode in the History of this beautiful southland which will live in song and story long after this beautiful statue has crumbled into dust ... her beauty and symmetry and sacred devotion, that beam from her beautiful and lovely face is a prototype of the high civilization of the time in which she appeared in the tragic drama, a fitting mould in which she was cast, a time when patriotism stood at full tide and fair Arcadia pulsated with Knight errant, and chivalry and honor decorated and adorned her loveliness."[lxxviii]

One would hope that Judge Martin delivered his speech tongue-in-cheek. Regardless of whether southern women swallowed the hyperbole presented in such oratories, they nevertheless worked through the United Daughters of the Confederacy to promote the Confederate tradition with a passion unparalleled by any Civil War patriotic group. As one writer mused about the women of the UDC, "The former embodiments of Venus and Pallus Athena became metamorphosed into Vestal Virgins tending flames which burned in devotion before the furled and conquered banner."[lxxix]

C. Confederate Ancestral Organizations

The large number of Confederate monuments unveiled after 1900 has much to do with the strength of the United Confederate Veterans' ancestral organizations, particularly the United Daughters of the Confederacy. The Grand Army of the Republic's ancestral organizations, such as the Sons of Veterans founded in 1878, never showed the same enthusiasm for their forefathers' cause that the Confederate organizations showed for the beliefs of their progenitors. For the sake of the American democratic millennium, the Union veterans believed they were destined to win the war. Thus, unlike the Confederate groups, Union ancestral organizations could find little in their forefathers' victory to turn into ideology. The greatness of the forefathers was unquestionable, their victory preordained. On the other hand, the Sons of Confederate Veterans and the Daughters of the Confederacy looked back nostalgically to the supposed greatness of their forefathers' civilization. The South would have to rise again to achieve a modicum of its previous glory. They celebrated a lost empire by trying to preserve it in writing the past anew. In other words, they had an ideology to animate their efforts.

Just as the Grand Army of the Republic had its ancestral and women's auxiliaries, the United Confederate Veterans acquired them as well after group's founding in 1889. Many of the scattered, pre-UCV veterans' organizations had women's auxiliaries, such as Richmond, Virginia's Lee Camp of Confederate Veterans, which established its semi-autonomous Ladies Auxiliary in 1888.[lxxx] Three such groups -- the Daughters of the Confederacy of Missouri, the Ladies Auxiliary of the Confederate Veterans Association of Savannah, Georgia, and the Auxiliary of Association of the Confederate Soldiers Home in Nashville, Tennessee -- would play an important role in the formation of the national United Daughters of the Confederacy. The Missouri group, led by Mrs. A.C. Cassidy of St. Louis, adopted the name Daughters of the Confederacy after General John B. Gordon in 1886 introduced Varina Anne "Winnie" Davis, Jefferson Davis' daughter, to a crowd in West Point, Georgia, as "The Daughter of the Confederacy." The nickname stayed with Winnie Davis throughout her life.[lxxxi]

Leaders of several women's organizations throughout the South contacted Cassidy to ask

permission to use the name, which she usually granted. Among those to contact Cassidy was Mrs. C.M. Goodlett of the Nashville Confederate veteran's home auxiliary. Her group changed its name to Daughters of the Confederacy in 1892. Mrs. L.H. Raines of the Savannah Ladies group by chance saw "a press notice of a dinner given to the inmates of the Soldiers Home, in Nashville, Tennessee, by a society called the Daughters of the Confederacy." Mrs. Raines, who had long desired to form the various ladies groups that dotted the South into a cohesive coalition, was intrigued by the name of the group and contacted Mrs. Goodlett to inquire about using the "Daughters" moniker for her national organization. Mrs. Goodlett not only approved of the use of the "Daughters" name, she was enthused by the idea of a national southern women's organization. After trading ideas by mail for more than a year, Mrs. Goodlett and Mrs. Raines met in September 1894 in Nashville and created the National Daughters of the Confederacy. (The group changed its name to the United Daughters of the Confederacy before its second anniversary.) Chapter No. 1 was in Nashville; Chapter No. 2 was in Savannah. The UDC was formed out of necessity, the group's historian explained, "because an invasion, dynamic and ruthless, set aside the old order in the South ... Cemetery, memorial, Confederate home, monument association, and auxiliaries to Camps of the Confederate Veterans were added to the list of working units, and are inextricably linked with the rehabilitation of the country."[lxxxii]

The UDC's namesake, Winnie Davis, "spoke hither and yon" of the Lost Cause and her father, Jefferson Davis, who until his death in 1889 was often the scapegoat for the Confederacy's defeat. Winnie's tireless efforts on behalf of the Confederate cause and her father's reputation inspired many of the women who would come to work under the auspices of her sobriquet. Eventually, the UDC rehabilitated Jefferson Davis and erected more monuments to him than any other president in United States history except George Washington and Abraham Lincoln.[lxxxiii]

The Sons of Confederate Veterans formed in much the same way as the UDC. The New Orleans Association of the Army of the Tennessee was perhaps the first to form a "Sons" group in 1889. Soon, the various veterans organizations around the South organized their male descendants into groups. It wasn't long before these "Sons" groups desired their own regional group. However, efforts to organize under the auspices of the UCV did not reach fruition until the formation of the autonomous United Sons of Confederate Veterans in 1896. (The group later dropped the "United" from its name so that it's acronym would not be confused with the United States Colored Veterans.)[lxxxiv] At its Richmond reunion in 1896, the UCV "Resolved that this session provide at once for the formation of the Sons of Confederate Veterans ... This is urgent from the manifold fact that our ranks are thinning daily, and our loved representatives should step in now and arrange to take charge of Southern history, our relics, mementos and monuments to our heroes." The Sons declared their "aims, objects and purposes are not to create or foster, in any manner, any feeling against the North, but to hand down to posterity the `the story of the glory of the men who wore gray.'"[lxxxv]

Although the UCV enthusiastically supported the UDC, it is obvious the veterans hoped the SCV would be the ones to keep alive the Confederate tradition in the twentieth century, and the UCV supported the SCV in ways that revealed its favoritism. In 1903, for example, the UCV and SCV agreed to a plan to more fully involve the SCV in UCV affairs. SCV members were given floor rights at UCV business meetings, allowed associate memberships in UCV camps and even permitted to wear the sacred gray. SCV reunions also coincided with UCV conventions, whereas the UDC typically had its own date and location for its meetings. Despite the UCV's efforts, the SCV as an organization never fully captured the imagination of second-generation Confederate males *en masse*. One reason might have been because of its elitist bent. At the 1905 annual meeting the SCV commander warned that the Sons has become "a purely social organization, which judges a man more by his wealth or social position than by the record of his father as a Confederate soldier and his own personal worth and ability."[lxxxvi] Whatever the reason, in 1903, the SCV had only 16,000 members in 427 camps -- less than a third of the number in the UCV -- at a time when celebration of the Confederate tradition was at its peak. Even those figures for the SCV are misleading because few camps were active at the time. In fact, only 42 camps sent delegates to the 1905 convention. Two years later, after only 10 camps responded to a questionnaire, SCV Commander Thomas M. Owen admonished his fellow "Sons" for their apathy: "The future of the United Sons of Confederate Veterans is not bright with any special promise," he wrote in a letter explaining his decision not to seek reelection. "Those of us, who have labored in the organization from the beginning, had a right to expect a better result than has been realized."[lxxxvii]

The Arkansas SCV built only one monument on its own and participated in the construction of a mere two others in Arkansas. Nonetheless, the SCV's Memorial to Company A, Capitol Guards, was perhaps the most heralded of all of Arkansas's Civil War monuments because it was unveiled in Little Rock during the May 1911 national reunion of Confederate Veterans. Created by noted German sculptor Rudolph Schwarz, the bronze representation of a typical Confederate soldier honors the Capitol Guards, called "The Flower of Little Rock," who were assembled in 1861 and were part of General Cleburne's division. The monument was sponsored by friends and relatives of the guards "under the auspices" of the General Robert C. Newton Camp of the SCV. More than 100,000 people attended the reunion, and the monument's unveiling was one of the festival's highlights. When the cover was pulled from the statue, the *Arkansas Gazette* estimated that the crowd showered it with more than 20,000 roses.[lxxxviii]

The two monuments the SCV helped construct include the David O. Dodd Memorial in Little Rock, mentioned previously, and the unique Confederate Mothers Memorial Park in Russellville, which contains an SCV tablet. The Confederate Mothers Memorial Park is the only known park of its kind in Arkansas, although its theme -- a reverence for the character and valor of Southern women -- was one of the most celebrated and enduring ideals of the Confederate tradition. In many ways, the park serves as something of a microcosm of the UDC's dominance of the SCV in Arkansas during the historic period. All the worshipping of Confederate veterans and idolizing of Southern women in the Confederate celebration left the "Sons" little room to champion their own virtues, and many of them simply chose not to compete with the "Daughters" for the pedestal. As one orator noted in 1904, "The woman of the South and the soldier of the Confederacy seemed to have been made for each other."[lxxxix]

In many ways, the idolatry of the Southern woman served the same function as the raising of the numerous monuments to the common soldier in that it helped provide a social hierarchy and a model for future stability. The Confederate women worshipped in poetry, oratory, writing and monuments of the time reassured the veterans that their women were faithful to them and their cause and served as models of women as "helpmate and servant of southern man." This helped reinforce traditional sex roles which, as women were forced to manage farms and such during the Civil War, challenged the status quo in the post-war period.[xc]

Southern women clamored to join the UDC and fought zealously for the "preservation and promulgation of the Southern view of the war and its causes."[xci] In an era when many women did not have jobs, the activities of the UDC, like those of the many Progressive Era reform societies born at the turn of the century, allowed women a chance to get a glimpse into a world outside their homes. Many women developed organizational, fund raising and public speaking skills working on UDC projects. Of course, the goal of those projects was to revere and to preserve the past, which hardly threatened traditional values. However, as the Daughters gained confidence working outside the home and within the Confederate tradition, on occasion they even challenged the UCV in matters concerning the conduct of Confederate celebration.[xcii]

The genealogical requirements and the exalted social position the UDC held in Southern society at the turn of the century made the UDC something of a classist organization and, like the SCV, the UDC displayed "an exclusiveness foreign" to the semi-egalitarian UCV.[xciii] Nevertheless, by 1912, the UDC boasted more than 800 chapters and 45,000 members. It also began to take over from the aging veterans primary responsibility for the battle for "true" school histories, the erecting of monuments, the sponsorship of Confederate Memorial Day, and the maintenance of Confederate museums and veterans homes.[xciv] The group also branched out into non-Confederate activities, supporting an American military hospital in France in World War I and selling $24 million in war bonds in World War II, among other things.[xcv]

In Arkansas, the UDC eventually created 103 separate chapters.[xcvi] The state's first chapter -- the Pat Cleburne Chapter, No. 31 -- formed in Hope in 1896. This was followed the same year by formation of the Little Rock Memorial Chapter, No. 48; the Hot Springs Chapter, No. 80; and the Mary Lee Chapter, No. 87, in Van Buren. In 1899, the Van Buren group would erect the first of 15 monuments by the UDC in Arkansas. The other monuments include: the Fort Smith Confederate Monument, 1903; the Confederate Soldiers Monument (Little Rock), 1905; the Bentonville Confederate Monument, 1908; the El Dorado Confederate Monument, 1909; the Lake Village Confederate Monument, 1910; the Pine Bluff Confederate Monument, 1910; the General Robert E. Lee Monument (Marianna), 1910; the Lonoke Confederate Memorial, 1910; the Arkadelphia Confederate Monument, 1911; the Little Rock Confederate Memorial, 1913; the Monticello Confederate Monument, 1915; the Dardanelle Confederate Memorial, 1921; the Conway Confederate Monument, 1925; and the Hot Springs Confederate Monument, 1934. Virtually all of

the UDC's monuments are variations on the "lone soldier" theme.

The UDC's push for "true" school histories in Arkansas would have a shelf-life almost as enduring as the monuments it erected. In 1921, a state UDC committee lobbied the General Assembly for financial aid to sponsor a history of the Civil War. Although the bill died in the House in 1921, it passed easily in 1923 and the UDC was awarded $2,500 to spend toward its goal. The UDC commissioned David Y. Thomas, a University of Arkansas historian, for the project. Thomas fervently believed most of the traditional Confederate view on the War Between the States. When Thomas finished his work in 1925, he submitted it to Lora Goolsby, the UDC president, to be scrutinized by a UDC committee. The committee disagreed with several of Thomas' points, but he was "agreeable" to most of the changes requested by the UDC and even included a few points the committee thought Thomas overlooked. This included the contention that a majority of slave traders were New Englanders, that many slave ships were built in New England and owned by New Englanders, and that secession was first threatened in New England.[xcvii]

Thomas's 400-page tome, *Arkansas in War and Reconstruction*, acknowledged that slavery played some role in the sectional tensions that caused the Civil War, but the author stressed that states' rights and regional loyalty were the primary factors that determined Arkansas's siding with the Confederacy. His mild critique of the region's Confederate leadership, particularly cavalry leaders J.O. Shelby and William Quantrill, passed the UDC review committee despite protests from some members. Although his work received close scrutiny while in progress, Thomas, a pacifist, was able to impart in the book something of his own beliefs. He hoped to instill in the school children who studied his work something of an anti-war bias, and he devoted one chapter to what he called the Civil War's "Chamber of Horrors." Still, almost every example focused on Union and Negro atrocities. One anecdote detailed a "negro fiend's" slaughter of two Confederate women. Of course, Thomas was sure to note that this behavior was not typical of Arkansas Negroes who, "for the most part behaved admirably throughout the war, the vast majority remaining at home and `carrying on' for the their masters ... until the Federal army came along with the emancipation proclamation." His assessment of the Negro during Reconstruction was similar. Because the Freedman's Bureau provided many blacks with rations, Thomas wrote, Negroes came to believe "freedom meant no work and plenty to eat at the hands of the government." Worst of all were the Carpetbaggers, who, Thomas contended, recruited blacks to Republican politics and turned them against their former masters, gave blacks weapons and ordered them to go "over the state terrorizing and plundering the people." To confront these Carpetbag militias, brave Arkansans supported the Ku Klux Klan, which discouraged "the Negro from taking part in politics." By 1875, "the nightmare of carpetbag-negro rule was over and Arkansans breathed the air of freedom once more."[xcviii] The UDC was a vocal apologist for the KKK. In fact, the minutes from the Arkansas Division's Twentieth Annual Convention in Hope in 1915 contains a lengthy passage explaining the "Necessity of the Ku Klux Klan."[xcix]

For years the UDC was active in approving textbooks for the state's school children and in

fact had an "Endorsement of Books" committee. In 1917, when the Arkansas General Assembly passed a bill to establish a Textbook Commission "to provide for a Uniform System of Textbooks in the Common Schools," the UDC moved quickly to exert its influence on the commission. The commission agreed to a petition that the state UDC historian "examine and pass on the U.S. Histories before adoption."[c] Thus, when angry white parents and students stood in front of Little Rock's Central High School in September 1957 contesting the Supreme Court's order to integrate, a few blocks north at still-segregated Pulaski Heights Junior High whites were being taught from Olin E. McKnight's UDC-approved textbook *Living in Arkansas*. McKnight implied that violence against Negroes was justified because Negroes were "idle, penniless, lawless; they stole, plundered, burned houses and at times committed other crimes -- often encouraged by carpet-baggers and scalawags in these acts of lawlessness."[ci] Indeed, the UDC-sponsored histories would prove to be almost as enduring as the monuments of granite, stone and bronze it erected, and no doubt the textbooks had more influence on the consciousness of Arkansans than the lonely soldiers standing guard on the courthouse lawn.

D. Confederate Anomalies

Only two Confederate monuments in the state do not bear the stamp of one of the Confederate patriotic organizations. The first, the Jackson Guards Memorial, was built by private subscription in 1914. It is the only Confederate monument in the state built entirely through private subscription. The sculpture, another solitary Confederate soldier, was erected on the grounds of the Jackson County Courthouse in Newport because Jacksonport, a White River town, declined steadily after the railroad built in the 1860s was routed through nearby Newport.[cii] The monument honors the Jackson Guards, who were organized in 1861 by Captain A.B. Pickett, a prominent lawyer in the area. The monument contains a list of all the non-commissioned officers and enlisted men who filled the Jackson Guards' ranks as well as a list of slaves enlisted to aid the soldiers.

The only other monument that does not bear the mark of a Confederate patriotic organization is the 1917 Searcy Confederate Memorial. The monument, another lone Confederate soldier, was placed on the lawn of the White County Courthouse. Although it was constructed through public subscription, its genesis was tied to the patriotic organizations nonetheless because it was built in honor of the state's Confederate veterans, who held their 1917 state reunion in Searcy's Spring Park. Sixty-one surviving veterans marched in the parade.[ciii]

IV. Union Monuments

A. The Grand Army of the Republic

On May 23-24, 1865, immediately following the close of hostilities in the Civil War, various elements of almost all the armies the Union fielded during the war gathered in Washington, D.C., for a Grand Review. The sight of hundreds of thousands of men marching down Pennsylvania Avenue was impressive indeed. The uniting of the elements of various armies into one body was a show of might perhaps unequaled in history at the time.[civ] Although many writers and orators waxed poetic about the symbolism of the event, the numerical strength of the massed bluecoats was not overlooked by men such as General John Logan and Dr. Benjamin Franklin Stephenson, who later would try to harness it for political gain.

According to legend, the Grand Army of the Republic was founded by Stephenson, a former Union army surgeon, who claimed that he and several of his veteran friends pined "for the comraderie of camp." Supposedly, Stephenson envisioned a veteran brotherhood that would dedicate itself "to the relief of fellow veterans," promote "benevolence" and inculculate "patriotism." Out of those ideas came the order's three main principles: Fraternity, Charity and Loyalty.[cv]

The first GAR camp formed in April 1866 in Decatur, Illinois, and the first GAR national encampment was held in Indianapolis later that year. By 1867, the GAR was the main agency through which Union veterans expressed their needs and demands, and the order quickly surpassed other veterans associations such as the Veterans Corps and the Soldiers and Sailors' National Union League in both membership and influence. The GAR even spread to the South, where, in 1867, the order established posts composed of mostly African-American veterans in Tennessee, Arkansas and Louisiana.[cvi]

What Stephenson failed to mention each time he recounted his account of the GAR's innocent founding is that the order's genesis was in truth to aid the presidential aspirations of Logan and Illinois Governor Richard Oglesby, both Radical Republicans. Logan, once described as "as able a practitioner of Victorian spread-eagle oratory as existed among veterans," served as commander-in-chief of the GAR from 1867-1868. He also served in both houses of Congress, co-led Andrew Johnson's impeachment trial and ran unsuccessfully as a vice presidential candidate in 1884.[cvii]

Although the GAR was officially non-partisan, many people facetiously called the group "Generally All Republicans." Yet, the group did operate as something of a Republican political machine well into the 1870s. As Logan told the Republican national committee in 1868, "The organization of the G.A.R. has been and is being run in the interest of the Republican party." The order worked effectively for the Grant-Colfax ticket in the presidential election of 1868 and often promoted veterans for a variety of elected positions with great success.[cviii]

Other than Radical politics and occasional charity work for orphans or disabled veterans, the central activity that dominated the early GAR was the observance of Memorial Day. It's not clear who performed the first memorial exercises in the North, although, as mentioned previously, credit for its inception as an American tradition is generally given to ladies memorial associations in the South. Logan's wife thought the decoration services were a good idea, and the GAR's commander-in-chief ordered posts to sponsor a Memorial Day on May 30 in 1868. Within a year, 31 states mandated Memorial Day as a holiday, truly an instant national tradition. Some people called it Decoration Day because the purpose was to decorate graves, and because GAR members marched in parades wearing all their war decorations.[cix] Often these memorial services included the dedication of a new Union cemetery or the erection of a monument to Union dead. Sometimes the sculptures were funerary, such as an obelisk, or, as was more often the case after 1880, they might

honor a specific regiment or a person. Despite the dearth of records for the Arkansas Department, it's likely that members of a Little Rock GAR post played some role in the reinterring of 1,482 Federal soldiers in the Little Rock National Cemetery in 1868.[cx]

In 1868, national GAR membership exceeded 400,000. However, as Radical Republicanism dominated politics in the North and South, partisanship was a less compelling draw for the order, and its membership began to wane. Grand Army leaders also instituted some fraternal rules regarding grades and rites of passage that proved disastrously unpopular with the membership. What drew many veterans to the GAR was that its requirement -- service in the Union army or navy -- indelibly separated it from the rest of the civilian orders. Veterans believed they had already earned their grades in the army's rank system and had completed their rite of passage in an ordeal by fire.[cxi]

By 1872, the order was virtually moribund in the South and West and declining rapidly in the North. In 1868, Arkansas's GAR posts filed no reports, indicating they probably had folded. The Radical Republican politics and Negro membership of southern GAR posts made them easy targets for pent-up white southern anger over the outcome of the war. Angry Tennesseeans gave GAR members the choice of leaving the state or disavowing membership. In Kentucky, a GAR post commander was whipped and another was assassinated. Also, many former Confederates and their sympathizers boycotted GAR businessmen.[cxii]

By 1876, GAR membership reached a low of 26,899, but the order revived around 1880 for several reasons. Ironically, one of the reasons for its resurgence was that the GAR resemble a civilian fraternal organization, which had been one of the main causes of its decline in the late 1860s. Public acceptance of secret societies had grown during the post-war era, and membership in civilian orders would reach around five million by the turn of the century. Fraternal groups seized on some real or imaginary community of the past and recreated an idealized version of it, and this was popular in an era of rapid economic and social change. GAR gatherings -- campfires, summer encampments, reunions -- were true communities of the imagination, with no sickness and tedium in the camps and no deaths during the battlefield exercises. GAR events also began to attract more public attention as the Union veteran became something of an icon, leading to increased participation by veterans eager to share the glory. Union veterans were pleased that the public began to see them as they saw themselves: the angels of salvation in the climactic event of the establishment of an American democratic millennia. The GAR started lobbying for pensions for Union veterans as well, which was immensely popular among veterans who felt entitled to compensation for their "sacrifice." Ultimately, the GAR would reach its peak strength around 1890, when it eventually came to include the membership of almost one of every two Union veterans and about 7,000 posts.[cxiii]

The GAR's revival moved south in 1883 with the reestablishment of posts in Arkansas -- the first former Confederate state in which the GAR could gain a foothold. On the surface, Arkansas appeared to be a state where the GAR might thrive. After all, one of five Arkansans killed in the Civil War died wearing Union blue and about one-third of white Arkansans opposed seceding from the Union in 1861.[cxiv] Despite secession, many Arkansans remained Unionists, particularly in the northwest part of the state. After the Battle of Prairie Grove, hundreds of Rebel deserters, mostly northern Arkansans, enrolled in Union regiments.[cxv] Many of the men who filled the ranks of the Union regiments occupying Arkansas in 1865 were Arkansans themselves. In addition to the white Arkansans in the Union army, some 5,000 ex-slave Arkansans in the U.S. Colored Infantry helped occupy Helena, Little Rock and Pine Bluff.[cxvi] The strong Unionist sentiment is probably why in 1891 Arkansas had the second highest number of GAR posts, 77, and second highest membership, around 2,200 Union veterans, of all the former Confederate states.[cxvii]

Why the GAR was successful in Arkansas after 1883 and not in 1866 can be reduced to two

things: politics and race. Although most of its members remained Republican, such as Powell Clayton, a Reconstruction governor of Arkansas and state GAR commander-in-chief in 1892, the group itself was no longer necessarily an active political adjunct of the Republican party.[cxviii] Instead, the order concentrated on patriotism, pensions and the preservation of the "correct" memory of the Civil War. This was important to the GAR's success in Arkansas, because, by 1874, the Arkansas Democratic party -- "dominated by Delta land barons -- firmly grasped state politics."[cxix]

Perhaps more important, southern GAR posts tended to adopt southern mores with regard to Negro applications for GAR membership. While southern GAR posts had been predominantly black in 1866, they were mostly white after 1883. In an attempt to win acceptance in the South, the GAR introduced the color line. Exceptions existed, of course, but few northern posts objected to this practice, and some northern posts even practiced tacit segregation themselves.[cxx] A few southern posts might have a black member or two, but separate black and white chapters were the rule, as they were in civilian orders such as the Masons.[cxxi]

The GAR's retreat on the Negro question truly brought it full circle from the 1865 Grand Review. At that event, black Union regiments, some of which had fought longer than those in the parade, were excluded. The few black veterans who did march were usually relegated to the role of comic relief, as some rode mules or carried picks and shovels instead of their guns. The exclusion of blacks from the celebration was a clear message about the kind of Union white veterans wished to preserve. As one soldier put it 22 years later: "When I enlisted in April 1861, with thousands of others, the black was never taken into consideration at all. I went to defend the flag." This attitude would prevail in the 1890s as the push for reunion grew stronger and the celebration of the Lost Cause grew louder. It certainly fit the cultural and political changes in Arkansas during the period.[cxxii]

Despite Democratic control, most of Arkansas's Redeemer Democratic governors in the post-Reconstruction era "continued to pursue conciliatory racial policies" and distanced themselves from the white supremacist elements of their party.[cxxiii] When Frederick Douglass visited Little Rock in 1889, he told an *Arkansas Gazette* reporter, "It gives me a great deal of pleasure to find that the [Negro] race, as a whole, enjoys a large degree of contentment at the relations existing between it and your own race. I find that the colored man is a citizen in feelings as well as law ... ."[cxxiv]

While the fortunes of urban blacks rose in the immediate post-war era, those of the states' rural poor, white and black, waned along with the Southern agricultural economy.[cxxv] These "agrarians" attempted to halt the Democrats growing domination of state politics and filled the ranks of Arkansas's indigenous Agricultural Wheel in the 1880s and the Union Labor and Populist parties in the early 1890s.[cxxvi] After Arkansas's Democrats suffered election scares in 1888 and 1890, they took steps to thwart future challenges.

When the state legislature convened in 1891, one of the first measures adopted by the Democrat-dominated House of Representatives was the removal of a portrait of George Washington hanging behind the Speaker's rostrum. Its replacement was a portrait of Jefferson Davis. By the time the session ended, Arkansas had its first Jim Crow laws, including a provision passed under the guise of election reform that made it difficult for illiterates to vote. Among males 20 or older, 40,295 (55.8 percent) blacks and 26,160 (13.4 percent) whites could neither read nor write.[cxxvii] Republican and agrarians suffered the most from this measure. In 1894, 65,000 fewer people voted than in 1890 -- a drop of almost one-third. When such legislative measures failed to bring the desired results, the Democrats were not above election fraud or race-baiting to swing white votes. In the state's six most predominantly black counties, Republicans and third-party candidates lost almost eight times as many votes as Democrats. This resulted in no blacks being elected to either house of the legislature for the first time since blacks could vote. The 1891 election law effectively destroyed opposition to the Democratic party and "established one-party rule and white supremacy as the central motif of Arkansas politics for well over a half century to come."[cxxviii]

Officially, the GAR did not discriminate on the basis of race, color or creed, but it is likely the loss or non-recognition of black members played a part in the GAR's numerical decline from its 1891 high. The Arkansas Department included colored posts, but the commander reported in 1897 that for years officers had accepted fees without placing one cent to their credit.[cxxix] Although state GAR leaders complained about apathetic membership, between 1896 and 1903 the Arkansas Department maintained between 600 and 1,000 members.[cxxx] In 1903, nine of the state's 48 posts participated in Memorial Day activities. The 253 GAR members and 137 Women's Relief Corpx members (the GAR's women's auxiliary) representing those nine posts decorated 2,390 graves, gave 12 speeches and involved 340 school children in the activities. Like its counterparts in other states, the Arkansas GAR promoted such things as Flag Day (which would become a national holiday in 1916), the singing of "The Star-Spangled Banner" before civic events, and military instruction in schools, as well as history texts promoting the theme of Union.[cxxxi] And, of course, they raised monuments.

The Arkansas Department of the GAR approved of the creation of almost 120 posts during its existence, but only two monuments erected by these groups are known to exist -- one erected in Judsonia in 1894, the other placed in Siloam Springs in 1928. Despite a relaxing of its views on equality for blacks and Radical Republican politics, the GAR still represented an invasion of Yankee values to most Arkansans. That two GAR posts successfully erected monuments is likely quite an accomplishment.

The Grand Army of the Republic Memorial of Judsonia, an obelisk-like marker, is located in the Evergreen Cemetery at Judsonia in White County. Around it are the graves of 16 Union veterans. White County's loyalties were divided during the Civil War. Although the county organized seven companies of Confederate troops, its representative to the secession convention of 1861, J. N. Cypert, voted against leaving the Union and some residents went north to join the Federal army. Support for the Union continued during the postwar years, and the area's Union veterans formed a thriving chapter of the GAR, W.T. Sherman Post No. 84. According to local historian W.E. Orr, Union and Confederate sympathizers continued to debate the war, and "there were instances in which a thoughtless remark produced a miniature Gettysburg." However, on the monument's dedication day veterans and relatives of those on both sides of the war participated in the exercises.[cxxxii]

The Siloam Springs GAR Monument, unveiled by the Samuel R. Curtis Post in 1928, is interesting because it was erected extremely late for a GAR monument. Most GAR monuments were dedicated before 1900, when the national GAR was at its peak strength. As mentioned before, the large number of Confederate monuments unveiled after 1900 probably has a lot to do with the

strength of its ancestral organizations. The GAR's ancestral organizations, such as the Sons of Veterans founded in 1878, never took up their forefathers cause with the same verve the Confederate organizations showed for the Confederate celebration. The GAR and its Sons maintained an uneasy distance because the Grand Army members sincerely doubted the capacity of anyone but a veteran "to understand the essence of the Civil War." The veterans also feared the Sons would dilute the "millennial" meaning of their triumph by bringing civilian influences into the group.[cxxxiii] On the other hand, the Sons of Veterans had little about their fathers' victory they could turn into ideology. The Sons grew up in a progress-oriented culture and, for the sake of progress, the Union was supposed to win the war.

B. Blue-Gray Monuments

In his first inaugural address, prior to the first shots of the Civil War, Abraham Lincoln had already sounded the call for reunion: "Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battle-field, and patriot grave, to every living heart and hearthstone, all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature."[cxxxiv] Although the nation was reunited by force in 1865, it certainly was not reconciled in spirit. The problem of sectional reintegration continued to vex both northerners and southerners for years after the war. As early as 1877, a GAR officer told the national encampment that he felt Confederate veterans were "the better citizens of that section ... the most pestilent classes of the South have been the non-combatants." Like the war, the issue of reunion would be decided by the soldiers. For Union veterans, problems concerning reunion arose over such things as Confederate monuments, Blue-Gray reunions, return of captured Confederate battle flags, and the content of U.S. history books. In the Grand Army of the Republic, Union veterans found a powerful organization to represent their interests and to ensure that the Union's victory occupied a exalted place in Northern post-war culture.[cxxxv]

In the early 1880s, more Americans began to talk of reunions between Union and Confederate soldiers, although the mention often aroused sneers or tirades from veterans of both sides. Still, the idealization of soldiering by Blue and Gray veterans led some to express admiration for their former enemies.[cxxxvi] In 1882, Union and Confederate veterans met together at Gettysburg. From 1882 to 1887, veterans participated in at least 19 organized Blue-Gray reunions, including a meeting between survivors of the Philadelphia Brigade and Pickett's Division at Gettysburg in 1887. Although the 1887 Gettysburg reunion was marred by a bitter dispute over the placement of a Confederate monument inside Union lines, Union and Confederate veterans met again at Gettysburg the following year; at that meeting the veterans agreed to erect a monument to "American heroism." Although old resentments were rarely far from the surface at these early reunions, when possible the veterans on both sides conscientiously avoided discussing heated "political questions" and focused on their shared experience in battle.[cxxxvii]

Former Confederates had no cohesive veterans group like the Union's GAR until the advent of the UCV in 1889, and the earliest Confederate veterans' groups to form tended to be interested in Confederate revitalization rather than veterans needs. As one historian described them, "They brooded over defeat, railed against the North, and offered the image of the Confederacy as an antidote to postwar change."[cxxxviii] Most Southerners, though, gave up on the idea of an independent slave republic, and the Confederate revitalization groups waned in the 1880s as the move toward reconciliation waxed. The Civil War ended forever the notion of the Union as a voluntary confederation of sovereign states, and the word "Union" gradually gave way to "nation."[cxxxix] For ex-Confederates, the election of the Democrat Grover Cleveland in 1884 was an important initial step on the road to becoming part of the new "nation." While joint reunions or writings such as those

found in *The Century* magazine's "Battles and Leaders of the Civil War" offered on occasion overt salutes to Confederate soldiers' honorable conduct during the war, the election of Cleveland was perhaps more important because it convinced southerners they had a political stake in the nation.[cxl]

The number of events attended by both former Confederates and Union soldiers grew rapidly in the late 1880s. The first Blue-Gray reunion in Arkansas of significant scale occurred at the Pea Ridge battlefield on September 1, 1887. The event was officially planned as a reunion of Confederate veterans to coincide with the dedication by "the people of Benton County" of an obelisk-like monument honoring the three Confederate generals and all the Confederate soldiers who died during the March 1862 battle. As people gathered for the dedication ceremony, many of the former Union troops living in the area stepped forward and asked to be allowed to pay their respects. As one speaker said of the Union veterans' gesture: "The white dove seemed to spread her wings alike all over. And harmony reigned supreme ... ." According to local historian J. Dickson Black, "several thousand people" attended the event.[cxli]

Following the ceremony, the former Confederate and Union soldiers appointed a committee -- half Union and half Confederate -- to discuss the formation of a Blue-Gray reunion association. The group had its first reunion October 16-18, 1888, near Elk Horn Springs Tavern. Veterans from seven states attended and more than 2,500 people camped on the ground the veterans had fought for 23 years earlier. The highlight of the event, according to Black, was the performance of a dramatic dance piece called "Secession and Reunion" by "35 beautiful girls, all dressed to look their prettiest."[cxlii]

The 1888 Pea Ridge reunion was such a success that a similar gathering was held September 3-7, 1889. Even though rain plagued the event, more than 7,000 people attended. The Blue and Gray veterans dedicated a monument to "A United Soldiery" not far from the Confederate monument.[cxliii] The monument, topped by a rather block-like sculpture of a woman representing and angel or goddess of Liberty, is thought to be the first of only two monuments in the state to honor both Union and Confederate veterans.

The second of these Blue-Gray monuments, the St. Charles Battle Monument, is perhaps one of the more unique Blue-Gray monuments erected in the South. First, the monument, a granite slab topped by an inverted cannon, was built in 1919 on Southern soil through the private subscription of a Northern man, Mr. Harte, whose relative, William Hickman Harte, was killed in the battle. Why the man chose to honor the killers of his relative is questionable, particularly in a battle so one-sided in terms of loss of life. Union forces lost at least 124 men killed in the June 17, 1862 fight that occurred about 90 miles from the mouth of the White River. Most of those men died in what is thought to be the most deadly single shot of the war when a Confederate shell burst through the *USS Mound City*'s casement and exploded the ship's steam drum, filling the ship with scalding steam and water that burned to death many of the crew. Several of the sailors who escaped overboard into the White River were killed by Confederate sharpshooters. Confederate ground troops eventually surrendered to the Union force with a loss of between six and eight men.[cxliv]

Considering the gruesome way the Union sailors died, the ruthless actions of the Confederate sharpshooters, and the lopsided casualty figures of the battle, it was most charitable of Mr. Harte to include the names of three of the Confederates killed in the fight on the monument. It is possible that Mr. Harte would not have been allowed to erect a Union monument in St. Charles without paying homage to Confederate troops. However, the "official" story for his charitable act is quite different. According to local historian J.M. Henderson, Jr., a St. Charles judge had as a young man cared for Mr. Harte's mortally wounded relative and even knew of the location of the dead man's grave.[cxlv] The assumption this tale makes is that Mr. Harte was so touched by the kindness of the judge that he erected a Blue *and* Gray monument as a symbol of forgiveness and reunion.

As reunion fever grew in the 1890s, newspaper reports about such gatherings -- often

accompanied by photographs of former Union and Confederate soldiers together at battlefields, gravesites and monuments -- usually overlooked tensions or disputes between the former enemies and instead focused on their mutual "love for the Union." For example, in an 1897 article, *Scribner's* magazine noted that Blue-Gray encounters had a "spirit of especial friendliness." The magazine added that the initial presumption that Blue-Gray reunions would "tend to perpetuate bitter memories that were best forgotten ... But the result seems to have been strikingly at variance with such predictions."[cxlvi] By 1902, Confederate General James Longstreet even joined Union officers to review the Grand Army parade in Washington, D.C., while the GAR's commander-in-chief solicited donations for Confederate veteran's homes -- sure signs to reporters that all had been forgiven.[cxlvii]

Unfortunately, as cultural historian Michael Kammen notes, the optimistic reports of reunion might have said "more about the capacity for amnesia than for forgiving." For many veterans, participating in respectful acts of reminiscence and rediscovered brotherhood was simply another duty they were called upon to perform as veteran soldiers. While the nationalism caused by the Spanish-American War -- the watershed event many historians use for the reuniting of the sections -- did much to smooth lingering hostilities, bitterness among veterans continued well into the twentieth century. When a few Confederate veterans proposed in 1902 a monument to U.S. Grant in honor of the liberal terms of surrender he gave Lee, the monument fund fizzled at $16. Likewise. when Confederate veterans attempted to raise a monument to Lee at Gettysburg in 1903, they were stymied by the GAR, which flexed every muscle to "prevent such a horrible desecration." During World War I, after a 14-year battle, Confederate veterans finally raised their monument to Lee at Gettysburg.[cxlviii]

Sectional tension were just as slow to abate in Arkansas, despite the state's many Unionists. During the 1911 General Assembly, a state senator proffered a bill to set aside space on the State Capitol lawn for a monument to the Arkansas men who fought for the Union during the Civil War. In what is perhaps one of the least perspicacious moves in the colored history of the state General Assembly, the senator introduced the bill at a time when more than 100,000 Confederate veterans and sympathizers were in Little Rock for the United Confederate Veterans national reunion. The bill was defeated handily, even though the senator made a plea for fairness, citing Illinois' recent construction of a monument to Confederate prisoners of war who died in captivity. One of the primary fears of the legislators who voted against the bill -- other than being lynched by all the Confederates in town -- was that donations from the North would allow Unionists to build a Union monument dwarfing the Confederate Soldiers Monument, erected at the Capitol in 1905.[cxlix]

Union veterans' most pressing concern was that ex-Confederates not question the moral lesson of the war. The GAR objected most strenuously to behaviors or symbols that implied honor to the Confederate cause -- the parading of the battle flag, the raising of monuments, the toasting of Jefferson Davis. As far as the GAR was concerned, the lessons of the war were not subject to historical debate.[cl] Simply put, the former Confederates were the champions of an evil cause. Thus, veterans' newspapers such as the *National Tribune* aggressively attacked the rationalizations and apologia of the Lost Cause.[cli]

Of course, if the glory of the Union soldier was to live on indefinitely, the message would be transmitted thorough school history textbooks. The GAR began lobbying for the writing of "proper" histories in the 1880s. By 1892, Confederate veterans were irritated by what they saw as a Northern bias in history textbooks, and at the United Confederate Veteran national convention that year they appointed a committee on history to chose "proper" books for southern schools. Both sides were equally aggressive in promoting their slanted histories. Often editors would submit textbooks to various GAR and UCV committees, depending upon the section, for approval. In the South, some GAR members feared the UCV histories were instilling disloyalty to the Union in southern school children. In Arkansas, Powell Clayton, the state's 1892 department commander, told his comrades

they had a "missionary duty ... to leaven this great ponderous lump of disloyalty that exists here." The textbook question continued to be extremely bitter well into the twentieth century, as the veterans' ancestral organizations, particularly the Daughters of the Confederacy, continued the fight.[clii]

What Union and Confederate veterans argued in their textbook battles bore little resemblance to what the war was about or what its outcome meant. Perhaps this is why the poet Walt Whitman once quipped that the real Civil War did not get into the books. Northern writers found that it was more popular to portray the Civil War "as an exalted example of national redemption" instead of "a grisly historical moment when the political system broke down."[cliii] Southern writers, on the other hand, portrayed the war as a grand Lost Cause. By the 1890s, neither side paid much attention to the fate of African Americans. The lack of writing about the Negro question in histories of the time and the absence of discussion at GAR-UCV joint encampments about the end of slavery as a "war aim" showed that the nation as a whole had almost reached a tacit consensus on the subject. Confederate soldiers, so the story went, had not fought for slavery; Union soldiers had not fought for its abolition. In the popular romanticized novels, histories and oratories about the war, the issue of slavery became "almost as invisible as black Union veterans at a reunion encampment." As the historian James McPherson writes, "Somehow the Civil War became a heroic contest, a sort of grand, if deadly, football game without ideological cause or purpose... ."[cliv]

C. The Minnesota Monument

In 1913, the Minnesota state legislature established the Minnesota Monument Commission to recommend the construction of memorials honoring Minnesota's Civil War soldiers buried in national cemeteries throughout the South. Based on the commission's suggestions, the Minnesota legislature in 1915 appropriated money for creation and erection of the first three of these monuments in Little Rock, Arkansas; Memphis, Tennessee; and Andersonville, Georgia. The commission selected John K. Daniels, a Norwegian-born sculptor who immigrated with his parents to St. Paul, Minnesota, at the age of 9, to create the works. His bronze sculpture of a typical Union infantry soldier is identical in all three locations.[clv]

Little Rock's Minnesota Monument, also called "Taps," was unveiled on September 22, 1916, in the Little Rock National Cemetery. The cemetery contains almost 7,000 Union graves, including 36 of Minnesota soldiers. Minnesota troops fought in several Union campaigns in Arkansas, and the Third Minnesota infantry regiment figured prominently in the fall and occupation of Little Rock.

The Minnesota Monument is the only one in Arkansas whose commission came from an outside state government. Governor J.A. Burnquist of Minnesota, who made the trip for the unveiling, gave a speech that was "reunionist" in tone. "We are here to increase the friendship between the North and the South," he said. The crowd included Confederate veterans and members of Confederate women's groups as well as members of the GAR's MacPherson Post No. 1. Arkansas's speakers included Governor George W. Hays and Mayor Charles E. Taylor. Despite the presence of dignitaries and veterans from both sides, only about 100 people turned out for the ceremony indicating that -- despite the overt displays of reunion -- deep-seated bitterness toward the Union still existed in Arkansas, and honoring Federals in "Confederate" towns such as Little Rock was nothing short of heretical. For years to come, towns around Arkansas would continue to draw larger crowds for the unveiling of Confederate monuments.[clvi]

V. Methodology, Goals and Priorities

The multiple-property listing of commemorative period sculptures in Arkansas, 1886-1934, is based upon a comprehensive survey of outdoor sculpture in the state conducted by the AHPP, led by Don Shaw, AHPP Save Outdoor Sculpture! (SOS!) survey coordinator, and a network of volunteers. The survey was conducted between 1991 and 1994 through AHPP's participation in the national SOS! survey sponsored by the National Institute for the Conservation of Cultural Property and the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of American Art. All known outdoor sculptures in the state (approximately 380) were surveyed and those dating from the historic period were evaluated by AHPP staff as to their National Register eligibility. Thirty monuments were determined to be eligible to the National Register for their associations with the Civil War commemorative period in Arkansas and the staff, in cooperation with the AHPP preservation planner, determined that the best way to nominate them was through a historic context.

Charles Russell (Rusty) Logan, AHPP special projects historian, was responsible for research and writing of the historic context, while Mark Christ, AHPP communications/development director, and John Slater, AHPP intern, developed a multiple-property nomination under the guidance of Ken Story, AHPP National Register/survey coordinator. Shaw holds an M.A. from The Art School in Boston, Massachusetts. Logan holds a B.A. in American history from Connecticut College and an M.A. in American history from New York University. Christ holds a B.A. in journalism and liberal arts from the University of Arkansas at Little Rock. Slater holds a B.A. in history from Rhodes College. Story holds a B.A. in art history from Amherst College and an M.A. in art history with a concentration in the history of American architecture from Tufts University.

Any monument or associated property, such as a cemetery or park, reflective of or associated with this period of Arkansas's social history would be considered eligible for inclusion in the context provided that the property had not been moved to an incompatible location and retained at least 51 percent of its original integrity, as determined by the professional historians and art historians of the AHPP's survey and National Register staff. Integrity requirements were based on a knowledge of existing properties and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Eligibility to the National Register of Historic Places. For each recorded property, locations were noted on USGS topographical and city maps; photographs, both black-and-white prints and color slides, were taken of several elevations; computerized SOS! survey forms were completed; and research, utilizing primary, secondary and oral history sources, was conducted. Any information on research, events or issues not adequately covered in this study should be directed to the AHPP special projects historian.

These properties represent significant physical reminders of an important period in Arkansas history. Crushed by a humiliating military defeat at the hands of Union forces and embittered by the Reconstruction period that followed, many Arkansas citizens attempted through various social expressions, such as the building of monuments, to establish a Confederate "tradition." In this way, these Arkansans tried to come to terms with the horrible suffering caused by the war through the creation of romanticized past -- the "Lost Cause" -- that would give their sacrifice a meaning. The repercussions of this movement have lasted through contemporary times and the monuments continue to be cultural reference points for the discussion of the legacy of the period. By publicly recognizing the importance of these resources to the understanding and appreciation of Arkansas history through this project and the accompanying media campaign, the Arkansas Historic Preservation Program hopes to encourage the preservation and protection of these historic properties.

Appendix

Commemorative Properties listed on National Register of Historic Places

Key: Name of property; location; associated organization(s); dedication date.

Arkadelphia Confederate Monument; Clark County Courthouse, Arkadelphia; Harris Flanagin Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC); 1911

Bentonville Confederate Monument; Public Square Park, Bentonville, Benton County; A.J. Bates and James H. Berry Chapter UDC; August 8, 1908

Fort Smith Confederate Monument; Sebastian County Courthouse, Fort Smith; Varina Jefferson Davis Chapter UDC; September 10, 1903

Helena Confederate Cemetery; Maple Hill Cemetery, Helena, Phillips County; Phillips County Memorial Association; 1869

Memorial to Company A, Capitol Guards; MacArthur Park, Little Rock, Pulaski County; General Robert C. Newton Camp, Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV); May 17, 1911

David O. Dodd Memorial; Old State House, Little Rock, Pulaski County; UDC, SCV and United Confederate Veterans (UCV); November 10, 1923

Monument to Confederate Women; Arkansas State Capitol, Little Rock, Pulaski County; UCV; May 1, 1913

Confederate Soldiers Monument; Arkansas State Capitol, Little Rock, Pulaski County; UCV, SCV and Memorial Chapter, UDC; June 3, 1905

Confederate Memorial; Little Rock National Cemetery, Little Rock, Pulaski County; Memorial Chapter No. 48, UDC; May 11, 1913

Pine Bluff Confederate Monument; Jefferson County Courthouse, Pine Bluff; David O. Dodd Chapter, UDC; July 22, 1910

Searcy Confederate Monument; White County Courthouse, Searcy; public subscription; August 16, 1917

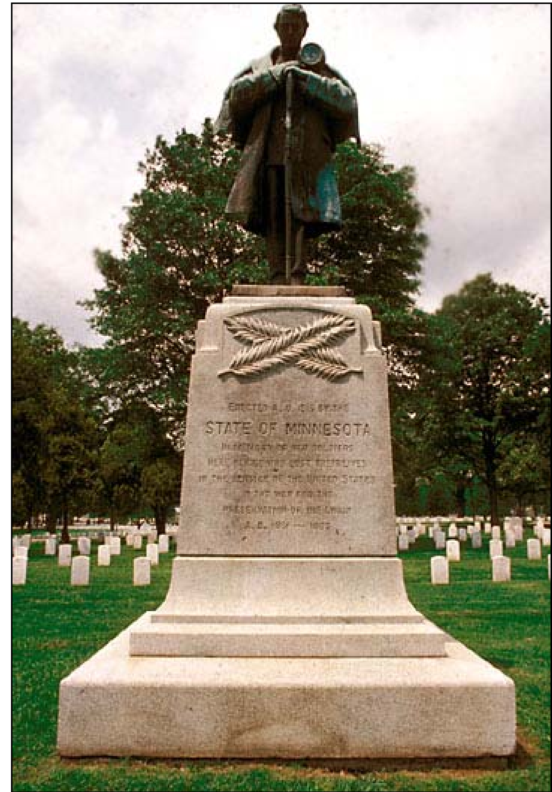
Van Buren Confederate Monument; Crawford County Courthouse, Van Buren; Mary Lee Chapter,

UDC; November 10, 1899, rededicated August 4, 1906

Lake Village Confederate Monument; Chicot County Courthouse, Lake Village; Captain McConnell and George K. Cracraft Chapters, UDC; October 26, 1910

Jackson Guards Monument; Jacksonport State Park, Jackson County; public subscription; November 26, 1914

Camden Confederate Monument; Ouachita County Courthouse, Camden; Hugh McCollum Camp No. 778, UCV, and Grinstead Chapter, UDC; May 15, 1915



El Dorado Confederate Monument; Union County Courthouse, El Dorado; Henry G. Bunn Chapter, UDC; March 21, 1910

Monticello Confederate Monument; Oaklawn Cemetery, Monticello, Drew County; W.F. Slemmons Chapter, UDC; May 15, 1915

Star City Confederate Monument, Star City Town Square, Lincoln County; Captain J. Martin Meroney Chapter No. 1831, UDC; October 8, 1926

General Robert E. Lee Monument; City Park, Marianna, Lee County; D.G. Govan Chapter UDC; December 8, 1910

Hot Springs Confederate Memorial; Landmark Plaza, Hot Springs, Garland County; Hot Springs Chapter No. 80, UDC; June 2, 1934

Dardanelle Confederate Memorial; Yell County Courthouse, Dardanelle; Joe Wheeler Chapter No. 247, UDC; June 3, 1921

Lonoke Confederate Memorial; Lonoke County Courthouse, Lonoke; T.C. Hindman Chapter, UDC; October 20, 1910

Camp Nelson Confederate Cemetery; Cabot, Lonoke County; James Adams Camp 1036, UCV; 1897

Batesville Confederate Monument; Independence County Courthouse, Batesville; Sidney Johnston Chapter No. 135, UDC, and Sidney Johnston Camp No. 863, UCV; May 1, 1907

Conway Confederate Monument; Faulkner County Courthouse, Conway; Robert E. Lee Chapter,

UDC; October 18, 1925

St. Charles Monument; St. Charles, Arkansas County; donated by relative of Union casualty; April 26, 1919

Confederate Mothers Memorial Park; Russellville, Pope County; Ben T. Embry Camp, SCV, and John R. Homer Scott Chapter, UDC; June 12, 1924

Confederate Section, Hollywood Cemetery; Hot Springs, Garland County; Albert Pike Camp, UCV, and Hot Springs Chapter No. 80, UDC; 1900

Confederate Section, Fairview Cemetery; Van Buren Crawford County; City of Van Buren and Mary Lee Chapter, UDC; 1861

Washington Confederate Monument; Presbyterian Cemetery, Washington, Hempstead County; public subscription; August 1888

Oakland Cemetery, Confederate Section; Camden, Ouachita County; Camden Memorial Association and Confederate Monument Association; Nov. 9, 1866 (cemetery) and May 29, 1886 (monument)

Fayetteville Confederate Cemetery; Rock Street, Fayetteville, Washington County; Southern Memorial Association of Washington County; June 10, 1873

Grand Army of the Republic Memorial; Evergreen Cemetery, Judsonia, White County; W.T. Sherman Post No. 84, Grand Army of the Republic (GAR);1894

Minnesota Monument; Little Rock National Cemetery, Pulaski County; State of Minnesota; September 22, 1916

Grand Army of the Republic Memorial; Twin Springs Park, Siloam Springs, Benton County; Samuel R. Curtis Post No. 9, GAR; 1928

Little Rock National Cemetery; 2523 Confederate Boulevard, Little Rock, Pulaski County; U.S. Government; April 9, 1868

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i. Quoted in Rollin Gustav Osterweis, *The Myth of the Lost Cause, 1865-1900* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books-Shoe String Press, 1973) 6.

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lvi. "Excerpts from an Address Given at the Confederate Cemetery in Fayetteville on June 2, 1940," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 3, No. 4, 351-353.

lvii. *History of the Confederated Memorial Associations of the South* 335.

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lxxii. Dodd became famous in 1863 at the age of 17 when he was stopped by Union troops outside Little Rock as he tried to pass through their lines. His travel pass had been confiscated by a Federal soldier earlier in the day, and he had no form of identification other than a notebook containing coded descriptions of Union troop strength and location in Little Rock. After a six-day trial by a military tribunal, he was found guilty and sentenced to death. On the eve of his execution, Union General Frederick L. Steele visited Dodd and offered to release him if he would reveal the source of the encoded information. Dodd refused, allegedly saying, "I thank you for your good wishes and kind offers, but I must say that I will not betray a friend, and like Nathan Hale, I regret that I only have but one life to give to my country." Dodd's hanging took place at St. John's College, on January 8, 1864. A crowd of 5,000, larger than Little Rock's population at the time, watched the execution, which took two ropes and about eight minutes of dangling to complete. Dodd's loyalty to the Confederacy in the face of death made him a heroic figure and earned him the sobriquets "the Nathan Hale of Arkansas" and "the Boy Martyr of the Confederacy."

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Something So Dim It Must Be Holy: Civil War Commemorative Sculpture in Arkansas

1886-1934

By Charles Russell Logan

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