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Public Commemoration of the Civil War and Monuments to Memory: The Triumph of Robert E. Lee and the Lost Cause

A Dissertation Presented

By

Edward T O'Connell

to

The Graduate School

In Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements

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Abstract of the Dissertation

Public Commemoration and Monuments to Memory: The Triumph of Robert E. Lee and the Lost Cause

by

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This dissertation examines the significance of the *Virginia Memorial* located on the former battlefield of the Gettysburg Military Park in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. Dedicated on June 8, 1917 and prominently featuring an equestrian image of Robert E. Lee, this work of public commemorative art represents a dominant voice in the dialogue of the constructed public memory of the causes and the consequences of the Civil War. It signals the legitimacy and wide spread acceptance of the myth of the Lost Cause and its prominent association with the image of the most notable canonical icon of this ideology, Robert E. Lee.

It represents a public memory and reiteration of the war’s legacy that, as Frederic Douglass declared, forgets the difference “between those who fought for slavery and those who fought for liberty.” It is this myth that in effect controls the commemorative discourse of the preserved battlefield at Gettysburg and beyond.

Today, as it has done since the time of its dedication, the Virginia Memorial remains an important sign post in the nation’s memory of the Civil War and is the result of an ongoing political discussion that continues to take place in the public sphere regarding the structures of power that are inextricably linked with the formation of public memory. It stands as a unique physical marker in the text that comprises the dialogue constructing the nation’s public memory of the Civil War, a unique work of commemorative public art that serves simultaneously as a battlefield monument and war memorial to the Virginians who fought at Gettysburg, and a site specific work of public sculpture in contested civic space. As such, it serves the purposes of seemingly contradictory and antithetical interests while asserting the ideas of both cultural continuity and cultural revision within the constructed symbolic code of America’s commemorative patriotic landscape.

Although the Confederacy was defeated in battle it emerged on the field at Gettysburg as victorious in memory. The constructed image and public memory of Robert E. Lee makes this final victory of memory possible.

Dedication

Dedicated to my father, Thomas J. O’Connell

“This above all: to thine own self be true,
And it must follow, as the night the day,
Thou canst not then be false to any man.”
— *Hamlet, Act I, sc. iii*

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Introduction:

Public Commemoration, the Civil War, and Monuments to Memory: The Triumph of Robert E. Lee and the Lost Cause

On January 8, 1908, four decades after the end of the bloodshed of the Civil War which had resulted in the deaths of over 620,000 Americans, the loss of hundreds of millions dollars in property, and the destabilization of the social fabric of the American nation as a whole, Governor Claude A. Swanson of Virginia issued a stirring call to the General Assembly of the state of Virginia recommending the creation of what would be the first memorial to be established on the former battlefield of Gettysburg by a state that had fought on the side of the Confederacy:[1]

> A more glorious exhibition of disciplined valor has never been witnessed than that shown by Gen. Robert E. Lee and the Virginia troops at the battle of Gettysburg. The heroic achievements of our troops in that fierce battle have given to this Commonwealth a fame that is immortal, a luster that is imperishable. I recommend that an appropriation be made to erect on this battlefield a suitable monument to commemorate the glory and heroism of the Virginia troops and their noble leader.[2]

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[1] James M. McPherson, *Ordeal by Fire: The Civil War and Reconstruction*, 3rd ed. (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2000), 163. For further insight into the accuracy of the death figures connected to the Civil War see also John R. Neff, *Honoring the Civil War Dead: Commemoration and the Problem of Reconciliation*, *Modern War Studies* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2005), and Eric T. Dean, *Shook over Hell: Post-Traumatic Stress, Vietnam, and the Civil War* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997).

[2] "Dedication of the Virginia Memorial at Gettysburg, Friday, June 8, 1917," Southern Historical Society and Virginia Historical Society., *Southern Historical Society Papers* (Richmond:Virginia Historical Society, 1876), microform, 85.

Less than ten years later on June 8, 1917 during the dedication ceremonies for the recently completed Virginia Memorial on the former battlefield at Gettysburg, the then chief executive of the state of Virginia, Governor Henry Carter Stewart, spoke in a sanguine tone that, despite the magnitude of the defeat suffered by the Army of Northern Virginia and the divisive nature of the post war period, was widely embraced by the time of the monument's dedication: "For many reasons we would not blot out of American History one page of the epic which recounts the rise and fall of the Confederacy, for through dim with tears and tragic in its grief, it is none the less fruitful in its lesson."[3]

Remembered today as a highly significant turning point in the Civil War and frequently referred to as the "high tide of the Confederacy," the battle of Gettysburg has been the focus of intense examination and the subject of frequent and fertile myth making. As the site of the furthest penetration of Union territory by a Confederate army during the course of the conflict, and widely considered to be the site of what is often identified as the Confederacy's greatest defeat, it soon after the war became the focal point of interest in the public mind of the North and South alike.[4]

At the time of its dedication the Virginia Memorial represented, as it does today, a dominant voice in the dialogue of the constructed public memory of the causes and the consequences of the Civil War that signaled the legitimacy and wide spread acceptance of the myth of the Lost Cause and its prominent association with the image of the most

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[3] Ibid. 90

[4] Jim Weeks, *Gettysburg: Memory, Market, and an American Shrine* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2003). The impact of the dynamics of the formation of memory and its effect on the constructed images of heroes at Gettysburg is not the exclusive domain of Robert E. Lee alone. George Pickett was the focal point of a major effort to construct images and myths associated with the battle's final day that were intended to serve the interests of a narrow group of constituencies. See Carol Reardon, *Pickett's Charge in History and Memory*, *Civil War America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997).

notable canonical icon of Lost Cause ideology, Robert E. Lee. It represents a public memory and reiteration of the war's legacy that, as Frederic Douglass declared, forgets the difference "between those who fought for slavery and those who fought for liberty." It is this myth that in effect controls the commemorative discourse of the battlefield and the constructed public memory of the Civil War.[5]

This ideology is characterized by explanations and justifications connected to the causes, conduct, and consequences of the Civil War that portray the Confederacy in a distinctly positive light. Initially embraced throughout the South during the immediate post-war period it would, by the start of the twentieth century, gain widespread acceptance throughout the nation. Myths such as this one often arise when individuals are prompted to seek out images and symbols to construct a usable truth which allows them to successfully deal with a traumatic event like the defeat of the Confederacy. Significantly, the disavowal of slavery as a cause of the war is a prominent part of this constructed myth.[6]

Commemorative processes, like those that unfold as part of the undertaking of establishing public monuments, are by definition social and political in nature. They involve the convergence of both individual and group memories and interests as various constituencies contest the form and content of the final commemorative product. The

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[5] "For Something Beyond the Battlefield": Frederick Douglass and the Struggle for the Memory of the Civil War in David W. Blight, *Beyond the Battlefield: Race, Memory & the American Civil War* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002), 93-119.

[6] See Thomas Lawrence Connelly, *The Marble Man: Robert E. Lee and His Image in American Society*, Louisiana pbk. ed. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978), Gary W. Gallagher and Alan T. Nolan, *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), 8, Alan T. Nolan, *Lee Considered : General Robert E. Lee and Civil War History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), Rollin Gustav Osterweis, *The Myth of the Lost Cause, 1865-1900* ([Hamden, Conn.]: Archon Books, 1973), Charles Reagan Wilson, *Baptized in Blood : The Religion of the Lost Cause, 1865-1920* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1980).

results of this dialogue often present a seemingly legitimate vision held together by a patina of consensual convergence that seldom reveals the intensity of the contest for control of the construction of memory that is often an integral part of the birthing process of commemorative forms such as monuments.[7]

Indeed, the former battlefield at Gettysburg is a highly contested commemorative space. Presented today in a built form of over 1400 monuments and markers commemorating the sacrifices made by those who fought for both the North and the South on what Abraham Lincoln identified as "hallowed ground," the Gettysburg National Military Park is a highly significant site in America's patriotic landscape.[8]

The Virginia Memorial remains an important sign post in the evolving national public memory of the Civil War and is the result of an ongoing political discussion that continues to take place in the public sphere regarding the structures of power that are inextricably linked with the formation of public memory. It stands as a unique physical marker in the text that comprises the dialogue constructing the nation's public memory of the Civil War, a unique work of commemorative public art that serves simultaneously as a battlefield monument and war memorial to the Virginians who fought at Gettysburg, and a site specific work of public sculpture in contested civic space. As such, it serves the purposes of seemingly contradictory and antithetical interests while asserting the ideas of

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[7] John R. Gillis, *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994), 5.

[8] *Crossing the Wall* (2002), sound recording, Carin T. Ford, *The Battle of Gettysburg and Lincoln's Gettysburg Address* (Berkeley Heights, NJ: Enslow Publishers, 2004), Donald J. Frey, *Longstreet's Assault--Pickett's Charge : The Lost Record of Pickett's Wounded* (Shippensburg, PA: Burd Street Press, 2000), Earl J. Hess, *Pickett's Charge--the Last Attack at Gettysburg*, *Civil War America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), John M. Priest, *Into the Fight : Pickett's Charge at Gettysburg* (Shippensburg, PA: White Mane Books, 1998), Reardon, *Pickett's Charge in History and Memory,* Richard M. Rollins, *Pickett's Charge : Eyewitness Accounts at Gettysburg*, 1st ed., *Stackpole Military History Series* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2005).

both cultural continuity and cultural revision within the constructed symbolic code of America's commemorative patriotic landscape.[9]

Despite the fact that Gettysburg was the location of a major defeat for the Army of Northern Virginia and for the Confederate cause itself, the memory of Virginia's soldiers who fought at Gettysburg and their leader was viewed as worthy of commemoration and remembrance as would be, in a broader sense, the cause of the South itself. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the defeat of the army of Robert E. Lee at Gettysburg and the remembered motivations of the Confederacy in waging war were embraced as being worthy of memorialization. This came about, in large part, because of the widespread acceptance of Lost Cause ideology and the spirit of national reconciliation that it engendered. It is this ideology and its prominent reliance on the persona of Robert E. Lee as represented in the Virginia Memorial that helps to explain the widespread national reverence that is directed at Lee's memory by the time of the monument's dedication.[10]

The celebration of a figure such as Lee as the singular embodiment of a patriotic cause is not without precedent in the United States. An examination of the evolutionary

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[9] John Bodnar, Remaking *America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1992), 1-20.The physical landscape of commemoration may undergo seemingly small or insignificant alterations that can have major symbolic repercussions. This process is most overt when a physical representation of the human form of an iconic personage is a central part of a memorial structure. See Paul A. Shackel, *Myth, Memory, and the Making of the American Landscape* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2001).

[10] David G. Martin, *Confederate Monuments at Gettysburg* (Conshohocken, PA: Combined Books, 1995), 54-59. The term itself "Lost Cause" first appeared as part of the title of a book published in 1866 by the Richmond newspaper editor, Edward Pollard. See Edward Alfred Pollard, *The Lost Cause* (New York, Avenel, N.J.: Gramercy Books; Distributed by Outlet Book Co., 1994).Most significantly, the Lost Cause mythology disavows the connection between slavery and the causes of the war. See Gaines M. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865 to 1913* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), Gallagher and Nolan, *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History,* Nina Silber, *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865-1900*, *Civil War America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993).

process of the development of the public memory of America's patriotic past reveals a context which informs our understanding of the significance of the appearance of Robert E. Lee as the central figure in a public monument on the former battlefield at Gettysburg.

The accomplishments of elite leaders of the Revolution were first celebrated and commemorated during the American Revolution itself. They were most frequently portrayed as noble heroes imbued with republican virtue while offering their brave and selfless service on behalf of the fledgling nation. An examination of their central importance to earliest forms of public commemoration reveals that ordinary citizens focused on the sacrifice of these elite leaders and embraced them as their authentic representatives while celebrating their stature as a valid reflection of their own worth.

Operating within this framework, the commemorative process that first emerged during the Revolutionary War synthesized an image of the noble republican hero as the focus of celebration. By setting aside their own self interest and risking their lives in warfare on behalf of the common good, they had demonstrated their worth through their meritorious actions which, in turn, entitled them to unending public praise that would eventually locate them at the center of the evolving commemorative dialogue.[11]

Over time, the focus of commemoration and public memory would be altered. A widening of the commemorative process, described by Sarah Purcell as the democratization of memory, would enabled the public memory of the war to expand beyond its initial focus centered on a fairly exclusive group of heroic elite republican

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[11] Gordon S. Wood, *The Radicalism of the American Revolution*, 1st ed. (New York: A.A. Knopf, 1992), Gordon S. Wood and Institute of Early American History and Culture (Williamsburg Va.), *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776-1787* (Chapel Hill: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Va., by the University of North Carolina Press, 1998). Both cited in Sarah J. Purcell, *Sealed with Blood: War, Sacrifice, and Memory in Revolutionary America*, *Early American Studies* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 3.

martyrs around whom a grateful nation could unite. Significantly, this commemorative process would evolve its own symbolic language that stressed the primacy of unselfish sacrifice for the common good as the foundation of the republic.[12]

Over time, this narrative of memory would increasingly include a greater diversity of non-elite citizens, each asserting that their own sacrifices were worthy of remembrance by the nation. In the resulting commemorative milieu, the hero and the ordinary citizen were almost equally glorified through joint participation in the many manifestations of public commemoration. Public commemorative events and commemoration itself would evolve during the decades leading up to the American Civil War as common soldiers and their sacrifices would more often become the focus of commemoration.[13]

During this antebellum period, the constructed nature of commemorative narratives would become readily apparent. The structuring of the form and the content of commemorative ventures, such as the establishment of public monuments intended to honor the memory of the events and individuals connected to both the War of 1812 and the Mexican-American War, would reveal itself to be a process in which competing constituencies vied for control of the narrative. Although less under the control of elites, an examination of the process of formulating a narrative of remembrance during this period reveals the extent to which editorial control is coveted by those venturing to control the text of public memory.

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[12] Sarah J. Purcell, *Sealed with Blood: War, Sacrifice, and Memory in Revolutionary America*, *Early American Studies* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002).

[13] G. Kurt Piehler, *Remembering War the American Way* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995).

Reflecting the degree to which the nation's dialogue of commemoration had evolved, it was the sacrifice of ordinary soldiers that was to be located at the center of the unfolding commemorative dialogue of the Civil War. Over time, the battlefields of the war were to become important sites of commemoration as former Union soldiers gathered on them for reunions. It was during these commemorative occasions that public monuments were often dedicated, recalling the sacrifice of former comrades and celebrating the participation of all those who had served.

Battlefields of the war were not the only location for the dedication of public monuments commemorating the service of Union soldiers. The public spaces of Northern cities and towns were also to become the location of commemorative structures honoring their sacrifice.

For the American South, the structuring of a coherent narrative of commemoration was to be more problematic. Faced with the physical devastation of much of its landscape, widespread economic and social chaos, and the loss of many lives the residents of the former Confederacy were tasked with constructing a public memory of the war that would explain what had happened while aiding them in coping with the realities of defeat and military occupation.

Southern commemoration was to initially focus, as it had in the North, on the sacrifice of the ordinary Confederate soldiers. These early commemorative rites were initially limited to those associated with the themes of mourning and loss, and public monuments commemorating the war would reflect this fact. In the first decades after the war, monuments celebrating the Confederacy were to appear exclusively within Southern

cemeteries. Their commemorative scope was limited to the private sacred space of burial grounds.[14]

Over time, however, monuments dedicated to the noble sacrifice of Confederate soldiers would begin to appear in the public space of Southern cities and towns. Reflecting a resilient pride in the Southern cause, this extension of Southern commemoration into the civic spaces of the former Confederacy was made possible by a widening acceptance of the ideology of the Lost Cause. First suggested by Richmond publisher Edward Pollard, this ideology was to gain widespread acceptance throughout the former Confederacy, and by the end of the nineteenth century it was be embraced by the entire nation. Primarily a rationalization, this "myth" structured a narrative of remembrance that addresses the causes, conduct, and outcome of the war in which the former Confederacy and the Southern people were absolved of blame. Significantly, it argues that the cause of the South was truly legitimate, admirable, and patriotic. [15]

The central figure of this ideology was Robert E. Lee. Before being celebrated and praised as an authentic national hero at the dedication of the Virginia Memorial on Northern soil at Gettysburg, his noble reputation and stature was first reiterated within the territorial boundaries of the former Confederacy.

The dedication of a monument at the site of Lee's burial in the chapel at Washington and Lee University, the Recumbent Figure (1883), and the dedication of the equestrian representation of the general in Richmond, Lee, (1890) both served to expand

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[14] Gaines M. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865 to 1913* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).

[15] Edward Alfred Pollard, *The Lost Cause; a New Southern History of the War of the Confederates* (New York,: E. B. Treat & co., Baltimore, Md., L. T. Palmer & co.; [etc., 1866).

Lee's reputation as an authentic *Southern* hero while also reflecting the wide spread acceptance of both he and the Lost Cause ideology that he represented. By the beginning of the twentieth century, Lee was embraced by the nation as an authentic patriotic American hero cast in the image and likeness of the noble republican hero deserving of *national* praise and admiration. As a brave, Anglo-Saxon, Christian warrior, Lee was shown to be a truly worthy national hero cast in the image of the founders. Additionally, his association with the stature and reputation of George Washington as suggested by the tenants of the Lost Cause became a persistent part of the celebration of the memory of Lee.

At the dedication of the Virginia Memorial at Gettysburg, Assistant Secretary of War Ingraham, accepting the memorial on behalf of the U.S. government, echoed the theme of reconciliation that was so much a part of the celebration of Lee and the Lost Cause. He directly addressed the motives of the soldiers of Virginia for fighting while instructing his audience on the proper way to remember their conduct in defeat: "We are here to pay loving tribute to those who fell for a cause which they believed was just and right. No one can deny their sincere belief and honest convictions of the justice of their cause, and they died fighting as bravely as any men ever fought in battle."[16]

As arguably the most revered icon of the former Confederacy and a predominant figure of Southern identity, Lee's memory had been evoked in a variety of forms beginning almost immediately after his death in 1870. By installing Lee as the South's premier representative, the Confederacy became depoliticized after the fact. The white South's urgent need to dissociate the Confederacy from slavery after the war dictated this

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[16] Ibid. 92

strategy of depoliticallization. By the time of his death, Robert E. Lee and his constructed image had already become an example of the white South's collective reversal on slavery. His historical role as a leader of soldiers, and not as a maker of policy, completed and enhanced that personal example. Presenting the image of a selfless republican hero who was cast in the mold of his fellow Virginian, George Washington, Lee became the personification of a newly revised, newly remembered Confederacy that pretended to have fought a heroic struggle not for slavery, but for liberty defined as the rights of states to self determination. Significantly, his image also presented a vision of unquestioned heroism that was white, male, and Southern. By the first decades of the twentieth century these traits were widely considered indisputably and authentically American. [17]

By 1902 when the idea for establishing a memorial featuring Lee at Gettysburg received serious consideration, white Northerners increasingly accepted the argument that the Civil War had been fought between moral equals. The selective nature of public memory greatly assisted in the movement towards national reconciliation. Gradually, in large part through the use of Lee as an icon of masculine, Anglo-Saxon Christianity, white Northerners had been forced to confront their own racial sympathies while

[17] Robert E Lee's traditional image as a noble example of an authentic nineteenth-century American patriot and notable persona of the Lost Cause is discussed in Connelly, *The Marble Man: Robert E. Lee and His Image in American Society*. A less optimistic and more critical assessment of his role as archetypical patriot that challenges the traditional assessment of Lee especially as portrayed in Lost Cause imagery and literature can be found in both Nolan, *Lee Considered: General Robert E. Lee and Civil War History*. Kirk Savage persuasively argues that Lee's image is constructed on both moral virtue and a "canonical whiteness" which was essential to the post war rehabilitation of both he and the American South. His outward appearance as presented in public art is a reflection of inner superiority. This author also addresses the issues of race, memory, and the representation of race in the public art of the nineteenth century. See Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth-Century America*, 130-33. Race played a highly significant role in the formation of post-bellum commemorative patterns. See Paul A. Shackel, *Memory in Black and White: Race, Commemoration, and the Post-Bellum Landscape* (Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press, 2003).

allowing white Southerners a racial model through which both the Confederacy and their post war politics of white supremacy could be justified.[18]

Beginning in the sacred spaces of mourning in Southern cemeteries and moving slowly into the public spaces of Southern cities and towns, the commemoration of the Confederacy on the battlefield at Gettysburg represents a final vindication of the Confederacy. By celebrating the stature of Lee on the battlefield at Gettysburg, the entire nation acknowledged the legitimacy of both he and his cause.

Memory, both private and individual as much as collective and cultural, is constructed, not reproduced. This construction is not made in isolation but in conversation with others that occurs in the context of community, broader politics, and social dynamics. Monument dedications are cultural expressions of public memory, which may be defined as a body of beliefs about the past which helps a society to comprehend its past as well as its present. As a commemorative venture the Virginia Memorial at Gettysburg, or any such monumentation at a site of contested memory, may be viewed as serving either official or vernacular interests. This memorial is distinctive because its representation of public memory at the time of its dedication served both the vernacular and the official interests of the era in that it had constructed a singular public memory embraced as truly authentic and consensual.[19]

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[18] Michael G. Kammen, *The Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture*, 1st Vintage Books ed. (New York: Vintage Books, 1993), 121. This work is encyclopedic in nature and addresses issues related to, among a number of others, both tradition and memory and their interactions in the formation of American cultural norms. The celebratory nature of the movement towards reconciliation is discussed in Silber, *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865-1900.*

[19] According to John Bodnar, "official" culture is the domain of cultural leaders (elites) or authorities on a variety of levels throughout society. The continuity of the past and loyalty to the status quo are their main concern. Nationalism, patriotism and social stability are major priorities. "Vernacular" culture is the purview of what he identifies as "ordinary people." Their associations are often informal and their needs as an interest group can often be constructed on an ad hoc basis. Significantly, they lack access to the

In commenting on public memory, David Lowenthal concludes that "The prime function of memory is not to preserve the past, but to adapt it so as to enrich and manipulate the present." This approach follows from the ideas suggested by Maurice Halbwachs that argue persuasively that, "collective [public] memory is essentially a reconstruction of the past [which] adapts the image of ancient facts to the beliefs and spiritual needs of the present."   The past is reconstructed to become useful for today. The reconstruction of the Confederacy in the person of Robert E. Lee atop the Virginia Memorial is one such reconstruction. The Confederacy's return to Gettysburg did not involve troops bent on conquest, but rather, memory bent on victory**.** The constructed image and public memory of Robert E. Lee makes this final victory of memory possible.[20]

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structures of power in society. My approach is influenced by Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century*.

[20] Maurice Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, 1st ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1980), 80, David Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 210. A significant influence on my general approach to this issue of collective public memory is Barry Schwartz, "The Reconstruction of Abraham Lincoln," in David Middleton and Derek Edwards, *Collective Remembering*, *Inquiries in Social Construction* (London; Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1990).

Chapter One:

Republican Heroes and Rag-Tag Citizens

On October 19, 1824, the Marquis de Lafayette arrived in Yorktown Virginia to participate in the commemoration of the forty-third anniversary of the surrender of Cornwallis. The former member of the French aristocracy who had offered his services to fight for the American cause in 1777 had returned to a tumultuous welcome. Upon his arrival, he was greeted by the governor of the state of Virginia and "an immense concourse of gratified spectators." Thousands of people converged on the as yet un-restored Yorktown battlefield to witness the ceremonies. Appearing much as it did at the end of the Revolution, it presented an authentic "ruin" of the Revolutionary past where "the bombs' havoc is still every where visible." The planning committee had sought to create an "authentic" military atmosphere to celebrate Lafayette's return, as well as his victory at Yorktown, and the battlefield itself. Still bearing the physical scars of combat, this former battleground was viewed as a site of veneration because of the sacrifice in blood made by those who had fought and died there in the defense of liberty.[1]

[1] *(Baltimore) American and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, October 20, 1824. "Lafayette's Arrival at Yorktown," Alexandria Gazette and Advertiser, October 21, 1824; "From the Richmond Enquirer," *Alexandria Gazette and Advertiser*, October 26, 1824; Frederick Butler, "Memoirs of the Marquis De La Fayette… Together with His Tour Through the United States" (Wethersfield, Conn.: Deming& Francis, 1825), 385-86; *Norfolk and Portsmouth Herald,* October 22, 1824.Both cited in Edgar Ewing Brandon, *Lafayette, Guest of the Nation; a Contemporary Account of the Triumphal Tour of General Lafayette through the United States in 1824-1825* (Oxford, Ohio,: Oxford Historical Press, 1950), 2:51-63. An

There in Virginia, as it would be also in each of the twenty-four states that Lafayette would visit during his thirteen month tour of the United States, the most significant recurring theme accompanying his return was the groundswell of heartfelt public gratitude for the General demonstrated by the enthusiastic throngs that greeted him at every occasion.

The commemorative celebration on October 19 began with "a grand procession to the battlefield," after which Lafayette was presented to those in attendance standing under the "Tent of Washington," brought especially to the battlefield after being preserved intact by locals for over four decades. The presence of this artifact brought a heightened sense of authenticity to the celebration. Throughout his tour, many of the public addresses delivered in his honor would dwell on his special relationship with George Washington. Both generals were highly regarded as selfless heroes equally worthy of undying praise and gratitude from all.[2]

Reflecting an awareness of classical precedent and sensitivity to the significance of place, the organizing committee had erected a triumphal arch "on the spot, where the first redoubt of the enemy was stormed, by the troops under the command of General Lafayette." Surrounded by "an immense amphitheatre… filled principally with ladies" distinguishing themselves as the most prominent spectators of the day, the General was presented with a laurel wreath. It was there, under the arch, standing on what had been a most crucial spot on the battlefield on the day of victory, that the General would be

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authoritative narrative of Lafayette's return to America and its connection to the nation's evolving public memory of the American Revolution can be found in Sarah J. Purcell, *Sealed with Blood : War, Sacrifice, and Memory in Revolutionary America*, *Early American Studies* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002).

[2] G. Kurt Piehler, *Remembering War the American Way* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995), 25.

reunited with some of those who had been under his command during the battle. Both the general and his former soldiers were able to recreate the past in the authentic surroundings of their mutual triumph of decades earlier.[3]

As would other groups of veterans at virtually every stop on Lafayette's tour, the surviving veterans of the Battle of Yorktown played a prominent part in the commemorative festivities. Some in attendance on that October day were embraced by the General when they finally came face to face during the ceremonies. Some spent time with him, reminiscing about their shared experience while under arms, evoking their mutual recollections of combat, victory, and their ultimate survival allowing them to witness this day of remembrance.

This grand scene of reunion of former leader with former soldier was reported by the press as a scene that "brought tears from many an eye, and sobs from many bosoms." As reported in the Richmond Enquirer, one veteran "seized the General by the hand" and began to cry as he remembered the day of the battle. That evening, over 500 guests dined on the battlefield and latter viewed a massive fireworks display. The next morning, Lafayette's departure was accompanied by a great ceremony in his honor, leaving those who had been a part of this exercise in public remembrance with a profound sense that the past lived on, recreated now in the present to honor both the general and those common soldiers who had bravely served with him and who were now considered to also be worthy of public remembrance. Furthermore, all those who witnessed and participated

[3] Samuer Snowdon, "York Town," *Alexandria Gazette and Advertiser*, October 23, 1824

in this grand commemorative occasion had gained an intimacy with what was being commemorated, allowing them to take an active part in its public remembrance.[4]

Celebrating Republican Heroes and the Democratization of Revolutionary Memory in the Early Nineteenth Century

The popular outpouring of gratitude that greeted Lafayette on his return to Yorktown was typical of the reception that he received at each stop on his national tour. A sense of unity and communal celebration accompanied Lafayette's visit. Widely accepted as a selfless hero of the American Revolution by the population at large, the celebration of his visit provided a concrete opportunity for former officers, common soldiers, and the general public to share a sense of pride and nationalistic remembrance that encouraged a collective ethos of popular unity and harmony.

Although his visit was a truly great national event, as would be the approaching fiftieth anniversary of the Revolutionary War's end, the ongoing process of national commemoration was increasingly tied to localized identities and a growing sense of sectional pride that would soon result in a cataclysmic fracturing of the nation in civil war. Even while recognizing the General's contribution to the nation for his victory at Yorktown and venerating his reputation as a national figure, the citizens of Virginia were quick to highlight how the public commemoration of that victory especially honored their own state. Assertions of a unique claim of ownership of the public memory of the general's accomplishments were evident. Local newspapers emphasized that the General's reception in Virginia "was indicative of the grateful and enthusiastic feeling

[4] Samuel Snowdon, "York Town" in Oct 23, 1824 "*Alexandria Gazette & Advertiser*," (Alexandria [D.C.]: S. Snowden, 1822). Cited in Purcell, *Sealed with Blood: War, Sacrifice, and Memory in Revolutionary America*, 172.

which animates every bosom in the nation," while also stressing that that Virginians owed Lafayette "the largest debt of gratitude" of any state.[5]

By openly expressing gratitude in a public ceremony of commemoration at Yorktown, the people of the state of Virginia sought to repay this "debt" and in so doing share in the praise offered to the General. Written accounts lauded the "animated throng" of the Commonwealth from all walks of life that had greeted Lafayette almost as much as they lauded the general himself. By the decade of the 1820's, public expressions of gratitude, for the heroes of the American Revolution, now ennobled the common people themselves almost as much as those heroes who had formerly been the exclusive recipients of both praise and offerings of public remembrance. Over time, the public memory of the war had been embraced by ever widening social, political, and economic constituencies that would, on occasion, appropriate the language and style of the commemoration of elite heroes while allowing their own "voice" to become an active part of the ongoing conversation of public remembrance. This *vernacularization* of the nation's publicly expressed memory continued to evolve and shape the commemorative text of the nation's history.[6]

This commemorative process had begun as an integral part of a wider culture of republicanism created during and after the American Revolution. A group of select, meritorious leaders chosen through a process of popular sovereignty were to represent the political will of the people at large. Their political virtue would allow them to govern in

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[5] Fred Somkin, *Unquiet Eagle; Memory and Desire in the Idea of American Freedom, 1815-1860* (Ithaca, N.Y.:Cornell University Press, 1967), 137.

[6] The issues connected to "vernacular" memory are addressed in, John E. Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991).

the name of the greater good while freeing them from any tendency to hold and exercise power in their own self interest. Significantly, the evolving commemorative process would also avail itself of these highly virtuous individuals and appropriate them and their accomplishments as pillars of the nation's public memory of the Revolutionary war. Not limited to the formal structures of civic governance, this culture of republicanism also encompassed an important set of values.[7]

Self sacrifice, heroism in war, love of liberty, benevolence, fear of centralized power, and an allegiance to the common good would all converge into a paradigm forming a republican ideology that had a great impact on the thoughts and actions of the American people and their constructed image of heroic military leadership. Operating within this framework, the commemorative process that first emerged during the Revolutionary War had synthesized an image of the noble republican hero as the focus of celebration. By setting aside their own self interest and risking their lives in warfare on behalf of the common good, they had demonstrated their worth through meritorious actions which, in turn, entitled them to unending public praise that located them at the center of the evolving commemorative dialogue.[8]

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[7] Joyce Oldham Appleby, *Liberalism and Republicanism in the Historical Imagination* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992), Milton M. Klein et al., *The Republican Synthesis Revisited : Essays in Honor of George Athan Billias* (Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1992), Paul Anthony Rahe, *Republics Ancient and Modern : Classical Republicanism and the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), Daniel T. Rodgers, "Republicanism: The Career of a Concept," *The Journal of American History* 79, no. 1 (1992): 11-38.All cited in Purcell, *Sealed with Blood : War, Sacrifice, and Memory in Revolutionary America*, 2.

[8] Gordon S. Wood, *The Radicalism of the American Revolution*, 1st ed. (New York: A.A. Knopf, 1992), Gordon S. Wood and Institute of Early American History and Culture (Williamsburg Va.), *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776-1787* (Chapel Hill: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Va., by the University of North Carolina Press, 1998). Both cited in Purcell, *Sealed with Blood : War, Sacrifice, and Memory in Revolutionary America*, 3.

By the time of the heroic general's visit, however, the memory of the American Revolution had, in part, evolved into a celebratory framework of heroes such as Layfaette and even George Washington that was openly characterized by the democratized ethos of the early nineteenth century. The commemorative gala that accompanied the general's tour of the nation also brought together important elements of the nation's evolving framework of public remembrance that would, decades latter, become significant parts of the constructed public remembrance of the Civil War. Public celebrations on former battlefields proudly demonstrated sectional identities and claims to a unique and authentic ownership of the commemorative dialogue, widespread support for the establishment of durable commemorative structures such as public monuments, and veterans' assertions of authentic claims to the authorship of the commemorative narrative of public memory would all become part of the process of remembrance and commemoration of both the American Revolution and the Civil War.

Over time, there had been a widening of this commemorative process, described by Sarah Purcell as the democratization of memory, which enabled the public memory of the war to expand beyond its initial focus centered on a fairly exclusive group of heroic republican martyrs around whom a grateful nation could unite. The public manifestations of the commemorative process that occurred during Lafayette's visit were clear evidence of the alterations in the definition of heroism that had taken place over the previous decades. Significantly, this commemorative process had evolved its own symbolic language that stressed the primacy of unselfish sacrifice for the common good as the foundation of the republic. Over the almost fifty years since the Revolution, this language of memory increasingly included larger and larger groups of non-elite citizens, each

asserting that their sacrifices were worthy of remembrance by the nation. In the resulting commemorative milieu, the hero and the ordinary citizen who praised him were almost equally glorified through joint participation in the many manifestations of public commemoration. Public commemorative events in honor of the American Revolution, such as Lafayette's visit, were now more often characterized by the significant presence of this democratic audience which had been slowly growing in influence since the 1780s.[9]

The significance of this democratizing process and its profound impact on public memory was apparent during Lafayette's visit, especially for those who did the vast majority of fighting, the ordinary former soldiers. This process had occurred, in part, due to the dearth of truly outstanding military leadership during the War of 1812 combined with the gradual yet pronounced democratization of American culture. Lafayette pointedly made efforts to share the public gratitude that was directed at him with his fellow non elite veterans of the war. The common soldier's rising presence in the commemorative narrative was slowly validated as being as worthy as that of traditional elite heroes. Following the commemorative ceremonies in Southward, Pennsylvania, in October 1824, Lafayette himself asserted that, "The extraordinary honors of which an American Veteran is now the happy object, I consider as being shared in common with my surviving companions."[10]

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[9] "Fete at York-Town," Alexandria Gazette and Advisor, October 26, 1824; Purcell, *Sealed with Blood: War, Sacrifice, and Memory in Revolutionary America*, 9, 172.

[10] Ibid., 173. *United States Gazette*, October 4, 1824, in Brandon, *Lafayette, Guest of the Nation; a Contemporary Account of the Triumphal Tour of General Lafayette through the United States in 1824-1825*, 2:89.

By the 1820s, Americans were ready to both contemplate and commemorate their national past. The form and content of commonly accepted commemorative practice had been altered since the era of Revolution. As the ceremonies accompanying Lafayette's visit demonstrated, aristocratic heroes formerly associated with the old order could still be held as uniquely deserving of praise just as they had been during and immediately after the Revolution, but now their praises would be sung in chorus with those of the common veteran. Now, the sentimental reunions that occurred at almost every stop on Lafayette's tour featured scenes of former soldiers, now old men, embracing one another in a catharsis of patriotic memory. A frequent subject of newspaper coverage of the tour, these reunions seemed to endow national public memory with a masculine sentimental quality directly related to the genre of popular sentimental literature of the day. This apparent bond of "feeling" among veterans was to be passed on to the rising generation that served as spectators. It would allow the memory of the war to outlive the veterans and permanently elevate the stature of the common soldier who was to fight in future wars. By the end of the Civil War, this democratized ethos of remembrance of the ordinary soldier would be located at the center of the post war commemorative dialogue of public remembrance.[11]

Battlefields, Memory, and Monuments to the Revolution

The movement to publicly remember significant occurrences, individuals, and anniversaries through commemorative activities had manifested itself in a variety of cultural forms: sermons, public orations, days of public thanksgiving, newspapers,

[11] Brandon, *Lafayette, Guest of the Nation; a Contemporary Account of the Triumphal Tour of General Lafayette through the United States in 1824-1825*, 1, "Lexington Gazette," (Lexington, Va.: Cornelius C. Baldwin, 1835).

pamphlets, songs, commissioned works of art, and significantly, the building of public monuments.

In fact, by the time of Lafayette's visit, Americans had become somewhat preoccupied with the building of public monuments to the memory of the Revolution as a means of ensuring that their sense of gratitude for those that had come before them was permanently carved in the nation's commemorative landscape. Formerly viewed as a sign that a democratic civilization was soon to fall to the rule of despots, public monuments and organized efforts directed at their construction proliferated around the country due, in part, to the anticipation of Lafayette's visit. The majority of these patriotic monument campaigns established sepulchers to commemorate individual elite heroes. Monument building soon gained widespread acceptance as a practice consistent with the celebration of democratic liberty. Indeed, one of the highlights of Lafayette's tour was his participation in the laying of the corner stone in what was the largest -scale monument project of the 1820s; the construction of a large commemorative obelisk on the former battlefield at Bunker Hill. As a demonstration of how regional, class, and competing nationalistic ideologies interact in the sphere of contending constituencies, this undertaking presented a seeming dichotomy: widespread agreement on the significance of a commemorative symbol accompanied by widespread disagreement over how the symbol should be used. Because of their form, public monuments are seemingly the most fixed form of public remembrance yet they remain fluid in meaning over time. [12]

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[12] James M Mayo defines a war memorial as a statue, a place, a building, or a combination of all these and other things that is, at its most basic manifestation, a social and physical arrangement of space and artifacts that keep alive the memories of those who were involved in war. As a physical object that is created, war memorials themselves help to create order and coherence. See: James M. Mayo, *War Memorials as Political Landscape: The American Experience and Beyond* (New York: Praeger, 1988), 1. See also Bernard Barber, "Place, Symbol and Utilitarian Functions in War Memorials," *Social Forces*, vol. 28, 1949, p 67. One of the first public readings of the Declaration of Independence took place in New York

Individuals, mostly from the entrepreneurial and professional classes, led the movement to establish this monument. By associating themselves with the heroic activities of those who fought and died in the battle, they attempted, in part, to appropriate a patriotic memory intended to benefit their own interests and to "bolster entrepreneur activity." These civic and business leaders of Boston embraced a vision of the public memory of the American Revolution that emphasized the material progress which the founding principles of the new nation had made possible. As an early example of how a commemorative venture and its influence on the public memory of a society could be claimed by a narrow constituency, the Bunker Hill project demonstrated the extent to which public monuments would exert a profound influence on the public's imagination. [13]

From its inception in 1823, the membership of the Bunker Hill Monument Association imagined that they represented the collective interests of the citizenry of the nation, and they endeavored to construct a commemorative narrative that would support their vision of what the monument on Bunker Hill represented. By appropriating the Revolution's memory for their own purposes, the association demonstrated the degree to which public memory can be constructed and shaped by an interested constituency.[14]

City in July, 1776. Upon the conclusion of the reading, a crowd attacked an imposing public symbol of the authority of Great Britain, an equestrian public statue of George III. Its physical presence was a symbolic affront to many. The statue itself was melted down to make bullets to be used against the British Army. See Purcell, *Sealed with Blood: War, Sacrifice, and Memory in Revolutionary America*, 195-96, Shaw, *American Patriots and the Rituals of Revolution*, 14-15.

[13] Bodnar, *Remaking America : Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century*, 24, George Washington Warren, *The History of the Bunker Hill Monument Association During the First Century of the United States of America* (Boston: J. R. Osgood, 1877), 9, 31, 94 153.

[14] The charter stated that the monument "shall endure to future ages, and be a permanent memorial, consecrated by the gratitude of the present generation, to the memory of statesmen and soldiers who led the way in the American Revolution." Seeing obelisks as a more permanent form of public monument than statues, Americans in general hoped that this monumental form would last for centuries to remind future

On the day of the dedication ceremonies almost 100,000 people of "all classes of citizens" gathered to witness Lafayette laying the cornerstone of the monument which was characterized as a "huge pile to the memory of the brave." Daniel Webster delivered the much anticipated address that was to be the highlight of the occasion. His speech stressed the necessity of widespread patriotic loyalty and reinforced the attempt of the rising professional and merchant class to locate their pursuit of material reward within the context of legitimate patriotic activity. Also, he instructed the crowd that: "We can win no laurels in a war for independence, earlier and worthier hands have gathered them all… But there remains to us a great duty of deference and preservation of their memory." Exactly what was to be remembered about the young nation's origins, development, and heroes was increasingly becoming the subject of debate throughout American society.[15]

Even before the American Revolution had ended, some Americans realized that the memory of what had taken place needed to be preserved and passed on to others. A nagging apprehension over the content of the public's memory of the war's events is obvious in the writings of eighteenth-century playwright Jabez Peck who, in 1787, posed an intriguing question:

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generations, perhaps even after the passing of American civilization, that citizens in the early nineteenth century paid their proper debt of gratitude to those who had given so much to the birth of the American nation. Warren, *The History of the Bunker Hill Monument Association During the First Century of the United States of America*, 85.*(Boston) Columbian Centine,,* August 28, 1824. Benson John Lossing, *The Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution; or, Illustrations, by Pen and Pencil, of the History, Biography, Scenery, Relics, and Traditions of the War for Independence* (Freeport, N.Y.,: Books for Libraries Press, 1969), 2:107, 372, Piehler, *Remembering War the American Way*, 33, Warren, *The History of the Bunker Hill Monument Association During the First Century of the United States of America*, 195. Warren, *The History of the Bunker Hill Monument Association During the First Century of the United States of America*, 40.

[15] Daniel Webster and Edward Everett, *The Writings and Speeches of Daniel Webster*, National ed. (Boston,: Little, Brown, 1903), 253-54. *(Baltimore) American and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, June 18, 1825.Purcell, *Sealed with Blood: War, Sacrifice, and Memory in Revolutionary America*, 205.

> Ought we ever to forget those arduous, those bloody struggles we endured in that dangerous contest?—a contest in which thousands of our dear friends yielded up their lives on the sanguine plains. And shall we, who are enjoying the blessings for which they fought 'till their last breath, forget to celebrate those transactions? Ought we not, on the other hand ever to bear them on our minds, and endeavor to impress on the minds of the rising generation, the inestimable value of the liberties they possess, and the dangerous struggles their predecessors endured to secure to them those invaluable blessings?[16]

As a significant site of patriotic acts of bravery, the actual grounds of the battlefield at Bunker Hill now took on a special importance. Significantly, a number of battlefields, as the physical space in which the military fate of the Revolution was decided, were also eventually thought of as important places of public remembrance of the American Revolution. As noted by the South Carolinian jurist William Crafts on the day of the laying of the cornerstone at Bunker Hill Monument, "the name of Bunker Hill…resounds with peculiar charms in the ears of Massachusetts," but he went on to note that, "all of them [battlefields] grew out of the same patriotic ardor, and none of them deserve to be forgotten." As physical sites of memory, battlefields themselves were to take on an increasing degree of significance as commemorative venues for remembering patriotic sacrifice and bravery. As sites of memory of the Revolution, control of the commemorative narrative on these fields of honor would be contested no less than the laudable memory of elite heroes. Starting during the Revolution itself, this

[16] Jabez Peck and Nathaniel Niles, *Columbia and Britannia: A Dramatic Piece* (New-London [Conn.]: Printed by T. Green, 1787). Quoted in Purcell, *Sealed with Blood : War, Sacrifice, and Memory in Revolutionary America*, 8.

phenomenon was centered on the actual locations of battle for American soldiers and would reach it zenith in the decades following the American Civil War.[17]

Indeed, a number of issues relating to the public memory and the commemorative process centered on the legacy of the American Revolution would persist. Both elite leaders and ordinary citizens struggled to construct both a unified nation and a coherent public culture that could embrace and sustain a public narrative that included all those interests within American society that sought a place in the nation's remembered past. Public memory would configure a national identity while simultaneously being appropriated by different constituencies, all desiring to define their own particular place as significant members of the community of patriotism. [18]

When the Bunker Hill monument was finally dedicated in 1847, the occasion was accompanied by another elaborate public celebration attended by some remaining veterans of the American Revolution, President John Tyler and his entire cabinet, and members of a variety of fraternal and civic organizations. The entire public ritual

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[17]William Crafts and William S. Reynolds Pamphlet Collection (Library of Congress), *Address Delivered before the Palmetto Society, of South-Carolina, in Commemoration of the Defence of the Palmetto Fort, on Sullivan's Island, (June 28th, 1776)* (Charleston: Printed and published by A.E. Miller, 1825), 9.William Crafts made this assertion during an address given in Charleston, South Carolina on June 28, 1825 during the annual commemoration of Palmetto Day. The Palmetto Society was formed in June, 1777 and met annually in Charleston, S.C. to commemorate the battle of Sullivan's Island which took place on June 28 1776. See Purcell, *Sealed with Blood: War, Sacrifice, and Memory in Revolutionary America*, 44-45.

[18] Michael Kammen has succinctly noted that war exerts "a fundamental role in stimulating, defining, justifying, periodizing, and eventually filtering American memories and traditions." As is argued by Sarah Purcell, the bloodshed and suffering of the Revolution would serve to legitimize the American nation to its own inhabitants by providing a specific focus for America's national identity. Additionally, Charles Royster has investigated the intellectual and cultural consequences of the American Revolution in terms of the impact of its memory on national identity. See: Charles Charles Royster, "Founding a Nation in Blood: Military Conflict and American Nationality," in Ronald Hoffman, Peter J. Albert, and United States Capitol Historical Society., *Arms and Independence : The Military Character of the American Revolution*, *Perspectives on the American Revolution* (Charlottesville: Published for the United States Capitol Historical Society by the University Press of Virginia, 1984), 25-49. See also Michael G. Kammen, *The Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture*, 1st Vintage Books ed. (New York: Vintage Books, 1993), 3, Edward Tabor Linenthal, *Sacred Ground: Americans and Their Battlefields*, 2nd ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993).

associated with this auspicious event strongly suggested that the then current leadership of the national government, along with prominent social and cultural leaders of the day, were the legitimate heirs of the legacy of the Revolution's memory. Consensus was encouraged by the communal embrace of the patriotic public memory of the American Revolution's constructed meaning.[19]

A now aging Daniel Webster was again present to address the crowd of approximately one hundred thousand who had gathered to witness the formal dedication. In addition to calling once again for unwavering loyalty to the union during his address, the highly respected statesman fashioned a narrative that spoke not only of "patriotism and courage" and "civil and religious liberty" but also of the pre-revolutionary "middle, industrious, and already prosperous classes" and all those who had resided in the commercial and manufacturing cities. Clearly, as the main speaker at this occasion, his words were destined to be closely associated with the public's perception of the monument's meaning, especially since the dedication was taking place so long after the actual event it was commemorating. In an effort to garner a communal response to the monument's completion, Webster had cited the firm commitment of those individuals of the prosperous classes to the now pressing issue of preservation of the union. He asserted that it was they that first had manifested the intuitive assertions of liberty that were in fact destined to become the driving force behind the Revolution itself. As David Lowenthal has stated, the prime function of public memory is not the preservation of the past, but rather, its adaptation for the purposes of enriching and manipulating the present. Through

[19] Bodnar, *Remaking America : Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century*, 25, Warren, *The History of the Bunker Hill Monument Association During the First Century of the United States of America*, 318-19.

Webster's words, the past was appropriated for the needs of his times; an acute division had formed in the nation's shared civic culture. The stresses of the Mexican American War were apparent in the national dialogue as the tensions associated with the status of slavery in any territory that was sure to be ceded to the United States in the event of an American victory against Mexico became the central focus of the nation's interest.[20]

The establishment of the Bunker Hill monument and the commemorative process surrounding it demonstrated how, by the time of its dedication, elite officers and common soldiers who had given their lives were still considered deserving of gratitude and praise. A democratized ethos of public remembrance had developed, however, that now viewed common veterans as also truly worthy of remembrance. The 227-foot high obelisk expanded the traditional symbolism customarily association with death and mourning and transformed it into a comprehensive symbol of American glory. The implications of the obelisk design, which had first been employed by the Egyptians to mark the graves of their heroes, had been transformed in the mind of the American public as part of a commemorative narrative that went far beyond loss and mourning. Although highly celebrated at the time, the Bunker Hill Monument was not the first monument to be established on this battlefield of the early days of the revolution. [21]

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[20] "The Completition of the Bunker Hill Monument (June 17, 1843)," in David Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge [Cambridgeshire]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 210, Daniel Webster and Edwin Percy Whipple, *The Great Speeches and Orations of Daniel Webster, with an Essay on Daniel Webster as a Master of English Style* (Boston,: Little, Brown, & Co., 1879), 145-46.

[21] The final design and the ultimate symbolism of the monument on Bunker Hill was the result of a somewhat contentious process during which the Bunker Hill Monument Association received a wide variety of opinions. See Pamela Scott, "Robert Mills and American Monuments," in John Morrill Bryan, *Robert Mills, Architect* (Washington, D.C.: American Institute of Architects Press, 1989), 144, Purcell, *Sealed with Blood : War, Sacrifice, and Memory in Revolutionary America*, 198, 201, John D. Seelye, *Memory's Nation : The Place of Plymouth Rock* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 431-32. Warren, *The History of the Bunker Hill Monument Association During the First Century of the United States of America,* Alison Yarrington, "The Commemoration of the Hero, 1800-1864 : Monuments

Revolutionary Memory and Revolutionary Heroes

During the American Revolution, effusive public gratitude for those elites who freely offered themselves for military service in the name of the larger community was a powerful force of patriotic unity. Traditionally, gratitude for military service strongly implied hierarchy and inequality. Washington, along with other quasi-aristocratic republican heroes of the war, became the subjects of this well accepted pattern of deference. The main focus of wartime commemoration was centered on public praise for these republican heroes who were believed to have sacrificed themselves for the cause of liberty. Government officials, social elites, and average citizens helped to define a vision of the ideal American nation, united through the offering of voluntary praise for heroic colonial leaders and their deeds. Eventually, the appropriate form and definition of public gratitude would be increasingly contested; however, as the definition of citizenship became broader, the public memory of the revolution slowly became more democratic.[22]

At the Battle of Bunker Hill in June of 1775, Joseph Warren, the President of the Provincial Council of Massachusetts, was killed by a single bullet to the head. Within a year of his death his sacrifice was being celebrated through public addresses, in the burgeoning print culture of the era, by political leaders, authors of fiction, and by ordinary Americans. He was hailed as a fitting example of the ideal character, noble

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to the British Victors of the Napoleonic Wars" (Thesis Ph D --Cambridge University 1980, Garland,, 1988).

[22] Joseph Anthony Amato, *Guilt and Gratitude: A Study of the Origins of Contemporary Conscience*, *Contributions in Philosophy, No. 20* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1982), 32-33, Terrance C. McConnell, *Gratitude* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993), 180-208, Purcell, *Sealed with Blood : War, Sacrifice, and Memory in Revolutionary America*, 13.Edmund S. Morgan, Conflict and Consensus in the American Revolution," in Stephen G. Kurtz, James H. Hutson, and Institute of Early American History and Culture (Williamsburg Va.), *Essays on the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill,: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Va., 1973), 289-309.

commitment, and selfless devotion to ideals that characterized the purest form of republican virtue. As such, his memory was to become the subject of appropriation. By voluntarily abandoning security and comfort, Warren along with other elite men, demonstrated their commitment to high ideals and republican principles through the explicitly masculine pursuit of war.[23]

In December of 1794, reflecting the increasing acceptance of monuments as a valid form of republican remembrance, the membership of the King Solomon Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons erected what is described by Sarah Purcell as the "quintessential" example of a monument emblematic of a republican hero's final resting place. A monument was erected over the grave of Joseph Warren located at the spot on the battlefield where he had fallen during the battle. The structure was described as "a costly monument, in the form of a Tuscan pillar, eighteen feet high, placed upon a platform eight feet high and eight feet square, and surmounted by a gilt urn, bearing the initials and age of Warren." As was to become the case with battlefields of the Civil War, remembrance, burial and monumentation of the physical space of heroic sacrifice created a unique commemorative environment that seemingly elevated the commemorative act itself to the realm of the sacred.[24]

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[23] Ruth Block, "The Gendered Meanings of Virtue in Revolutionary America," *Signs* 13 (1987): 37-77.Linda K. Kerber, "History Can Do IT No Justice: Women and the Reinterpretation of the American Revoluition," in Hugh Henry Brackenridge and American Imprint Collection (Library of Congress), *An Eulogium of the Brave Men Who Have Fallen in the Contest with Great-Britain: Delivered on Monday, July 5, 1779* (Philadelphia: Printed by F. Bailey, in Market-street, 1779), 7, Philip Grant Davidson, *Propaganda and the American Revolution, 1763-1783* (New York,: Norton, 1973), 386, Ronald Hoffman, Peter J. Albert, and United States Capitol Historical Society., *Women in the Age of the American Revolution*, *Perspectives on the American Revolution* (Charlottesville: Published for the United States Capitol Historical Society by the University Press of Virginia, 1989), 3-32, Mark E. Kann, *A Republic of Men : The American Founders, Gendered Language, and Patriarchal Politics* (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 146-47. The list of "heroes" grew significantly during the war itself.

[24] Warren, *The History of the Bunker Hill Monument Association During the First Century of the United States of America*, 50.John Soley, Jr., ["Oration"], in Warren, *The History of the Bunker Hill Monument*

Appropriation of Memory

Later in the war, as had been the case for Major General Warren, the death of General Richard Montgomery would become the focus of a commemorative process that sought to characterize the general's sacrifice as worthy of universal gratitude. Additionally, his memory was to become the focus of a highly choreographed process of public commemoration that serves as a prime example of the appropriation and contestation that would become a formative component of the construction of public memory of the war.[25]

Killed on New Year's Eve 1775 in the unsuccessful attempt to capture Quebec, Richard Montgomery was the first high ranking officer of the Continental Army to die in combat. The news of his death prompted a process of commemoration and remembrance on a grand scale directed principally by a newly formed Congress that had been previously been engaged in minimizing the rising divisions throughout the colonies resulting from the decision for independence, the organizational and moral problems apparent within the ranks of the wavering Continental Army, and the financial crisis faced by Congress itself. From the outset the unfolding process of public commemoration and the resulting formation of public memory were molded through a carefully controlled government effort aimed at the creation of a public hero whose memory was to be

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Association During the First Century of the United States of America, 10-11. The grave over which the monument to Joseph Warren is located is not the original site of the general's burial. See Caroline Cox, *A Proper Sense of Honor: Service and Sacrifice in George Washington's Army* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 195-96. John Warren, , quoted in Richard Frothingham, *Life and Times of Joseph Warren* (New York,: Da Capo Press, 1971), 522.Battlefields of the American Revolution as well as American battlefields of other conflicts are discussed in Linenthal, *Sacred Ground : Americans and Their Battlefields*.

[25] Purcell, *Sealed with Blood: War, Sacrifice, and Memory in Revolutionary America*, 25. Simon P. Newman, *Parades and the Politics of the Street: Festive Culture in the Early American Republic*, *Early American Studies* (Philadelphia, Pa.: Penn, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997).

appropriated as a useable symbol that would unify the public commitment of ordinary citizens to the goals of the Revolution.[26]

Congress authorized the procurement of a stone monument to Montgomery's memory that was to include the accompanying inscription: "sacred to his memory, and expressive of his amiable character and heroic achievements." The monument itself was viewed in the context of its practical utility in that it would be useful "for transmitting to future ages, as examples truly worthy of imitation, his patriotism, conduct, boldness of enterprise, insuperable perseverance, and contempt of danger and death." Realizing the positive political benefit to be gained from a physical monument to Montgomery's political, personal and physical virtues, Congress was eager to create a didactic artifact of public commemoration in stone that would hopefully become a noteworthy icon for informing the public at large about the principles that were represented in the memory of this martyr.[27]

The influence of the classical tradition was apparent in the style and form of his monument and others constructed during the 1790s. The monument to General Montgomery was eventually dedicated in 1787 and was located in St. Paul's Chapel of Trinity Episcopal Church in New York City. It was sculpted in Paris by Jean-Jacques Caffieri and employed a number of classically inspired monumental forms. It consisted of

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[26] L. Edward Purcell and Sarah J. Purcell, *Who Was Who in the American Revolution* (New York: Gramercy Books, 1999), 330-31, Kenneth Silverman, *A Cultural History of the American Revolution: Painting, Music, Literature, and the Theatre in the Colonies and the United States from the Treaty of Paris to the Inauguration of George Washington, 1763-1789* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), 314-15, United States, Continental Congress. et al., *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789* (Washington: Govt. Print Off.,, 1904), microform.

[27] Alan Borg, *War Memorials: From Antiquity to the Present* (London: Leo Cooper, 1991), Mayo, *War Memorials as Political Landscape: The American Experience and Beyond*, 2-3, Nora and Kritzman, *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*.

a funeral urn and a broken Roman victory column which was flanked by symbolic representations of both military achievement and peace. An obelisk, the traditional Egyptian symbol of a heroic demise, was located behind the urn. The monument was constructed of multicolored marble, and the entire presentation was positioned on a classically inspired altar meant to symbolize the noble sacrifice of this brave republican martyr. [28]

Elite Veterans and the Ownership of the Revolution's Memory

A significant role was played by the officer corps of the Continental Army in the contest for the memory of the American Revolution and was not limited to the celebration of individual elite heroes, be they dead or living. Their initial claim to the ownership of the memory of the war has its origins in the Continental Army's final winter of 1783. It was then that elite officers formed the Society of Cincinnati, asserting in its formation that the legacy of the memory of the Revolution would not be centered on the contributions of ordinary civilians or even on the service of the common soldier but rather on the activities and accomplishments of officers. Formed also in part to encourage the newly created national government to grant post war compensation in the form of pensions, (establishing a pattern that was to repeated in America's future military struggles, most notably, the Civil War), this clearly self consciously elite organization of

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[28] Piehler, *Remembering War the American Way*, 23, Donald M. Reynolds, *Monuments and Masterpieces: Histories and Views of Public Sculpture in New York City* (New York London: Macmillan Pub. Co.; Collier Macmillan, 1988), 16, Hal T. Shelton, *General Richard Montgomery and the American Revolution: From Redcoat to Rebel*, *The American Social Experience Series; 29* (New York: New York University Press, 1994), 175. Although dedicated in 1787, the remains of General Montgomery were not contained within the memorial itself until 1818 when they were moved to New York City at the request of the general's wife, Janet. See, Janet Livingston Montgomery letter, January 2, 1818, *Thomas Addis Emmet Collection*, Manuscript Division, New York Public Library. Cited in Lossing, *The Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution; or, Illustrations, by Pen and Pencil, of the History, Biography, Scenery, Relics, and Traditions of the War for Independence,* Purcell, *Sealed with Blood: War, Sacrifice, and Memory in Revolutionary America*, 104.

veterans allowed only officers from the Continental Army or those from militia units with a minimum number of years of service to be granted membership.[29]

Controversy surrounded the Society's founding and it soon became clear that a post war consensus of shared remembrance would be elusive at best. Supporters of the organization wanted to strengthen the government and promote a firm union through the commemoration of a heroic republican elite whose contributions some feared would be overlooked and forgotten. Critics viewed the Society as an attempt to create a permanent aristocracy with potentially undemocratic influence and power over the official and unofficial organs of the nation's public memory. By the war's end, the paradoxical nature of the construction of public memory and the importance that it would play in the public culture of the United States was becoming slowly apparent. The relative inclusiveness of the new nation's patriotic narrative was the subject of much interest and concern.[30]

Heroic Republican Greatness

Although a number of elite officers would be the initial focus of gratitude and adulation during and immediately after the Revolution, none would be more revered than George Washington. In his role as General of the Continental Army, he became the focal point of the military fortunes of the colonists while most Americans viewed him as an

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[29] None the less, some of the advertised intentions of the founders seemed to suggest selfless and disinterested motives that appeared, at least in part, to be directed at honoring and properly remembering all those who had fought, forever bound together in firm comradeship formed on fields of valor. See *Maryland Gazette [Annapolis--Maryland]. [Newspaper--Microfilm]*, November 21, 1783.Virginia State Library, Richmond.

[30] As the society's first national president, George Washington defended the intentions of the organization. In an open circular addressed to the state branches of the society in 1784, Washington formally stated that "the only objects of which we are desirous to preserve the remembrance, are of such a nature, as cannot be displeasing to our countrymen, or unprofitable to posterity." See "From the Pennsylvania Independent Gazetteer," *(Annapolis) Maryland Gazette*, June 10, 1784.

authentic living symbol of national unity. Although the praise for him was by no means universal within the ranks of the Continental Army itself, Washington emerged from the trials of the war as the new nation's greatest example of military heroism. As early as 1783, Congress had made plans to erect a monument to him commemorating his central role in the Revolution. By the time of his final return to his home at Mt. Vernon after leaving the presidency in 1797, he was universally admired for his strength of character. His unquestioned acclaim and popularity can be traced in large measure to his decision to decline the opportunity to seize power, either while General of the Continental army or as the first president of the United States. In sharp contrast with numerous revolutionary leaders preceding his era and ever since, Washington is the clear exception to the tendency to concentrate executive powers in the form of a dictatorship. Hence, his singular evocation as the father of the country is unique and without comparison. Virginians were especially anxious to claim his reputation as an example of the stature of republican sensibilities typical of their commonwealth, and his reputation and lineage were to serve as an inspirational model of revolutionary patriotism in the years immediately preceding the Civil War. [31]

Although a grateful nation was to offer its gratitude to Washington through a variety of commemorative activities, especially after his death in 1799, Washington's heroic reputation was also to be contested by a variety of groups and constituencies in an effort to appropriate his public memory for partisan purposes. Both Federalists and Jeffersonian Republicans were to contest Washington's symbolic memory as the most

[31] Richard H. Kohn, *Eagle and Sword : The Federalists and the Creation of the Military Establishment in America, 1783-1802* (New York: Free Press, 1975), 1-39, Paul K. Longmore, *The Invention of George Washington* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), Schwartz, *George Washington : The Making of an American Symbol*.

significant national icon of the revolutionary struggle and the birth of the nation. A truly "authentic" ownership of the public memory of the Revolution along with Washington's image was frequently asserted by each political party. This ownership would not be sought by these interests through the direct manipulation of the public memory of the war, but rather, it would be attempted by seeking to articulate their own specific vision for the nation through the appropriation of the war's memory. By embracing Washington, each side attempted to appropriate his memory as representative of their own beliefs, and consequently, the valid embodiment of true American nationalism. The past as represented in a constructed public memory was to be presented as a validation of political ideology.[32]

After his death in 1799, both the plans to entomb his remains in a special public vault to be located in the new capital and the plans to build a national monument to the ex-president's memory encountered difficulties. His remains were never removed from their original burial site at Mount Vernon for internment in the Capital, and the construction of his permanent public monument would take decades. In large part, these plans were problematic due to partisan differences that would continue to cloud the efforts to honor the first president. The competition to appropriate his memory and image impeded the construction of a national monument to commemorate the nation's first truly national leader. [33]

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[32] Whatever identification was to be associated with Washington and the new republic, along with the self identification of the political parties, the issue of American nationalism is well documented. See Richard Buel, *Securing the Revolution; Ideology in American Politics, 1789-1815* (Ithaca [N.Y.]: Cornell University Press, 1972), James Roger Sharp, *American Politics in the Early Republic: The New Nation in Crisis* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993).

[33] Engineer and architect Benjamin H. Latrobe petitioned the United States Congress for the construction of a large outdoor mausoleum toped by a pyramid. This was thought to be the only sure way to guarantee that Washington's memory would be preserved in perpetuity. See Benjamin Henry Latrobe et al., *The*

Peacetime Rituals and Wartime Necessities

The trauma of the American Revolution was perhaps most unsettling to those who suffered the loss of family and friends who had perished from disease or died of battle wounds far away from those held most dear. The unknown fate of the remains of loved ones was a troubling proposition to those who remained at home and alive. During the colonial period, widely shared private peacetime rituals associated with death and mourning were almost universally observed throughout the British colonies. In civilian circles, death was ordinarily an intimate, domestic, family affair. Most individuals died in their own beds in the presence of their immediate family with friends, distant family members, and neighbors close by if not actually present at the moment of death. Few undertakers existed during the 1700s, and ordinarily the deceased's family and closest friends would manage the rituals of death. While the building of a coffin and the digging of a grave were sometimes delegated to outsiders, washing the body of the deceased, wrapping it in a linen sheet, and laying it properly in a coffin were private rituals commonly practiced and generally believed to be important and necessary.[34]

Although these private rituals were widely shared, the public rituals of death and burial varied greatly across time, geography, and religious denomination. Despite this, there was an array of practices that were commonly followed throughout the colonies. On farms and larger rural estates, the dead were buried in designated family plots. In areas where a small community consisted of a few homesteads clustered together, the local

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Correspondence and Miscellaneous Papers of Benjamin Henry Latrobe, 3 vols. (New Haven: Published for the Maryland Historical Society by Yale University Press, 1984), 1:160-61.

[34] Paul S. Fritz, "The Undertaking Trade in England: Its Origins and Early Development, 1600-1830." *Eighteenth Century Studies* 28 (1994-95) 241-53. Cox, *A Proper Sense of Honor: Service and Sacrifice in George Washington's Army*, 167, Robert V. Wells, *Facing the "King of Terrors": Death and Society in an American Community, 1750-1990* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 4-5.

churchyard would serve the purpose of neighborhood burial ground. In larger, moderately populated areas, public graveyards were utilized. The wealthy, regardless of their place of residence, ordinarily buried their dead in a family tomb or crypt after securely encasing the body in a well crafted wooden coffin. The poorest individuals, especially in cities, were interred in public graveyards often barely covered by a sheet and buried in a haphazardly dug shallow grave. The care and management of these public facilities was random at best, and quite frequently this reality became all too apparent. Although gravestones intended to permanently mark the grave were sometimes used in urban areas, they remained relatively rare. In rural areas, wooden markers were more common, and frequently the actual site of an individual's burial would become obscured over time. The burial spot of those interred in family plots was often left unmarked, trusting the record of the exact location of the remains to the memory of family members.[35]

These traditions of death and burial were severely tested by the strains of warfare. The earliest memorials dedicated to the Revolution's memory marked the graves or otherwise were established to commemorate those that had died while fighting. Except for members of the officer corps, such as Montgomery and Warren, and common soldiers and militiamen killed close to their homes, the burial of those killed in battle during the

[35] Martha V. Pike, Janice Gray Armstrong, and Museums at Stony Brook., *A Time to Mourn : Expressions of Grief in Nineteenth Century America* (Stony Brook, N.Y.: Museums at Stony Brook, 1980), 15-16, David E. Stannard, *The Puritan Way of Death : A Study in Religion, Culture, and Social Change* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 156-57.The most exhaustive treatment of the subject of death and burial practices in America can be found in David Charles Sloane, *The Last Great Necessity : Cemeteries in American History*, *Creating the North American Landscape* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991). African –Americans, both free and enslaved, were buried in separate sections of burial grounds or in completely segregated ones. See John W. Blassingame, *The Slave Community : Plantation Life in the Antebellum South*, Rev. and enl. ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 17-18 and 33-34, Eugene D. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll : The World the Slaves Made* (New York: Vintage Books, 1976), 194-202, Sloane, *The Last Great Necessity : Cemeteries in American History*, 15.

Revolution was frequently haphazard. Often, only crude and hastily erected markers were placed over the graves**.**[36]

The common burial practices of peacetime civilian life in colonial America also maintained clear distinctions of social rank. Military burial practices during the revolution followed this distinction in that officers were almost always interred separately from ordinary soldiers and militiamen. Even in the instances in which the exigencies of war required the burial of the dead in unmarked mass graves, the remains of officers were buried in common graves separate from others. Also, if conditions allowed, a distinction was frequently made among officers of different rank.[37]

In the decades following the Revolution, stone obelisks of varying sizes and quality were to become the most common style of grave marker in the new public and private cemeteries that were to begin to replace traditional church burial grounds by the 1830s. Stone obelisks became highly desirable for the marking of graves and were a frequently used structure for permanently commemorating death even when not marking an actual grave site. The simple design and minimal cost of these modest public monuments made the obelisk highly desirable. This was especially true by the 1830s, when there was a lack of skilled indigenous sculptors, and European talent was scarce and costly. Significantly, the association of the obelisk with it origins in classical

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[36] Lossing, *The Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution; or, Illustrations, by Pen and Pencil, of the History, Biography, Scenery, Relics, and Traditions of the War for Independence*, 2:217, Piehler, *Remembering War the American Way*, 26.

[37] Samuel Stillman, American Imprint Collection (Library of Congress), and Marian S. Carson Collection (Library of Congress), *Death, the Last Enemy, Destroyed by Christ. A Sermon, Preached, March 17, 1776, before the Honorable Continental Congress; on the Death of the Honorable Samuel Ward, Esq., One of the Delegates from the Colony of Rhode-Island, Who Died of the Small-Pox, in This City, (Philadelphia) March 26, µT. 52* (Philadelphia: Printed by Joseph Crukshank, 1776), 7.A core value of the military community was an unwavering respect for rank. See Cox, *A Proper Sense of Honor: Service and Sacrifice in George Washington's Army*, 174.

antiquity and death was the key factor that made this form most attractive to monument organizing committees. As compared to the traditional obelisk typical of the era, ordinary statues seemed far more perishable, lacking in stature, and likely to be erased from the commemorative landscape. Indeed, this was a major reason for the eventual selection of an obelisk as the design of the Bunker Hill Monument[38]

Revolutionary Battlefields

Those who died in the cause of the Revolution, whether noble republican heroes or common citizen-soldiers, were not the only focus of remembrance and commemoration inspired by the American Revolution. Annual commemorations of battle anniversaries, taking place on the actual sites of military engagements allowed members of the public to commemorate the struggle that had occurred in their own locale, while simultaneously allowing them to imagine their own connection to those who had participated in the battle. Beginning even before the war had ended, commemorative events that took place on or near battlefields of the Revolution provided the opportunity for all to connect their own local civic pride and remembrance of place with a larger communal sense of shared struggle. Battle anniversaries became an important part of a collective national identity. This process established a seemingly direct connection among those participating in activities of remembrance, those who died in battle and their cause, and the actual physical landscape of a battlefield. It allowed members of the public to envision their direct connection to the struggle, sharing a sense of intimacy and association with the actual event. Public gatherings to commemorate a battle convened on or near former battlefields elevated these sites as places of public veneration. Just as the

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[38] Neil Harris, The *Artist in American Society; the Formative Years, 1790-1860* (New York,: G. Braziller, 1966), Piehler, *Remembering War the American Way*, 27.

commemoration of the Revolution's martyrs such as George Washington and others had taken on a national character, local commemorative activities served to construct a national identity built on multiple layers of shared regional, religious, cultural and political allegiances. [39]

As was to eventually become a common practice in the commemorative rituals associated with the Civil War, these battle sites themselves were portrayed as having been sanctified by the blood shed by those who had fallen in the defense of liberty. Those who gathered on these spots to commemorate a battle would often do so with a profound sense of communion. These "fields of blood" where the heroic martyrs fell became hallowed ground when citizens gathered to, in the words of poet Barnabas Binney of Boston, "mark the favour'd place" where the events of the battle had actually occurred and where the blood of patriots was spilled. Although this dynamic would appear in an uneven pattern across various battlefields of the American Revolution, the connection between the physical space of the battlefield and the various rites of commemoration and public memory would prove to be a long lived commemorative motif foreshadowing what was to latter become a common phenomena associated with battlefields of the Civil War.[40]

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[39] Nora and Kritzman, *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*. Purcell, *Sealed with Blood: War, Sacrifice, and Memory in Revolutionary America*, 40.

[40] *Elegiac Lines Sacred to the Memory of Henry Hope, Esq.*, (London,: Printed by W. Bulmer and co., 1811), 1, David Waldstreicher and Omohundro Institute of Early American History & Culture., *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes: The Making of American Nationalism, 1776-1820* (Chapel Hill: Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia, by the University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 13-14, 246-54. Both cited in Purcell, 223. See also Henry Cumings and American Imprint Collection (Library of Congress), *A Sermon Preached at Lexington, on the 19th of April, 1781 : Being the Anniversary of the Commencement of Hostilities between Great-Britain and America, Which Took Place in That Town, on the 19th of April, 1775* (Boston: Printed by Benjamin Edes & Sons ... 1781), 37, Daniel George and American Almanac Collection (Library of Congress), "George's Cambridge Almanack, or, the Essex Calendar, for the Year of Our Redemption," (Salem: Printed and sold by E. Russell), Linenthal, *Sacred Ground : Americans and Their Battlefields*, 17-18, Nathan Strong and

The imagery of blood soaking American soil and in the process making it sacred became common in printed materials and commemorations of all kinds. The "wounds that streamed with blood" did not simply belong to those men who fought in battle. They belonged to the whole American people. The public memory of the war was fashioned into the "Blood-bought fame" that was to become synonymous with the nation itself. At an early battlefield commemoration in Lexington, Massachusetts, a congregational minister called upon the crowd to wipe American soil clean of the blood of fallen citizens: "To arms! To action, and the battle of the warrior!...to wipe away the blood where with this land has been stained."[41]

The commemorative activities that took place at the battlefields of Lexington and at close by Concord established a strong connection between the actual sites themselves, the revolutionary cause on both a local and national level, and the significance of each area's claim as the site of the first 'shot" of the Revolution. Both the Lexington Green

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American Imprint Collection (Library of Congress), *The Agency and Providence of God Acknowledged, in the Preservation of the American States* (Hartford: Printed by Hudson and Goodwin, 1780), 12.

[41] *Jacob Cushing and American Imprint Collection* (Library of Congress), *Divine Judgements Upon Tyrants* (Massachusetts-state, Boston: Printed by Powars and Willis, 1778), 24, Stephen Jacob and American Imprint Collection (Library of Congress), *A Poetical Essay, Delivered at Bennington, on the Anniversary of the 16th August, 1777* (Hartford: Printed by Watson and Goodwin, 1779), William Wolcott, *Grateful Reflections on the Divine Goodness Vouchsaf'd to the American Arms in Their Remarkable Successes in the Northern Department, after the Giving up of Our Fortresses at Ticonderoga, on the 6th of July, A.D. 1777. With Some Account of the Battles Fought, and the Transactions of That Memorable Campaign. : Occasioned by the Surrendry of the King's Forces by Lieutenant-General Burgoyne to Major-General Gates, on the 23d Day of October, in Said Year. : In Four Parts. : [Three Lines of Scripture Text]* (Hartford: Printed and sold by Hudson & Goodwin., 1779).For further examples see;American Imprint Collection (Library of Congress), *The Battle of Bunkers-Hill. A Dramatic Piece, of Five Acts* (Philadelphia,: Printed by Robert Bell, 1776), 20, Barnabas Binney, *Lines Sacred to the Memory of the Late Major-General Joseph Warren, Who Fell in the Battle at Charlestown, Fighting Gallantly for His Country* ([Providence: Printed by John Carter?, 1775), Israel Evans, *An Oration Delivered at Hackinsack on the Tenth of September, 1780, at the Interment of the Honorable Brigadier Enoch Poor, General of the New-Hampshire Brigade* (Newbury-Port: Printed and sold by John Mycall, 1781), 17, John Leacock, American Imprint Collection (Library of Congress), and Ebenezer Hazard Pamphlet Collection (Library of Congress), *The Fall of British Tyranny; or, American Liberty Triumphant* (Philadelphia Printed by Styner and Cist,: 1776), 43, Nathaniel Niles, *The American Hero : A Sapphick Ode* ([Boston]: Associates of the Boston Public Library, 1975), 1.

and the Concord Bridge would become significant commemorative venues although the champions of each location would have competing reasoning and justifications for their own site's significance.[42]

In the early 1790s, the residents of Lexington Massachusetts decided to construct a stone obelisk intended to be the focal point of the annual commemoration which took place on their public green. It was there, on April 19, 1775, that eight minutemen were killed during the first clash of the American Revolution. With a clearly self- conscious awareness of the national significance of what they publicly commemorated yearly, the planners determined that this obelisk would memorialize the martyrs of the battle; however, these martyrs would not be the officer heroes of the era, but rather those common residents of the town who fell in action while carrying out their role as citizen soldiers. Nurtured on republican principles that precluded them from the dangers of the moral pollution associated with old world warriors, the image of the selfless minuteman was to become a powerful cultural model for generations of Americans both at war and at peace. The names of each individual militiaman were inscribed on the obelisk forever commemorating their contribution to the entire nation.[43]

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[42] Cumings and American Imprint Collection (Library of Congress), *A Sermon Preached at Lexington, on the 19th of April, 1781 : Being the Anniversary of the Commencement of Hostilities between Great-Britain and America, Which Took Place in That Town, on the 19th of April, 1775*, 37, George and American Almanac Collection (Library of Congress), "George's Cambridge Almanack, or, the Essex Calendar, for the Year of Our Redemption.", Linenthal, *Sacred Ground : Americans and Their Battlefields*, 17-18, Strong and American Imprint Collection (Library of Congress), *The Agency and Providence of God Acknowledged, in the Preservation of the American States*, 12.Celebrations on Lexington Green began somewhat spontaneously in 1776 and from the outset revealed expressions of both local pride and a burgeoning national civic commitment and identification with a national cause. See Pullen and Cobb, *The Celebration of April the Nineteenth from 1776 to 1960*. The controversy concerning whether Lexington or Concord was the actual cite of the "first" shot does appear to be arcane at best. See Linenthal, *Sacred Ground: Americans and Their Battlefields*. Most Americans at the time viewed the events occurring at both locations as part of the same military engagement.

[43] Linenthal, *Sacred Ground: Americans and Their Battlefields*, 11, Purcell, *Sealed with Blood: War, Sacrifice, and Memory in Revolutionary America*, 125.

European Roots and Public Monuments

The need to commemorate the deeds, individuals, and incidences of significance connected to the birthing and early development of the nation through public commemorative sculpture can be traced to the inherited legacy of earlier efforts at commemoration that had unfolded on the European continent. Adapting a particular type of posture and meaning in the establishment of public commemorative sculpture, Americans carried forward a heritage of shaping the public landscape by establishing durable structures that honored that which was deemed worthy of permanent public recognition. Distilled from the earlier traditions, the ethos of establishing public monuments initially was initially shaped by European traditions.[44]

The emergence of nationalism during the Renaissance was responsible for the resurrection of the war memorial as a sculptural form in Europe. In France, England, and what would latter become Germany, a variety of memorials dedicated to victory in war appeared. Although similar in design to those war memorials of the Classical era, an innovative design element emerged that, by the late nineteenth century in the United States, was to eventually be an important part of the establishment of public monuments to the memory of the Civil War. Honoring individual military leaders through equestrian monuments would first occur in Italy, and this motif would spread throughout Europe. The urge to consolidate and to extend empires was a byproduct of the rising nationalism of the era throughout Europe, and military conflicts frequently occurred among the rising national states. As a result, war memorials again emerged on a grand scale and were established for the first time since the days of the Roman Empire. This evolution and

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[44] An essential synthesis of the subject of public monuments and their significance can be found in Borg, *War Memorials: From Antiquity to the Present.*

development of the war memorial in Europe would eventually have a great influence on the practice of commemoration through building war memorials of all kinds in the United States [45]

In parts of the European continent, creating public monuments to celebrate ideas, significant events, or heroic individuals had became widespread by the late eighteenth century. Napoleon found that public monuments could promote loyalty among both his generals and the public at large. Not all Americans, however, were sanguine when considering the construction of public monuments in the Early Republic. Some were quick to point out that their appearance in ancient Rome heralded the decline of the republican virtue and the arrival of imperial rule.[46]

Eventually, during the two decades between 1820 and 1840, most Americans overcame any remaining earlier republican rejection of public monuments as a legitimate means of commemoration of the Revolution. Resulting in part from the slow passing of the Revolutionary generation and the dissipation of many of the partisan conflicts associated with the nation's earliest period of development, the acceptance of the monumental form by broad segments of American society was greatly assisted by the wave of nationalism brought on by the outcome of the War of 1812.

During the first decades of the nineteenth century, the United States confronted new challenges and controversies that were to test the new nations resolve. Some of these

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[45] Arnold Whittick, War *Memorials* (London: Country Life, 1949), 71, 93. In Paris, the Porte St. Denis was built to commemorate the victories of Louis XIV. The Arc de Triumph de L' Etoile was built in remembrance of Napoleon's conquests. Lord Nelson's monument in Trafalgar Square became synonymous with the British Empire.

[46] Jacob Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, *Penguin Classics* (London, England ; New York, N.Y., USA: Penguin Books, 1990), John Woods, John H. Williams, and Jacob Benton Halsey, "Newark Gazette and New-Jersey Advertiser," (Newark, N.J.: Printed by John Woods for the proprietors, 1797).

challenges were international in scope and tested the strength and credibility of the national government. As the decades of the nineteenth century moved forward, a growing tendency towards territorial expansion led the United States into open warfare and provided the impetus for steadily rising internal tensions that were to bring the nation to its greatest national calamity in civil war.

During these years of rising sectional tensions, Americans turned to the unfailing symbols and the public memory of the Revolution to invoke a unified national response. The contours of memory were undergoing change and what had formerly been the exclusive domain of elite heroes was increasingly shaped by non elite voices as the process of democratization moved forward. Common citizens, women, and ordinary veterans of the American Revolution themselves continued to exert more influence on the process of commemoration and the formation of public memory and national identity. Although the process of democratization increasingly continued to move the ownership of the nation's memory beyond the bounds of a narrow group of elite heroes, it was the democratization of public memory that allowed other formally and informally organized constituencies to position themselves as key players in the construction of the nation's public memory. These interest groups were empowered by the processes of democratization and sought opportunities in which America's past could become appropriated for the use of a group united along a common axis of self interest. By allowing the voices of non elite citizens to be part of the national narrative of memory, the democratizing tendencies of the era also allowed interested individuals to form powerful alliances which, while democratic in nature, could act to appropriate the stage of public memory and in turn act to silence other non elite voices.

Prior to the American Civil War, military conflicts continued to provide opportunities for a variety of constituent groups to control the commemorative discourse and construct a commemorative narrative that would in some way serve their own interests and needs. Public monuments increasingly become a credible and legitimate form of democratic remembrance. The national government did not directly endeavor to appropriate the nation's past for its own purposes. Frequently however, Congress granted the authorization to locate finished memorials on public lands while simultaneously refraining from appropriating funds for their construction. Therefore, the national commemorative process of establishing public monuments to honor those who had served in America's wars would come under the influence of state and local governments, individuals, and significantly, private societies and organizations representing specific constituencies and "publics." Both elites and ordinary citizens would vie for the commemorative consciousness of the quickly maturing American nation.[47]

Early Nineteenth Century Commemoration and the War of 1812

War again erupted between the United States and Great Britain in 1812. Although often portrayed as a glorious triumph, the ultimate American victory over Great Britain was slim at best. By the time the hostilities were at an end no clear national consensus existed as to whether or not the war had even been necessary. The truly selective nature of public memory was to be demonstrated by the commemorative efforts associated with

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[47] See James M. Goode, *The Outdoor Sculpture of Washington, D.C. A Comprehensive Historical Guide*, [1st ed. (Washington,: Smithsonian Institution Press [distributed by G. Braziller], 1974), 311-12. As Michael Kammen notes, an ever-present presumption persists for the first century of the nation's history asserting that the government bore virtually no responsibility for either the content or the formation of the nation's public, collective memory. See Kammen, *The Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture*, 54-55.

this conflict. The nation was left to focus on dramatic military defeats with a few victories along with the personages of several "heroic" leaders, one of which was to receive wide acclaim for his military exploits. Additionally, battle sites of the War of 1812, located in the Great Lakes, the Chesapeake Bay Region, and New Orleans all became sites of some efforts at preservation and restoration along with commemorative activities that included the building of monuments.[48]

Additionally, the war's outcome presented the nation with a new and somewhat updated image of a republican hero who was to become a symbol of the age much in the same way that George Washington had come to be the most prominent figure associated with the nation's public memory of the American Revolution. As the commander of the victorious force that defeated the British at the Battle of New Orleans, Andrew Jackson was hailed by his supporters as the era's own Cincinnatus. Seemingly bearing the selfless nobility of George Washington, Jackson was cast by his supporters as man of the people and the voice of a rising democratic ethos. Lacking in formal education, inherited wealth, and elite social stature, Jackson was portrayed and embraced as an authentic voice of the self-made ordinary citizens of the republic. As a democratized republican hero, he was to

[48] Additionally, some specific artifacts strongly associated with each of these battle locations were to become well known national symbols. See Horsman, *The Causes of the War of 1812*, 211-14, Purcell, *Sealed with Blood: War, Sacrifice, and Memory in Revolutionary America*, 161. Also, the outcome of the War of 1812 has sometimes been referred to as a tie, since the stated aims of the United States were never realized. See Reginald Horsman, *The War of 1812*, [1st ed. (New York,: Knopf, 1969), 268. Borg, *War Memorials : From Antiquity to the Present*, 118.There is a dual message contained in the monuments in the Great Lakes region; victory and peace are portrayed simultaneously, with victory being expressed as the predominate concept. The city of Baltimore would eventually have the highest density of monuments dedicated to the War of 1812, and most commemorative activity would be centered of Fort Mc Henry. See Borg, *War Memorials: From Antiquity to the Present*, 124.

gain the presidency in 1828 wearing the mantle of ordinary citizen, representing no elite interest or designs, demonstrating that common citizens too were heroes.[49]

Unlike the lengthy time period that would transpire between the death of George Washington and the ultimate completion of a national monument to his memory, Andrew Jackson's death in 1845 was followed by an aggressive movement to establish a public monument for the former general and president in the nation's capital. The effort was headed by then President James K. Polk, and the formation of a committee to raise $100,000 for the monument's construction was proposed by a noted newspaper editor of the day, John L. O'Sullivan. Both were avid supporters of territorial expansion, and it was President Polk himself who would soon lead the United States into a war with Mexico. Clearly, the expansionist nature of Jackson's Democratic Party and the policies supported by Jackson himself as both general and Chief Executive clearly made the public memory of the late president one that was of great interest to those who viewed this territorial growth as legitimate. Jackson's public memory could be appropriated and authenticated by a pro-expansionists national leadership and land hungry supporters of the spread of slavery. Jackson's heroic image was associated with expansionists' policies that were deemed beneficial to the nation as a whole, especially by the slaveholding states of the lower South. [50]

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[49]Piehler, *Remembering War the American Way*, 37.Occurring after the Treaty of Gent officially ending the war had been signed, Jackson's victory at the Battle of New Orleans was so one sided, it easily became an event that served as a rallying point for patriotic fervor and the construction of a narrative of public memory that was clearly intended to counterbalance the memory of the military defeats and humiliation that characterized most of the war. See Mayo, *War Memorials as Political Landscape: The American Experience and Beyond*, 128.

[50] President Polk's enthusiasm was readily apparent, and he considered lending his name and that of his cabinet to the committee. See Benjamin B. French, Donald B. Cole, and John J. McDonough, *Witness to the Young Republic : A Yankee's Journal, 1828-1870* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1989), 179-80, James K. Polk and Allan Nevins, *Polk; the Diary of a President, 1845-1849, Covering the*

An equestrian statue commemorating Jackson's victory at New Orleans was designed by the self trained American sculptor, Clark Mills. Significantly, Jackson's military victory as general, and not his service as president, was chosen as the subject of this commemorative monument. The first equestrian monument to be designed by an American, it was completed in 1853 and located in Lafayette Park directly across the street from the White House. A growing acceptance of equestrian monuments was apparent by the 1840's.[51]

Representing Jackson in his role as military leader in the form of an equestrian monument demonstrated both the growing acceptance of public monuments and the privileging of Jackson's military prowess over the public memory of his role as the nation's President. His accomplishments in allowing the nation to secure new territories and in expanding its borders were especially significant to individuals who during the early 1850s supported the spread of the institution of slavery to those territories acquired as a result of the Mexican American War. Also, no longer exclusively associated with the antidemocratic images of aristocracy and royalty, the equestrian form represented a shift in the public's perception of the meaning and the role of public commemorative sculpture. Jackson's public persona as a man of the people made him an ideal subject for the work. Lacking an aristocratic pedigree, he was especially suited as the subject of the monument. As the victor over the British at New Orleans, the former president

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Mexican War, the Acquisition of Oregon, and the Conquest of California and the Southwest (London, New York [etc.]: Longmans, Green and Co., 1929), 7-8.

[51] Two years later an exact replica of the monument would be placed in New Orleans on the banks of the Mississippi in what is now known as Jackson square. It was established there by a local organization of merchants as a "patriotic" gesture aimed at good public relations. See Frederick Merk and Lois Bannister Merk, *Manifest Destiny and Mission in American History: A Reinterpretation*, 1st Harvard University Press paperback ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995), 58.

represented a new image of the republican hero; he was a heroic figure whose constructed image expanded the boundaries previously associated with the former elite heroes of the revolution. Reflecting the democratizing ethos of the era, Jackson's commemorative persona embraced notions of both traditional republican virtue and democratic authenticity which together cast his image as being heroic and democratized. Ordinary citizens identified with him and reveled in his image because he was seen as one of them. Over time, his southern roots and his personal background lacking in wealth and privilege were to become a major part of the constructed public memory celebrated through his monument. Military might restrained by the common will was seen as one of the blessings of American democracy.[52]

National Memory of Veterans and the Mexican American War and the Memory of Conquest

By the 1830s, territorial acquisition had become an increasingly controversial and divisive national issue which was to eventually lead to conflict between the United States and Mexico. The acquisition of any new territory was inextricably linked to the issues of slavery's expansion. Indeed, the public memory of both the Texas Revolution of 1836 and the Mercian American War of 1846 would be colored by the degree to which each was to be directly associated with an overt attempt to spread slavery.

Shortly after Texas was annexed, and joined the Union as a slave state in 1845, the United States went to war with Mexico. Considered by many to be a military

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[52] Lafayette Park might appear to the casual visitor as a place dedicated to the memory of the American Revolution. Prominent military leaders suck as Von Stuben, Kosciusko, de Rochambeau, and Lafayette are portrayed in monuments, each figure standing at one corner of the park. The equestrian monument to Jackson stands in the middle of the park itself, surrounded by four cannon from the War of 1812 era. Jackson is facing west in a symbolic acknowledgement of his desire to expand the nations boundaries. He is portrayed mounted on a horse rearing back on two legs. See Mayo, *War Memorials as Political Landscape: The American Experience and Beyond*, 130.

campaign which was, at best, waged with suspect justification and supported by an expansionist and clearly pro-slavery administration under President Polk, the Mexican American war prompted strong and persistent objections.[53]

The nature of the war was unlike that of the previous military conflicts involving the United States. Under the leadership of a professional officer corps trained at West Point, the outcome was a resounding victory for American forces over a Mexican Army twice its size. The events of the conflict were reported widely by various newspapers, and Americans were made well aware that the war was being waged against a different culture and society. The ultimate capture of Mexico City by forces under Winfield Scott, a member of the Whig Party, forced huge territorial concessions from the Mexican government.[54]

After the victory over Mexico the initial pattern of commemoration and public remembrance followed a model similar to that of earlier conflicts. American officers, echoing the elitism of an earlier generation of officers, established the Aztec Club to serve as an organized means of preserving and maintaining the comradeship which had formed within the officer corps during the war while also functioning as an active

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[53] Albert Gallatin went as far as arguing that the founders would have undoubtedly objected to waging war against Mexico, characterizing it as nothing more than a war of aggression based on greed. See Albert Gallatin and Henry Adams, *The Writings of Albert Gallatin* (Philadelphia [etc.]: J. B. Lippincott & co., 1879), 3:557-91. John H. Schroeder, *Mr. Polk's War: American Opposition and Dissent, 1846-1848* (Madison Wisc.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1973). Asserting that the war was a justified response to aggression against American forces on the U. S. side of the Rio Grande, many southern Democrats favored the acquisition of new territory which would undoubtedly ensure the survival of slavery as an institution and as an unquestioned property right. See Thomas R. Hietala, *Manifest Design: America Exceptionalism and Empire*, Rev. ed., *Cornell Paperbacks* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2003), Merk and Merk, *Manifest Destiny and Mission in American History: A Reinterpretation*.

[54] Robert W, Johannsen, *To the Halls of the Montezumas: The Mexican War in the American Imagination*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980). The United States went to war with a tiny regular army of less than 8000. This meager sum was augmented, however, by over 60,000 volunteers (mostly from slave holding states) who joined state regiments. See John M. Murrin, *Liberty, Equality, Power: A History of the American People*, 3rd ed. (Fort Worth: Harcourt College Publishers, 2002), 445.

constituency in the formation of the public's memory of the war itself. Like the Society of Cincinnati, membership was limited to officers only. Although no longer composed of an exclusive elite, those ordinary citizens who had served as officers now sought to exert a preemptive influence on the shaping of the commemorative narrative of the war. These individuals, as would ordinary veterans of all ranks who had served during the Mexican American War, along with those non-elite veterans of previous conflicts, were to increasingly claim an exclusive right to the ownership of the public memory of war. By the conclusion of the fighting, this claim of ownership exerted by all veterans was widely considered to be legitimate. Both elite officer and ordinary soldier had served in the name of the highest ideals of national sacrifice and patriotism; commemorating the past now meant that the sacrifice of the ordinary soldier was a legitimate subject for remembrance on its own and was no longer celebrated solely through the commemoration of elites alone. [55]

Notably, and in distinct contrast to both the American Revolution and the War of 1812, the formal marking of the graves of all ordinary soldiers who had perished during the conflict was given immediate attention at war's end. The earliest indication of this alteration occurred in 1847, when a cemetery was built and dedicated in Frankfort Kentucky and the war dead of that state were returned home at state expense. In 1850, a marble shaft with a statue of Victory at its top was commissioned by the state legislature

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[55] Eventually, individual states would establish monuments dedicated to the memory of those residents who had served although the vast majority of these would not appear until the twentieth century. The state of South Carolina was quick to honor those from the state who had died fighting in Mexico with its own monument. In a somewhat poignant expression of affection to all those who had died in the fighting that ignored stature, rank, and class the inscription on this monuments plaque referred to the dead in a manner that was not only democratic but profoundly heartfelt: "SOUTH CAROLINA TO HER SONS OF THE PALMETO REGIMENT WHO FELL IN THE WAR WITH MEXICO. ANNO DOMINI 1847." Public memory was now focused of the sacrifice of *all* those men who had sacrificed their lives.

in memory of the common soldier who had died in the Mexican American War, and in earlier conflicts, in which ordinary residents of the state had served, was erected at the cemetery's center. Other states eventually took similar actions. The gradual democratization of memory that had begun during the Revolution had now become pointed and vigorous. The full force of this democratization was to soon be realized in the commemoration of those who would perish in the blood letting of the Civil War. By the decade of the 1850's, the ordinary soldiers of all wars were, and would continue to be, increasingly perceived as worthy of national remembrance, gratitude, and public commemoration.[56]

This alteration in attitude was not limited to the actions of state governments. Commemorative practice for the Mexican American War did present a significant innovation that was to create a unique memorial intended to honor of all those who died while under arms in the American Army. In 1851, the federal government established a permanent cemetery in Mexico City for the remains of 750 unidentified Americans, both ordinary soldiers and their officers, who had been haphazardly buried in a variety of locations close to the sites of battle. Its establishment was to have a lasting impact on the manner in which the physical remains of all those who were to lose their lives in America's future wars were to be treated and on the texture of the nation's public memory of war itself. The remains of those who had perished were placed in a common mass grave and marked by a permanent commemorative monument. Although it now

[56] T.H. Bartlett, "Early Settler memorials, XI," *American Architect and Building News* 22 (1987), 59-61. Federal Writers' Project of the Work Projects Administration for the State of Kentucky., *Kentucky; a Guide to the Bluegrass State*, *American Guide Series* (New York,: Harcourt, 1939), 165.

measures only one acre in size, this first national cemetery is unique in that it is the only American cemetery for its war dead that is maintained on the former enemy's soil.[57]

The common sacrifice offered by both officers and ordinary soldiers in America's past military conflicts was now more uniformly honored in the nation's memory. Additionally, accepted practices that had previously been widely established concerning the proper method for dealing with the final disposition of human remains had been altered. American society at large was beginning to embrace new burial practices that reflected a cultural shift in attitudes towards the dead, hygiene, and the process of dying itself in what was to become collectively known as the rural cemetery movement. The combined effects of these alterations in the earlier accepted practices regarding the death, burial, and remembrance of America's war dead were to have a highly significant impact on how those Americans who were to perish on both sides in the Civil War were to be commemorated and honored. [58]

Additionally, as a clear indication that the sacrifice of soldiers had been elevated in the public culture of the day, veterans of the Mexican-American War were granted

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[57] The modest obelisk memorial the rests over the common grave of the unidentified dead has an inscription: "TO THE HONORED MEMORY OF 750 AMERICANS, KNOWN BUT TO GOD, WHOSE BONES, COLLECTED BY THEIR COUNTRY'S ORDER, ARE HERE BURIED." Although some of those who fought in the Mexican War are buried in Arlington National Cemetery, there is no official monument to the war itself, and no specific reference and/or notation is made to distinguish those graves from the Mexican War from the graves of those from other periods. As is the practice for all virtually all the graves in Arlington, the war in which the deceased served is noted only on the gravestone itself. Today, the burial sites of those American soldiers who fought and died on foreign soil is under the direction of the American Battle Monuments Commission which was established by the U.S Congress in 1923. See Piehler, *Remembering War the American Way*, 41-43.

[58] See Philippe Ariáes, *Western Attitudes toward Death: From the Middle Ages to the Present*, *Johns Hopkins Symposia in Comparative History ; 4th* (Baltimore,: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), Jessica Mitford, *The American Way of Death Revisited*, Rev. ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1998), Sloane, *The Last Great Necessity : Cemeteries in American History*. The influence of these changed perceptions and beliefs will be most acutely demonstrated in the process of burial practices for the dead of the Civil War.

generous land bounties, and those who served for at least one year received 160 acres as reward for their service. By comparison, those who served in the War of 1812 had to have served no less than five years to receive a comparable grant of land. This apparent disparity in government generosity prompted the veterans of 1812 to become more aware of the need to lead an effort to revive the public memory of their service and the significance of their sacrifice while further democratizing the memory of war. The record of the efforts of these veterans at ensuring that their service was not forgotten by society at large would serve as an inspiration to veterans, North and South, after the Civil War.[59]

Accordingly, beginning in the 1850s, those remaining veterans of the War of 1812 began to organize on both a state and national level to preserve the public memory of the conflict while simultaneously petitioning the Federal government to allow more generous land bounties. Unlike the Society of Cincinnati and the Aztec Club, and reflecting the democratized commemorative ethos that seemed to characterize the nascent public memory of the Mexican-American War, these veterans' organizations would insist that all those who participated, without qualification as to rank or length of service, were the proper custodians of the war's memory. Clearly understanding that by its nature, public memory is selective and the outcome of a negotiated and frequently contested commemorative process, these newly organized veterans realized that they could in fact be the arbiters of the form and content of the particular memories that were to become fixed in the nation's public culture honoring their sacrifice.[60]

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[59] James W. Oberly, Gray-Haired Lobbyists: War of 1812 Veterans and the Politics of Bounty Land Grants," *Journal of the Early Republic* 5 (Spring 1985), 35-58.Piehler, *Remembering War the American Way*, 41.

[60] Moreover, these veterans were overt in their public expressions of self admiration because of what they had done and were more than forthcoming in making any and all claims for compensation for their service. At their first national convention held in Philadelphia in 1854, one veteran commented that "many of the

With this in mind, these veterans sought to achieve increased credibility for their claims to more generous benefits by linking their cause to a higher good. Asserting continuity between the War of 1812 and the Revolution, these veterans frequently gathered to commemorate any event associated with the Revolution and actively appropriated the occasion to issue a plea to both state and federal government to honor their outstanding claims for pensions of various types.[61]

Despite the generosity of the national government toward the veterans of the Mexican-American War and the further democratized attitude demonstrated regarding the worthiness of the sacrifices made by all those who served in the conflict, the overt connection between the desire of many who supported the war with Mexico for territorial conquest and the expansion of slavery, combined with the subsequent violence, bloodshed, and suffering of the Civil War, may help to explain why the war with Mexico is one of the most "forgotten" conflicts in America's history. Although victorious, American forces can be seen as waging a war of conquest in the name of manifest destiny and the spread of slavery. A reluctance to commemorate this conflict as noble and heroic is not only understandable but a virtual necessity.[62]

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officers and soldiers of the Revolution suffered seriously from not keeping a perfect record of their service before the national eye." See *Proceeding of the National Convention of the Soldiers of the War of 1812*, (Philadelphia, 1854), 26.

[61] *Proceedings of the Convention of the War of 1812 in the State of New York, Held at Schuylerville, Saratoga County*, October 17, 1856 (Albany, New York, 1857), 7-26.

[62] Hietala, *Manifest Design: America Exceptionalism and Empire*. Despite the fact that war with Mexico is essentially absent from the public memory of the United States, this is not the case in Mexico. In fact, Mexico has honored the memory of a group of American deserters who fought for Mexico with commemorative medals and monuments. For a history of the Saint Patrick's Battalion and the commemoration of the Mexican-American War, see Robert Ryal Miller, *Shamrock and Sword: The Saint Patrick's Battalion in the U.S.-Mexican War* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989). Most of the war was fought in Mexico itself, and little was done to preserve those battle sites that were in the United States.

Conversely, the Texas rebellion of 1835 and the fall of the Alamo in 1836 have fared better in America's public memory. Although defeated , the small band of mostly American-born revolutionaries who fell fighting for an independent Republic of Texas are generally well remembered as a heroic patriots. Why is such a resounding a defeat so well situated and honored in the nation's collective public memory? The selective nature of the process of the construction of public memory helps to explain this phenomenon.

As with the Mexican-American War, the institution of slavery played a large part in provoking the conflict. Located on American soil, the Alamo evolved easily into an important regional symbol of Anglo-Texan identity. Curiously, the early promulgation of the cultural legend of the Alamo reveals a paradox in that the actual physical remains of the mission itself were not considered to be sacred space until late in the nineteenth century.[63]

Whatever the reality of the Alamo, the legend surrounding it was appropriated to justify the Mexican-American War. The fact that Santa Anna refused to spare the lives of the Alamo's survivors was cited soon after the conflict as evidence of the murderous nature of the Mexican regime and as further justification for the American invasion of

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[63] Susan Prendergast Schoelwer, Tom W. Glèaser, and DeGolyer Library., *Alamo Images: Changing Perceptions of a Texas Experience*, *The Degolyer Library Publications Series; V. 3* (Dallas, Tex.: DeGolyer Library and Southern Methodist University Press, 1985). Acquiring the remaining structures connected to the Alamo itself, the state of Texas granted official custody of the entire site to the city of San Antonio in 1883. Acquiring more structures in 1903, the state authorized the Daughters of the Republic of Texas to administer the site which soon became somewhat of a shrine not only to the memory of the Texans who fought and died there, but to American patriotism itself. Additionally, although the Alamo, as a preserved site, is in fact a memorial to the brave struggle of Texans for their independence, prior to the state's centennial in 1936, there were no major monuments of any kind to commemorate the conflict between Texas and Mexico. Made possible largely by revenue from the oil boom in the 1920s, the state of Texas established a commission and built a number of major monuments in honor of the state centennial in 1936. In less than a decade, as many monuments were built in Texas to commemorate Texas' independence from Mexico as all of New England had built in several decades to commemorate the American Revolution. See Borg, *War Memorials: From Antiquity to the Present*, 131, Texas. Commission of Control for Texas Centennial Celebrations. and Harold Schoen, *Monuments Erected by the State of Texas to Commemorate the Centenary of Texas Independence; the Report of the Commission of Control for Texas Centennial Celebrations* (Austin,: Commission of control for Texas centennial celebrations, 1938), 9-13.

Mexican territory in 1846. The stubbornly courageous last stand made at the Alamo provided the region and eventually the nation with martyrs and imbued this revolt of Texans with the sense that the Alamo was really about the struggle of freedom against the forces of tyranny. Largely absent from the public memory of the Alamo and the Mexican-American war is the connection that each conflict had to the active effort to spread slavery.[64]

Slavery was to become the most acute issue serving to divide and weaken any unifying consensus of public memory regarding the nations near and distant past. As the 1850s began, the possibility of the spread of slavery to national territories likely to organize and apply for statehood status within the union became the issue that was to serve to drive the nation towards civil war.

Many hoped that a public recognition of the nation's common patriotic public memory would help to alter the momentum of war that seemed more and more likely as the decade of the 1850s progressed. Many sought revitalization of the now faded fervor for the unifying memory of democratized republican virtue. By focusing on the heroic and selfless deeds of the Revolutionary past, Americans would set aside their present animosities and again trust in their shared heritage as Americans while addressing their most current challenges to the nation's viability.

In an essay that appeared in an 1857 issue of the *North American Review*, the literary critic H.R. Tuckerman expressed great disappointment in what he viewed as a

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[64] Piehler, *Remembering War the American Way*, 44. In 1936, a major monument was erected at the restored site of the Alamo. The Heroes of the Alamo Cenotaph features the legendary figures that quickly became associated with the Alamo very soon after its fall. James Bowie, Davy Crockett and William Travers, along with other less well known figures, are all included on this monument. See Texas. Commission of Control for Texas Centennial Celebrations. and Schoen, *Monuments Erected by the State of Texas to Commemorate the Centenary of Texas Independence; the Report of the Commission of Control for Texas Centennial Celebrations*, Dallas, 1939.

lack of interest among Americans in publicly celebrating and commemorating notable holidays and civic rituals that were *national* in scale. Noting that aside from the Fourth of July, he opined that virtually all publicly acknowledged commemorative events were regional in scope and practice and lacked the unifying effect of grand publicly celebrated holidays. Even the national celebration of the nation's founding was lacking in appropriate patriotic fervor according to the author. Rather then being a day of rededication celebrated with "a sacred feast, a pious memory, a hallowed consecration, a "Sabbath-day of Freedom,'" Tuckerman noted that the Fourth had become a public holiday notable for its "bursting cannon, draggled flags, crowded steamboats, disgust of the educated, and the uproar of the multitude."[65]

On the eve of the Civil War, it was hoped by some that the recognition and appreciation of the common past by all Americans, North and South, would be enough to quench the fires of secession and disunion. During his inaugural address on March 4, 1861, President Abraham Lincoln appealed for a national recognition of "our bonds of affection" and acknowledged a hoped for shared public memory of the nation's past by citing "the mystic cords of memory" that stretched from "every battle-field and patriot grave" as being potent enough to forestall the forces that were in motion pushing the nation towards open warfare.

America would be forced to come to terms with the legacy of a new war, one that was to be waged by Americans against each other. Commemorating that war was to demonstrate the nation's ability to both remember and forget highly significant parts of its shared national past.

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[65] H.R Tuckerman, "Holidays," *North American Review*, no. 84 (1857). Quoted in Piehler, *Remembering War the American Way*, 45.

Chapter Two:

The Recomposed Chorus of Union

The numbers were truly staggering. In all, 620,000 American soldiers perished during the Civil War. Of this total, approximately 364,222 of the dead were on the Union side, 140,000 of them from wounds suffered in battle. Another 275,000 Union soldiers were wounded during the conflict but would survive. Although alive, many bore with their wounds the lingering evidence of a struggle that had begun in an effort to preserve the Union and had ended with the destruction of slavery as a national institution. Physical traces of the war's destructive power could also be found on the savagely marred landscapes of the war's battlefields. For Northerners, the most significant of these physical traces were the ubiquitous burial sites of the union dead. It was the sacrifice of these ordinary soldiers that would shape the process of commemoration and remembrance that evolved during the decades following the war.[1]

[1] There is some slight divergence in the calculation of casualties for the Civil War. For the most part, they are inconsequential. For further insight into the figures themselves see James M. McPherson, *Ordeal by Fire: The Civil War and Reconstruction*, 3rd ed. (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2000), 163. During the course of the war almost 14 percent of all the combatants were killed which totaled at the time approximately 2 percent of the national population. During America's conflict in Vietnam, almost 60,000 U.S. soldiers lost their lives. As a percentage of population, almost 3.75 million American soldiers would have been casualties had the causality rate from the war in Vietnam been similar to that of the American Civil War. The Civil War witnessed a causality rate that accounted for more than ten times that of Vietnam and accomplished it in a quarter of the time. See John R. Neff, *Honoring the Civil War Dead: Commemoration and the Problem of Reconciliation*, *Modern War Studies* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2005), and

Cultural Attitudes Towards Death, Burial and Remembrance

Neither the people of the North nor the administration of Abraham Lincoln was prepared for length and intensity of the Civil War. Furthermore, the armies in the field were not ready to deal with the necessity of properly interring those who were to become fatalities of the fighting. In the decades immediately preceding the war, prevailing cultural attitudes regarding death had undergone some significant alterations that were to greatly influence the expectations surrounding the burial of the North's war dead.

By the time of Lincoln's election in November 1860, the prevailing understanding of death had become immersed in a cultural framework of civic and private ritual that was highly personal and sentimentalized far beyond those that had existed at the time of the American Revolution. Surrounded by kith and kin and situated within the physical confines of the home, the process of death ideally allowed for a reassuring level of intimacy and quiet repose during which one could pass on from the world of the living surrounded by beloved and cherished family and friends. The final intimacies of this sentimentalized process served the purpose of reassuring and comforting all those involved, especially the soon to be deceased, during a time of great stress and anxiety. These increasingly entrenched cultural expectations were severely tested by the trauma of the loss of life through the violence and destruction of battle.[2]

In addition to the cultural alterations that had taken place in the country's attitudes regarding a "good" death, the customary physical practices surrounding the final

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Eric T. Dean, *Shook over Hell: Post-Traumatic Stress, Vietnam, and the Civil War* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997).

[2] For a comprehensive investigation of the evolution of American attitudes towards death and dying see David Charles Sloane, *The Last Great Necessity: Cemeteries in American History*, *Creating the North American Landscape* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991). And Philippe Ariáes and David E. Stannard, *Death in America* ([Philadelphia]: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1975).

disposal and disposition of the remains of the deceased had also changed significantly. Characterized by dramatic landscaping which incorporated the unspoiled surroundings of nature, cemeteries established in rural settings had become the most desirable venues for the burial of America's deceased. Emerging along with other civic reforms prompted in part by problems associated with expanding industrialization, these rural cemeteries were intended to provide an ordered environment within a bucolic setting that presented the death of an individual as an inevitable part of the process of passing into the world of the spirit. The aesthetic enrichment and edification provided by these rural cemetery settings was thought to provide an atmosphere for a transcendent experience that connected the dead with the living while encouraging an enlightened insight into the divine and restorative qualities of nature. The loss of life on battlefields far from home sorely tested these emerging cultural conventions embraced by Northerners in 1860s America, and the anxiety that was created had an important impact on the nature of the commemorative dialogue that unfolded in the North during the decades following the war.[3]

The process of commemorating the American Civil War was to reflect these and other changes that had taken place since the era of the American Revolution. Unlike those practices that had been common during the early years of the American Revolution, elite leaders were no longer the central focus of public adulation and celebration.

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[3] James J. Farrell, *Inventing the American Way of Death, 1830-1920*, *American Civilization* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1980), 97-114, Sloane, *The Last Great Necessity : Cemeteries in American History*, 113-15. Blanche Linden-Ward, "Strange but Genteel Pleasure Grounds :Tourist and Leisure Uses of Nineteenth-Century Rural Cemeteries," in Richard E. Meyer, *Cemeteries and Gravemarkers : Voices of American Culture* (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 1992), 06-320, Sloane, *The Last Great Necessity : Cemeteries in American History*, 44-64, 87-94, Jim Weeks, *Gettysburg : Memory, Market, and an American Shrine* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2003). The manner in which most Americans spoke about death had also undergone a transition. For a profoundly unique insight into the magnitude of the challenges associated with the care and burial of the dead from the battle of Gettysburg, see Gregory A. Coco, *Gettysburg: The Aftermath of a Battle* (Gettysburg, PA: Thomas Publications, 1994).

Although those holding positions of leadership and authority were still lauded and respected in the public mind, the noble and selfless elite republican hero of the past had, by this time, been displaced by the common soldier as the primary focus of public commemoration and remembrance.

Those commemorative efforts undertaken on behalf of Civil War dead were partially intended to resolve the tension between the expectations and the realities of wartime death, and sought to imbue the tragic loss of so many with authentic meaning while helping to define an appropriate relationship between the dead and the living within a negotiated framework of remembrance and commemoration. Eventually, the noble service of all Union soldiers who had fallen, elite leaders and ordinary soldiers alike, along with the brave service of all those who had served and survived, became the centerpiece of remembrance for the North. The selective nature of public memory also became apparent. Those African Americans who had also served did not ordinarily receive their share of public praise and remembrance.[4]

This process of commemoration initially centered on common soldiers of the North did not begin when the fighting ended, but in fact had its modest beginnings while the war's fighting was still in progress. Eventually, significant commemorative efforts, such as the establishment of military cemeteries, the preservation and monumentation of former battlefields of the war and the establishment of public monuments in civic space were all to become a central part of negotiated patterns of mourning and commemoration for Northerners. This process of constructing a public commemorative dialogue centered

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[4] See Sarah J. Purcell, *Sealed with Blood: War, Sacrifice, and Memory in Revolutionary America*, *Early American Studies* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002).and Thomas J. Brown, *The Public Art of Civil War Commemoration: A Brief History with Documents*, *The Bedford Series in History and Culture* (New York, NY: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2004), 17.

on the common soldier would also evolve in the post war American South. It did, however, exhibit distinctive sectional differences as former foes, North and South, struggled to both mourn their war dead and appropriately commemorate their sacrifices while fashioning a constructed dialogue of the war's memory that was to serve the purposes of each side in structuring their own commemorative narrative.

The Northern War Dead

The establishment of cemeteries for the North's dead on the grounds of former battlefields of the war allowed a cultural convergence of the rituals of burial and mourning, as well as the structuring of rites of remembrance that eventually included the establishment of public monuments on the former battlegrounds. As the final resting place for those who had died in defense of the Union, battlefields and their cemeteries became the preeminent physical space for an ongoing negotiation of the war's public memory. [5]

This process began with the actions of Northern soldiers themselves. As in each of the nation's military conflicts dating back to the American Revolution, those soldiers surviving a battle were left on their own to dispose of the remains of their fallen comrades as well as those of the enemy. This phenomenon, combined with the traumatic emotional and psychological impact of the experience of combat, placed an intense strain on the Northern soldier's ability to appropriately fulfill the cultural expectations surrounding the process of interring the dead. Soldiers, along with any civilians in close proximity to the site of a battle, were often shaken by the sheer magnitude of so many left

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[5] Brown, *The Public Art of Civil War Commemoration: A Brief History with Documents*, 15.

dead on the battlefield. Allusions to battlefields as being “carpeted” with the dead were a recurring part of many soldier’s letters.[6]

Sometimes beginning while the fighting was still in progress, the physical act of burying battle dead constituted the North’s first efforts at commemorating the war. When the fighting had finally ended and when the post battle security of the fighting force had been addressed and the wounded tended too, those Union soldiers killed in action and remaining on the field became the primary focus of attention for the survivors. If possible, attention was first directed at attending to the deceased of one’s own side. If practical, Confederate dead were also attended to; however, often the logistical realities of battle made this impossible. These battlefield burials of the Union dead occurring during or shortly after the fighting had ended were most often accompanied by efforts to mark graves with a physical structure that both located the spot of the soldier’s remains and identified the individual interred in that ground. [7]

Pre-war cultural standards dictated that all dead should be laid to rest in a solidly made coffin. Under ideal circumstances, this was done to ensure that the identity and

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[6] During the battle of battle of Fredericksburg, the mounds of Union dead were so great that they impeded the advance of reinforcements. See Neff, *Honoring the Civil War Dead: Commemoration and the Problem of Reconciliation*, 25.The experience of combat is incisively addressed in Gerald F. Linderman, *Embattled Courage: The Experience of Combat in the American Civil War* (New YorkLondon: Free Press; Collier Macmillan, 1987). After the battle of Shiloh a soldier recalled clear reference to the physical magnitude of death: “In place dead men lay so closely that a person could walk over two acres of ground and not step off the bodies.” See Wiley Sword, *Shiloh: Bloody April* (New York,: Morrow, 1974). A comprehensive analysis of then prevalent cultural attitudes towards death during the nineteenth century is presented in Gary Laderman, *The Sacred Remains: American Attitudes toward Death, 1799-1883* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996).

[7] Neff, *Honoring the Civil War Dead: Commemoration and the Problem of Reconciliation*, 32-35. Generally, the burial of the enemy’s dead took a lower priority than the burial of the dead of those that controlled the field of battle. Frequently, a long trench was dug and the bodies of the enemy were laid in what would form a series of shallow depressions. Most often the identities of the soldiers buried in this manner was unknown. Maintaining the cultural standards of the day regarding burial customs was virtually impossible in the vast majority of situations.

location of the fallen soldier was appropriately and permanently marked. In practice, even the North's own combat dead during the Civil War were seldom accorded such peacetime treatment although reasonable efforts were undertaken to ensure that the identity of the fallen soldier would not be lost. Most often, the Union dead were wrapped in a blanket, laid in shallow graves, and marked with a makeshift temporary marker bearing the name of the deceased written or carved on its face. Often consisting of little more than scraps of wooden planking, such as the lid of an ammunition box, it was these hastily erected burial markers that were the North's first true public monuments to the memory of the Civil War. Northern soldiers themselves were responsible for the establishment of these first crude burial markers. Almost without exception, Union soldiers interred Confederate dead left on the field in mass graves. This practice, although practical, was to unwittingly ensure that subsequent efforts at identification would be difficult. [8]

Early in the war, the Lincoln administration became well aware of the strain being placed on the cultural norms embraced by the families of Union soldiers killed on far off battlegrounds and buried far away from friends, family, and home. Accordingly, soon after the death toll began to mount, Lincoln's first Secretary of War, Simon Cameroon, issued orders that mandated the registration of both the names and burial location of all Union soldiers dying in battle. His order, dated September 9, 1861, also required that each burial plot be marked by a headboard, bearing the full name and home state of the deceased. The following year, Congress authorized the Secretary to establish and maintain a network of permanent cemeteries for the Union war dead. This effort at ensuring the positive identification and definitive location of the remains of the Union

[8] Ibid., 29, United States. War Dept. et al., *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington,: Govt. Print. Off., 1880).

dead reflected an important aspect of what was to become a major theme of commemoration and remembrance. By preserving the identity of dead union soldiers and permanently marking their grave sites with some form of durable structure, such as a burial monument or memorial, their sacrifice would never be forgotten. The nation that they had died to preserve would live on forever through the perpetual remembrance of those fallen soldiers who died to save it.[9]

These evolving government sponsored efforts to bury Union war dead were not the only such actions initiated during the war. Privately organized efforts to establish cemeteries dedicated to the burial of the North's fatalities were also initiated. Shortly after the Battle of Antietam in September 1862, a private association of Maryland Unionists established a cemetery for the burial of Northern soldiers who had fallen in the battle. The following year, a number of Northern states joined with the state of Pennsylvania to establish a cemetery on a conspicuous part of the battlefield at Gettysburg.

The significance of the sacrifice of life that took place during the fighting at Gettysburg and the national importance of the establishment of a cemetery on a part of the battlefield itself were highlighted by the commemorative efforts that took place on this highly significant Pennsylvania battleground. Indeed, Abraham Lincoln's attendance at the dedication of the Soldiers' National Cemetery on November 19, 1863 was an indication of the battle's significance and the profound importance associated with the

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[9] Frederick Phisterer, *Statistical Record of the Armies of the United States* (New York,: C. Scribner's sons, 1883), 77. See also General Order No. 75, United States. War Dept. et al., *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*.ser. 3, 1: 498. At times, the care of the dead began while the fighting was still in progress. See G. Kurt Piehler, *Remembering War the American Way* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995), 51.

sacrifice of ordinary soldiers. It was their sacrifice offered on every battlefield of the war that would dominate the public dialogue directed at the formation of the public memory. Additionally, the evolving commemorative dialogue began to focus on efforts to ensure that the former battlegrounds themselves would remain places forever associated with the profound sacrifice of Northern soldiers. Increasingly, during the decades following the war, preserved battlefields, and especially the one at Gettysburg, became important sites in the construction of the North's public memory of the war.[10]

By 1865, Union cemeteries and the soldiers interred in their ground had become important symbols of victory and national viability. The following year, Congress authorized the establishment of an extensive network of permanent national cemeteries for the re-burial of the North's war dead that were widely scattered in a number of locations. A detailed search was undertaken by the U.S. Army for isolated grave sites in an effort to ensure that the remains of each soldier were properly identified. Throughout the states of the former Confederacy, the remains of Union dead were disinterred from numerous scattered and isolated locations and reburied in a more formalized cemetery

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[10] Edward Tabor Linenthal, *Sacred Ground: Americans and Their Battlefields*, 2nd ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993).@87-126} "The Soldiers Grave," *New York Times*, 16 September 1861, 4. L. Thomas, Adujant General, General Order No. 33, 3 April 1862, in U.S. Congress, House, United States. War Dept. et al., *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*. For an excellent interpretation of the dedication of the cemetery there see Garry Wills, *Lincoln at Gettysburg: The Words That Remade America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1992). For a general narrative concerning the ways in which the American Civil War was commemorated, see Piehler, *Remembering War the American Way*, 47-91. For a more specific description of the ways in which death interacted with widely shared cultural expectations concerning death during the era of the Civil War see Drew Gilpin Faust, *A Riddle of Death : Mortality and Meaning in the American Civil War* ([Gettysburg, Pa.]: Gettysburg College, 1995).

setting intended to encourage proper respect while ensuring that the memory of their sacrifice was a permanent physical presence in the southern landscape.[11]

The establishment of this national cemetery system represents an effort by the federal government to honor the memory of the Northern dead but also to create an extensive system of what are, in fact, war memorials. This system of burial grounds was intended to be truly national in that it honored those whose sacrifices made the nation's continued existence possible. This nation wide system also marked the first official effort by the federal government to establish memorials beyond the territorial confines of Washington, D.C., and the entire network was designated as the responsibility of the Army Quartermaster Department. State governments, private associations and fraternal groups were, however, permitted to shape the commemorative vision of these formalized burial sites by establishing memorial structures to honor the service of specific military units and individuals.[12]

Military cemeteries containing large numbers of these fallen Union citizen soldiers created a didactic connection between memory and place. In these burial grounds containing the remains of those who had, as Lincoln wrote, "died on the altar of freedom"

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[11] U.S. War Department, "Annual Report of the Quartermaster-General, 1866," *Annual Reports of the Quartermaster-general from 1861 to 1866* (Washington, D.C. GPO, 1880). Cited in Piehler, *Remembering War the American Way*, 61.

[12] U.S. War Department, *Report of the Quartermaster-General to the Secretary of War, 1868* (Washington, D.C. GPO, 1868), 14. Military cemeteries, as a commemorative venture, may easily and appropriately be interpreted as memorials. See Alan Borg, *War Memorials: From Antiquity to the Present* (London: Leo Cooper, 1991). Quartermaster-General, Montgomery C. Meigs and his department held direct control over this evolving system immediately after the war. He would consistently assert that the ultimate control and authority over each of the military cemeteries was held by the national government. The federal government did compensate those Southern states that had areas expropriated by the federal government for national cemeteries. Perhaps the first national cemetery to be established was founded in Arlington, Virginia, on the site of the plantation owned by Robert E. Lee. Founded partly out of vengeance and partly out of necessity, this site is known today as Arlington National Cemetery. See Piehler, *Remembering War the American Way*, 51.

the sacrifice of dead Union soldiers was profoundly emphasized to all those that walked their grounds while the individual soldier's relationship to civic society was expressed in spatial terms.[13]

Many of these new military cemeteries with carefully marked graves of individual soldiers were established on or in close proximity to the former battlefields of the war. Unlike the former battlefields of the American Revolution which had been physically memorialized at most, if at all, by a modest obelisk, the monumented cemeteries established on the actual ground of former battlefields of the Civil War would themselves stand as memorials to the memory of Union soldiers who fought and died. These battlefield cemeteries became especially important commemorative locations of the war's negotiated public memory.[14]

Battlefields and Monuments to the Dead and the Living

As with the efforts to properly inter and commemorate the North's dead, it was Union soldiers themselves who were first to advocate the establishment of permanent commemorative monuments on former battlefields. This effort, like the first commemorative efforts associated with burial of Northern dead, would also begin during the war itself and initially expressed a theme predominantly centered on mourning for those who had fallen. During the summer and fall of 1863, Union soldiers established the first monuments on a battlefield: a funerary monument was dedicated to their dead on the

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[13] Brown, *The Public Art of Civil War Commemoration: A Brief History with Documents*, 16-17.Perhaps the most informative work on the varieties of constructed narratives of the understanding of the magnitude of death resulting during the war can be found in Faust, *A Riddle of Death: Mortality and Meaning in the American Civil War*.

[14] Brown, *The Public Art of Civil War Commemoration: A Brief History with Documents*, 18. Perhaps the most well known military cemetery of the entire Civil War is the Soldier's National Cemetery located on a portion of the battlefield at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. See Barbra L. Platt, "*This is Holy Ground," A History of the Gettysburg Battlefield."* Barbra L Platt, Harrisburg, PA, 2001.

former battlefield of Stones River, Tennessee, and another was established on the banks of the Mississippi commemorating those Union soldiers who had perished during the siege of Vicksburg.[15]

The increasingly active role that former northern soldiers would assume in the process of memorialization of the physical space of the battlegrounds was foreshadowed in June 1865 when two stone shafts were dedicated at Manassas, Va. by Union troops commemorating their fellow soldiers who had been killed there at the First and Second battles of Bull Run. Like those monuments established by both soldiers and citizens to mark the burial sites of American colonists who died while fighting the British, those who had closely experienced the trauma of the conflict were the first to initiate the physical act of permanent public remembrance in a built form.[16]

Unlike markers and monuments indicating the location and identity of the remains of individual soldiers, these commemorative structures functioned as mortuary monuments, expressing a collective commemorative vision centered on mourning and the

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[15] Between July and November of 1863 a ten-foot-tall by fifteen-foot-square stone monument was raised near the graves of the Union dead from the battle of Stones River in Tennessee. On the Fourth of July 1864, Union troops stationed at Vicksburg established a monument on the site of the city's surrender by Confederate General John C. Pemberton to Union General Ulysses S. Grant. The monument was dedicated on the one year anniversary of the actual surrender. See Michael Wilson Panhorst, "Lest We Forget: Monuments and Memorial Sculpture in National Military Parks on Civil War Battlefields, 1861-1917 (Pennsylvania, Maryland, Tennessee, Mississippi, Georgia)," *DAI* 49, no. 08A (1988): xvii.

[16] The attempt by active duty soldiers to build monuments and memorial structures dedicated to their dead comrades has a strong historical president. The victorious Greeks built an earthen mound shortly after the battle of Marathon in 490 B.C. to commemorate their victory over the Persians and to memorialize the surrounding burial sites of their fellow Greeks. Over two decade would pass before a durable monument made of stone was constructed by the Greeks at the site itself. See Eugene Vanderpool, "A Monument to the Battle of Marathon," Hesperia 35, no. 2 (April-June 1966): 105-6. Benson John Lossing, *The Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution; or, Illustrations, by Pen and Pencil, of the History, Biography, Scenery, Relics, and Traditions of the War for Independence* (Freeport, N.Y.,: Books for Libraries Press, 1969), 164-5. Both cited in Panhorst, "Lest We Forget: Monuments and Memorial Sculpture in National Military Parks on Civil War Battlefields, 1861-1917 (Pennsylvania, Maryland, Tennessee, Mississippi, Georgia)," 17.

loss of life while evoking a memory of the brave sacrifice of the dead themselves rather than functioning simply as a marker for locating a soldier's remains.

After the war, the first monuments that were established on the nation's former battlefields were established solely to commemorate the participation of Union troops alone. Decades would pass before veterans of the Confederacy would do the same. Military units from the Northern states that fought in specific battles commemorated their participation at the sites of these battles with a variety of commemorative monuments. The number, size, age, and style of the monuments established tend to reflect the extent of a state's participation. Today, those states that contributed a major portion of the Northern troop strength at a particular battle site often have the most monuments erected there. This is especially true if their casualties were heavy.[17]

Even during this early stage of post-war remembrance, the former battleground at Gettysburg received significant attention as a focal point of commemoration. By 1871 northern veterans of that battle had already established several memorials on the field that served a funerary function. Additionally, by the 1880s, mortuary monuments had been established by Northern veterans and their supporters on the former battlefields at Manassas, Stones River, and Antietam, in addition to those already at Gettysburg. Establishing permanent monuments on these battlegrounds demonstrated the extent to which Northern veterans sought to honor the memory of their fallen comrades while asserting ownership of the public memory of the conflict. Over time, these and other former battlegrounds increasingly became venues for the establishment of commemorative monuments to the memory of not only those who had fallen but of all

[17] James M. Mayo, *War Memorials as Political Landscape: The American Experience and Beyond* (New York: Praeger, 1988), 173-74.

Union soldiers who had served. No battleground was, however, to receive as much attention as Gettysburg.[18]

Pennsylvania and New York would eventually establish the greatest number of monuments at Gettysburg. The size, style, and dedication date of these monuments would reflect the extent of each state's participation and loss of life. This pattern is replicated at other major Civil War battlefields. Those northern states most heavily involved in a battle tended to build their memorials sooner than other states. Although the North could fund the building of monuments on battlefields more readily than a defeated and financially devastated South, the pattern of commemoration for both sides tends to mirror the extent of an individual state's involvement. Both Pennsylvania and New York established their monuments on the Gettysburg battlefield before other less involved states. It was not until 1917, however, that Virginia, the southern state with the most troops at Gettysburg, established its memorial on the field prominently featuring the equestrian figure of the most revered icon of the former Confederacy, Robert E. Lee.

The commemorative ethos of Northern monuments and memorials on battlefields would eventually expand in terms of both thematic concentration and pure numbers. As an integral part of the negotiated process of creating a physical space of Northern remembrance, site specific monuments and memorial structures dedicated to the memory

[18] After the establishment of the two stone monuments by Union soldiers at the former battle site at Manassas, Virginia in June of 1865, the former battleground at Gettysburg was to be the location of the first battlefield monuments. Between 1865 and 1869, veterans of the First Minnesota regiment established the *First Minnesota Memorial Urn* in the Soldiers National Cemetery located on a portion of the Gettysburg battlefield. This was followed by the dedication of the *Soldier's National Monument* and the *General John F. Reynolds Portrait Statue*, dedicated in 1869 and 1871 respectively. In 1879 the regimental association of the 2nd Massachusetts Infantry placed a tablet at the edge of Spangler's Meadow in honor of those from that unit that had perished during the fighting on that part of the field. See Panhorst, "Lest We Forget: Monuments and Memorial Sculpture in National Military Parks on Civil War Battlefields, 1861-1917 (Pennsylvania, Maryland, Tennessee, Mississippi, Georgia)," 18, and Frederick W. Hawthorne, *Gettysburg: Stories of Men and Monuments as Told by Battlefield Guides*, Association of Battlefield Guides, 1988, 7.

of notable individuals and officers, regiments, and significant occurrences and incidences were established on Civil War battlefields. This built environment of memory was to provide an opportunity for visitors to imagine for themselves the tactical movements of troops on the field while reflecting on the sacrifice and the bravery demonstrated by those in the ranks. These structures served as historical markers as well as commemorative monuments and established an intimate permanent relationship between the past event, physical space, and those who were to visit these sites.[19]

Preserving Battlefields

Over time, significant efforts to maintain many of the actual battleground landscapes of the war as they were at the time of the battle were undertaken by Northerners. Preserved battlefields became important sites of competing interpretations and constructions of the past and continue to serve to this day as fluid open-air museums of memory. As preserved artifacts that in many cases retained the physical scars of warfare, efforts to preserve these extraordinary sites were undertaken to ensure that the memory of the sacrifices made by Northern soldiers would never fade. As unique public space they provided the setting in which citizens could interact with both the natural surroundings and the built artifacts constituting the site's commemorative legacy. As such, these sites are in fact the frontier of the war's constructed memory: individuals

[19] The preserved landscapes of Civil War battlefields often clearly presents to visitors a schematic representation of the opposing battle lines through the arraignments of memorials, monuments, and markers noting the positions of various units and notable individuals during the actual battle. As such the site specific nature of battlefield monuments is apparent. Frequently, it was the battle veterans themselves who assisted the sponsors of battlefield monuments in locating the actual ground that a specific unit occupied during a battle. See Mayo, *War Memorials as Political Landscape: The American Experience and Beyond*, 172, Pennsylvania. Gettysburg Battle-field Commission. et al., *Pennsylvania at Gettysburg. Ceremonies at the Dedication of the Monuments Erected by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania to Major-General George G. Meade, Major General Winfield S. Hancock, Major General John F. Reynolds and to Mark the Positions of the Pennsylvania Commands Engaged in the Battle* ([Harrisburg,: W.S. Ray, 1914), 416-17.

simultaneously interpret and reconfigure the commemorative vision of the battlefield and compose a template of remembrance mingling their own notions of the site's significance with their impressions of the commemorative landscape. By locating themselves within the battlefield's physical space, battlefield visitors interact with the commemorative dialogue of the preserved battlefield and reconfigure their own constructed text of public memory. [20]

Significantly, only weeks after the battle of Gettysburg, efforts were under way to preserve the site as it appeared immediately after the three days of fighting in July 1863. Within two weeks of the end of the battle, David McConaughy, a local Gettysburg lawyer, began a campaign to preserve the entire battlefield and freeze the physical space so it could serve as a permanent memorial to the battle itself. In an appeal for public support for his idea published in the *Adams Sentinel*, McConaughy declared that there could be "no more fitting and expressive memorial of the heroic valor and signal triumph of our army" than preservation of the field of what had already been acknowledged as a highly significant military engagement. By the twenty-fifth anniversary of the battle in 1888, over 300 monument and markers would be located on the former battlefield honoring. Although it was to become the preeminent site for the construction of the public memory of the Civil War, Gettysburg would not, however, be the only battlefield

[20] The process of preservation, commemoration, and the construction of public memory based on the ongoing efforts of individuals and interest groups to constantly re-fix their own vision for what the battlefield should be, results in preserved battlefields, like Gettysburg, becoming a "preservation of a preservation," containing a cultural archives containing various modes of remembrance. See Reuben M. Rainey, "The Memory of War: Reflections on Battlefield Preservation," in Richard L. Austin, *The Yearbook of Landscape Architecture: Private Spaces in the Landscape* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1984), 79.Quoted in Linenthal, *Sacred Ground : Americans and Their Battlefields*, 89.

of the war that was to become a physical memorial to the brave sacrifice of Northern soldiers [21]

Northern Veterans and Republican Politics

During the initial phase of post war Northern commemoration, veterans found willing allies in the politically dominant Republican Party. As an overtly interested joint constituency, it was Northern veterans and Republican office holders who attempted to control the contours of the unfolding commemorative vision that would tell the story of the Civil War to future generations of Americans. Their complimentary claims to unconditional ownership of the commemorative dialogue remained sharp and persistent throughout the nineteenth century.[22]

Additionally, Northern veterans themselves significantly influenced the effort to establish a formalized system of preserved battlefield parks, especially throughout the North, that became controlled and scrupulously maintained venues for the construction of the war's public memory. The efforts of Northern veterans to ensure the preservation of battlefields by assisting the effort to transform them into public parks laid the groundwork for the construction of commemorative monuments and memorials within their boundaries. Veterans were appointed to key administrative positions and served as a decisive voice on many state commissions that provided funding for monuments. As such, the commemorative vision that emerged, especially in the early phases of park construction, reflected a narrative of the war informed by the perspective of Northern veterans themselves. Their efforts in the early phases of the formation of commemorative

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[21] Quoted in Kathleen R. Georg, "A Fitting and Expressive Memorial," ms., Gettysburg National Military Park Library. Brown, *The Public Art of Civil War Commemoration: A Brief History with Documents*, 17.

[22] Ibid., 3.

motifs had a significant impact on the public memory of the war embraced by northern society. As the first arbiters of the public dialogue of remembrance, what I would describe as a "cult of the veteran" exerted a dynamic and long lived influence on the constructed memory of the Civil War. Veterans' influence on the commemorative vision ensured that preserved battlefields became a forum for remembrance centered primarily on remembering the war as a series of military engagements between equally brave adversaries acting on behalf of their own heart felt beliefs and patriotic fervor. This memory ignored any mention of political or moral conflicts connected to the war's causes. This selective and exclusionary vision of the war's legacy had an authoritative influence on the war's constructed public memory. [23]

Beginning in the 1890s and reflecting the increasing economic and political power of veterans and their allies in the Republican Party, legislation was enacted that formally established military parks on the sites of significant Civil War battlefields in both the North and South. Congress created federally controlled parks at Chattanooga and Shiloh in Tennessee, Vicksburg, Mississippi and Antietam, Maryland in addition to formally taking over the battlefield at Gettysburg.[24]

Significantly, as the end of the nineteenth century approached and marking a departure from what been common in the immediate post war period, commemorative

[23] Ibid., 18.

[24] The establishment of the military park system at these various locations has been fairly well documented, by both the National Park service and individual authors and historians. See Timothy B. Smith, *This Great Battlefield of Shiloh: History, Memory, and the Establishment of a Civil War National Military Park*, 1st ed. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2004), United States. National Park Service, "Antietam National Battlefield, Maryland," ([Washington, D.C.]: National Park Service, 2004), United States. National Park Service, "Antietam National Battlefield, Maryland," ([Washington, D.C.]: National Park Service,, 2003), United States. National Park Service, "Gettysburg--Gettysburg National Military Park, Pennsylvania," ([Washington, D.C.]: National Park Service,, 2004), United States. National Park Service, "Vicksburg National Military Park, Louisiana/Mississippi," ([Washington, D.C.]: National Park Service, 2002).

practices, including the establishment of monuments, which had been exclusively dedicated to the remembrance of Northern soldiers alone increasingly demonstrated a tendency to view the efforts of Confederate soldiers and the South in a more favorable light. In part, this was made possible because throughout the North the centering of commemoration on the ordinary soldier had more and more frequently served to establish a common ground between the former enemies while allowing a shift in emphasis which moved away from an affirmation of the principles behind the Northern soldier's service and moving towards broad acclaim for the mutual valor and masculine bravery demonstrated by the ordinary soldiers on each side. Those who had fought for the Confederacy would eventually be viewed in a more positive light. Over time, their image would also be represented on every major battlefield of the war in the form of monuments and memorials. The most prominent example of the significance of this process is the alteration in the form and the content of the image of Robert E. Lee. By the time of the dedication of the Virginia Memorial in June, 1917, and along with it the establishment of the equestrian image of Robert E. Lee as a prominent and permanent part of the commemorative text of the Gettysburg battlefield, significant shifts in the apparatus that helped produce the public's memory of the war, as well as shifts in the ideas that Americans found compelling in their recollection of the war, had taken place. This alteration allowed a new commemorative dialogue in the North that legitimated an altered narrative of the war's public memory. As will be shown, these shifts took place for a variety of reasons and did not go unchallenged, especially by African Americans. The constructed narrative of the war's public memory that was to enjoy widespread acceptance by the time of the Virginia Memorial's dedication was, however, nowhere

evident during the early post war period. An examination of this process will help to periodize these significant changes that took place in the form and content of the North's master narrative of the war's public memory and in the character of the entire nation's commemoration of itself. [25]

Northern Voices of Commemoration

Although victorious in 1865, there was no clear agreement at the time among Northerners regarding the best course in dealing with the former Confederacy. Many Republicans favored a complete reordering of southern society under the direction of the Federal government intended to permanently end any lingering power residing with the former planter class while also guaranteeing the social, economic, and political rights of former slaves. Additionally, as early as the 1866 Congressional elections, Republicans overtly reminded Northern voters that it was they who, along with the brave members of the Northern military, had led the successful defense of the Union and the ultimate defeat of the South. By doing this Republicans sought, in part, to sow the seeds of a memory of the Civil War that emphasized the divisive legacy of the secessionist's movement to destroy the Union and its prominent association with the Democratic Party. Up until the 1880s, Republicans frequently and overtly emphasized the former disloyalty of their Democratic opponents. Republicans intended this strategy, labeled by Democrats as

[25] Prior to the war the South had frequently been portrayed by some conservative northerners as a place of an orderly pastoral environment standing in sharp contrast to the coarsening effects of the market revolution and the materialistic tendencies of the North then gaining prominence. Post war Northern literature helped to reaffirm this notion. See Brown, *The Public Art of Civil War Commemoration : A Brief History with Documents*, 8, Nina Silber, *The Romance of Reunion : Northerners and the South, 1865-1900*, *Civil War America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), William Robert Taylor, *Cavalier and Yankee : The Old South and American National Character* (Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1963).The image of Robert E. Lee, as well as his role as patriot, military leader, and icon have been investigated and explored. Curiously, these investigations of the force and authority behind his persona have not addressed his significance as represented on the battlefield at Gettysburg. See Brian Holden Reid, *Robert E. Lee : Icon for a Nation* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2005), James I. Robertson, *Robert E. Lee : Virginia Soldier, American Citizen*, 1st ed. (New York: Atheneum Books for Young Readers, 2005)

"waving the bloody shirt", as an effort to resurrect and constantly reiterate the divisive legacy of the American South and it allies in the Democratic Party.[26]

During this early post war period, the Republican Party sought out the support of Union veterans and played a significant role in the creation of the Grand Army of the Republic, the most successful and politically influential Union veteran's organization. Founded in Decatur, Illinois, in April 1866 as a nonpartisan society for veterans under the leadership of a former Union general, Senator John A. Logan of Ohio, it quickly became closely aligned with the Republican Party and its leadership. During the early decades following the war, it was able to solidify support among Union veterans for the Republican Party while initially keeping a memory of the war before the public's eye that vilified the South and held it accountable for the war.[27]

As the end of the nineteenth century approached, the commemorative vision that was to evolve under the joint direction of the GAR and the Republican Party demonstrated the inherent links between sponsorship and content that are at the heart of commemorative activities. Although frequently associated with pensions and other

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[26] Starting during the 1866 Congressional campaigns, Republican campaign rallies often featured a blood soaked shirt that was intermittently waved in the crowd in an effort to remind all those present of the loss of life in the war to preserve the Union, a war that Republicans were always glad to portray as having been fought against southern Democrats. Michael E. McGerr, *The Decline of Popular Politics: The American North, 1865-1928* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 24-26. Quoted in Piehler, *Remembering War the American Way*, 57.

[27] Only a minority of Union veterans actually joined the Grand Army of the Republic. Also, it was not the only Northern veteran's organization. Former Union officers did establish their own organizations, not unlike the officers of the American Revolution and the Mexican American War. Those organizations formed by former officers after the Civil War were, however, less influential in the post war period than their predecessors had been. This is due in part to the fact that the emphasis of public memory after the Civil War was much more heavily focused on the accomplishments and the commemoration of the ordinary soldier. See Mary R. Dearing, *Veterans in Politics; the Story of the G.A.R* (Westport, Conn.,: Greenwood Press, 1974), 42.,and Stuart Charles McConnell, *Glorious Contentment : The Grand Army of the Republic, 1865-1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 18-52. Cited in Piehler, *Remembering War the American Way*, 57.

government benefits granted to Northern veterans and their families as a result of its political influence, the effectiveness of the GAR was based, in large part, on its ability to play a major role in shaping and influencing the public memory of the war.[28]

In a revealing sense, the GAR played a major role in ensuring that Memorial Day was to become a day of widespread observance and eventually a major holiday in the North with a direct connection to the process of remembrance and commemoration connected with Union dead. By the mid nineteenth century it had become customary for the graves of soldiers to be decorated with spring flowers. In the immediate aftermath of the Civil War, this mourning practice quickly was extended to the graves of the northern dead. Initially containing a religious component frequently incorporating prayers and attendance at church services, the ritual of tending to and decorating the graves of the war dead would remain common practice. Eventually it was to become a widely observed federal holiday celebrated throughout the North and even in parts of the South. The close connection between the GAR and the annual commemoration of the North's dead demonstrates the ability of a dedicated constituency to exert almost complete editorial control and dominance over the nature and composition of commemoration and the creation and reiteration of a seemingly consensual public memory that is in fact highly nuanced as a constructed social reality that, over time, assumes the guise of unquestioned authenticity and undisputed legitimacy.[29]

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[28] Dearing, *Veterans in Politics; the Story of the G.A.R*, 175-90. See also Piehler, *Remembering War the American Way*, 57-58.

[29] The tradition of honoring the memory of those who lost their lives during the war through the designation of a specific day for this act of communal remembrance seems to have begun swiftly and somewhat spontaneously right after the war in 1866 and 1867. According to Michael Kammen, Waterloo, New York may have been the first local in which the commemoration of Northern war dead became formalized in this manner. Beginning in 1868, the GAR began a major effort to sponsor and organize official Memorial Day observances. By 1869 thirty-one states had mandated that it become an official state holiday. See Gaines

Thus, as the preeminent organization of Union veterans, the GAR was in a prime position to exert direct influence on establishing battlefield monuments honoring Northern soldiers. Significantly, this influence would directly impact the policies of the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association. Established in 1864 as a private organization founded to preserve the Gettysburg battlefield, this organization directed and assisted in the process of establishing battlefield monuments beyond the boundaries of the Soldiers' National Cemetery, established on a prominent part of the field in 1863.

Backed by their allies in the Republican Party, the GAR's membership was able to lobby for the preservation and memorialization of the most significant battlefields of the war. Local and state associations were organized to establish commemorative markers and memorials extending beyond the boundaries of the many battlefield cemeteries established on or near preserved battlefields. These battlefield monuments not only acknowledged the sacrifice of those who gave their lives in battle but also honored the brave service offered by all those Northern soldiers who had fought in battle and survived the war to become part of the cohort of Union veterans.[30]

Beginning in the mid 1880s, the number and variety of those monuments established on battlefields honoring the service of both those Union soldiers killed in action as well as those who served and survived would begin to increase significantly.

M. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865 to 1913* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 42, Michael G. Kammen, *The Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture*, 1st Vintage Books ed. (New York: Vintage Books, 1993), 102-03, Frank Moore and United States. 40th Congress 2d session 1867-1868. [from old catalog], *Memorial Ceremonies at the Graves of Our Soldiers* (Washington city,: 1869).Both cited in Brown, *The Public Art of Civil War Commemoration : A Brief History with Documents*, 42-43, Piehler, *Remembering War the American Way*, 58-59. Wallace Evan Davies, *Patriotism on Parade; the Story of Veterans' and Hereditary Organizations in America, 1783-1900.*

[30] Panhorst, "Lest We Forget: Monuments and Memorial Sculpture in National Military Parks on Civil War Battlefields, 1861-1917 (Pennsylvania, Maryland, Tennessee, Mississippi, Georgia)," 39.

The actions of the GAR, which had gradually become less overtly partisan, were inspiring patronage by local, state, and federal government leaders of projects directed at further monumentation and preservation at all five major battlegrounds.[31]

The Republican Party valued the support of northern veterans greatly and went beyond simply assisting them in the construction of a public narrative of the war's memory. As with the veterans of both the American Revolution and the War of 1812, Union veterans, organized under the leadership of the GAR and, supported by their allies in the Republican Party, sought and received pensions from the federal government.[32]

Beginning in 1890, the federal government began to assume control of battlefield parks and designate the War Department to eventually take control of these former battlefields which were to be administered through three man commissions filled mainly with veterans. By the first years of the twentieth century all the major battlefields had been designated as national military parks and placed under the management of the War Department. By organizing the efforts of governors, state legislatures, memorial associations, as well as veteran's groups and also supervising the placement, design, and content of battlefield monuments, various battlefield commissions dominated by veterans were able to exercise a significant influence on the evolving form and content of battlefield commemoration. By the last decade of the nineteenth century, however, and continuing thereafter, virtually all monuments that appeared in battlefield parks were funded through the efforts of individual states along with local veterans organizations

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[31] Ibid.: 42.

[32] McConnell, *Glorious Contentment: The Grand Army of the Republic, 1865-1900*, 125-65, Theda Skocpol, *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1992).

with control eventually turned over to the federal government soon after their dedications.[33]

The Physical Space of Commemoration

The physical geography of commemoration on Civil War battlefields that developed over time, as the former landscapes of battle become landscapes of memory, reveals a number of significant characteristics. The location of the actual lines of battle, the sites of significant encounters, and the association of battlefield monuments with specific physical spaces are all often plainly discernable by those walking the grounds of former battlefields. Observing the arrangement of the built environment of monuments and markers orients and instructs the visitor. Those monuments closest to the front lines of battle most often are dominated by structures dedicated to organizational units of ordinary foot soldiers such as regiments. Monuments commemorating those who were in command can most often be found further back from the front lines. Those commemorative structures dedicated to high ranking commanders and generals are frequently located furthest away from the front lines often on the very ground from which these individuals observed the action during the battle itself. Virtually without exception, monuments and markers on major Civil War battlefields are site specific; hence, the physical space itself is the location of potentially competing claims to authentic memory.

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[33] Prior to the mid-1880s, memorial associations established more monuments than state or federal governments, and after the designation of these former battlefields as national military parks by the federal government in the 1890s the national government established a few large memorials, all dedicated to the northern cause, while funding modest inexpensive markers for both northern and southern units on these battlefields. Typically, memorial associations like those formed by groups of concerned citizens in Maryland and Pennsylvania after the battles of Antietam and Gettysburg respectively, initially formed their associations to establish formalized burial grounds and cemeteries on the sites of the battles themselves. Practical considerations were at least a major part of the motivation for these associations. See Panhorst, "Lest We Forget: Monuments and Memorial Sculpture in National Military Parks on Civil War Battlefields, 1861-1917 (Pennsylvania, Maryland, Tennessee, Mississippi, Georgia)," 42-45, 52. See also David G. Martin, *Confederate Monuments at Gettysburg* (Conshohocken, PA: Combined Books, 1995).

That is, they are established on the actual ground associated with groups or individual(s) being commemorated. In this manner, public commemorative monuments established on battlefields transform these former killing fields into carefully constructed landscapes of memory. They present an altered physical space bearing multiple claims of ownership asserted by the constituencies establishing the monuments and by those "publics" entering the physical space itself. The commemorative text of Civil War battlefields is therefore set by those who directly shape the form and content of battlefield monuments and is continuously altered by those who experience, process, and reinterpret the commemorative geography. The "publics" that visit battlefields partake in a commemorative dialogue that produces meaning consistent with the perspective of those individuals and groups that visit and experience the space. The seemingly static and frozen form of the commemorative landscape and its "text" of public memory are in fact highly fluid.[34]

Northern Monuments in Public Civic Space

The process of commemorating the bravery and sacrifice of those who had fought and died in the war was not limited to the physical space of military cemeteries and former battlefields. During the war, the Northern public also undertook efforts of their own to establish monuments. Beginning in the first year of the war, the civic space of northern cities, towns, and local communities became the site of public monuments dedicated to the war's unfolding memory. Additionally, soon after the war ended, dozens

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[34] The ultimate location for the establishment of monuments on Civil War battlefields most often involved the recollections of those that participated in the battles themselves: namely, veterans. Competing interests sometimes became evident during this process, and significant conflicts often occurred. One of the best illustrations of this dynamic involved the final location of the monument to the 72nd Pennsylvania Infantry at Gettysburg. The Pennsylvania Supreme Court ultimately made the final determination regarding the monuments location. See Hawthorn, *Gettysburg*, 119

of monuments appeared in towns and cities throughout the North. This process was far more decentralized than that centered on the establishment of preserved battlefield parks, and during the first decades following the war's end the federal government exerted little direct influence on public monuments beyond the confines of Washington, D.C. and the newly established national cemeteries for Union war dead. Even state governments only rarely exerted a direct influence during the early post war period beyond the boundaries of state capitals, although some actively encouraged municipalities to establish monuments under local auspices and control. Until the 1890s, the vast majority of monuments in public space were established through the efforts of private individuals and groups.[35]

Although there were some larger cities that commissioned major monuments and provided government funding for the projects, the vast majority of monuments in civic space were funded by private donations and fund raising campaigns organized by sponsors from a variety of constituencies eager to associate themselves and their interests with the reputation of the northern veterans, who themselves sought to influence the evolution of public memory of the war.[36]

The pace of the North's post war economic recovery significantly influenced the number of monuments that could be built. Because of this, the establishment of public

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[35]Mildred C. Baruch, Ellen J. Beckman, and Daughters of Union Veterans of the Civil War., *Civil War Union Monuments : A List of Union Monuments, Markers, and Memorials of the American Civil War, 1861-1865* (Washington: Daughters of Union Veterans of the Civil War, 1978).Cited in Piehler, *Remembering War the American Way*, 53.

[36] These types of efforts were taking place in local communities throughout the north early in the war. In June 1861, a group of local citizens of Detroit organized an effort to establish a public monument to commemorate the memory of those Union soldiers that had died in some of the war's battles. Brown, *The Public Art of Civil War Commemoration: A Brief History with Documents*, 22, George Smith May and Michigan. Civil War Centennial Observance Commission., *Michigan Civil War Monuments* ([Lansing]: Michigan Civil War Centennial Observance Commission, 1965), Piehler, *Remembering War the American Way*, 53.

memorials in civic space would evolve differently in the North and in the South. The more secure financial position of Northern communities allowed northern constituencies to more readily establish public monuments. Due to the extent of the physical and financial ruin existing for decades in the former Confederacy, monument campaigns commemorating the war in the South significantly lagged behind similar efforts in the North. Additionally, Southern veterans and the population in general were initially reluctant to commemorate an event that resulted in the loss of so much property and so many lives. Significantly, the conflicted nature of organized efforts commemorating a defeat challenged the capabilities of Southerners and the entire nation to construct a viable and meaningful narrative of public and private remembrance centered on the war's ultimate meaning.[37]

Like those monuments established in cemeteries and on former battlegrounds of the war under the leadership of Northern veterans and their patrons, most public monuments raised in municipal settings in the North during the first decades following the war located the ordinary citizen soldier at the center of the commemorative dialogue. The narrative of public remembrance represented his sacrifice as truly heroic and genuine while positioning him at the symbolic center of remembrance. By the 1880s, public monuments also commemorated and honored all those who had served and not only those who had perished; those who had survived the ordeal of battle were increasingly included in the commemorative narrative of public monuments in civic space.[38]

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[37] Ralph W. Widener, *Confederate Monuments: Enduring Symbols of the South and the War between the States* (Washington, D.C.: Andromeda Associates, 1982), viii. The widespread construction of Confederate memorials would not fully begin until the beginning of the twentieth century. See Mayo, *War Memorials as Political Landscape: The American Experience and Beyond.*

[38] Baruch, Beckman, and Daughters of Union Veterans of the Civil War., *Civil War Union Monuments : A List of Union Monuments, Markers, and Memorials of the American Civil War, 1861-1865,* Panhorst, "Lest

Most often located in a conspicuous spot in northern communities such as town squares and parks, the typical monument featured a solitary standing union soldier posed holding the barrel of a rifle standing upright on the ground immediately in front of him. By the 1880s, this "standing soldier" composition had become the dominant memorial form for Civil War monuments in the North. By far, it was this monumental form that received the most support from all segments of the population as compared to commemorative monuments whose stylistic emphasis was centered on more purely symbolic forms. Representations of the human form authentically clad in the uniform of the northern soldier presented in public sculpture elicited virtually universal appeal and praise. These monuments often listed the names of those from the local community who had fallen. Efforts to raise memorials that relied exclusively on allegorical images were frequently criticized when not including the form of the solitary standing soldier. Even those monuments that were larger and more ornate that made use of some classical allegorical forms frequently employed the form of several solitary Union soldiers.[39]

Northern Public Memory, Public Monuments, and Reconciliation

As a significant cultural form that brought the authority of permanence to public space and served as an overt symbol of a consensual vision of the remembered past, on

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We Forget: Monuments and Memorial Sculpture in National Military Parks on Civil War Battlefields, 1861-1917 (Pennsylvania, Maryland, Tennessee, Mississippi, Georgia)," 8, Piehler, *Remembering War the American Way*, 53.

[39] See Kirk Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth-Century America* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997). This work provides a detailed treatment of this sculptural form and its connection to racial perceptions. Up to the time of the Civil War, the obelisk had been the most popular memorial form for America's war dead. Those more extensive monuments that would appear in many larger northern cities frequently employed realistic and allegorical imagery that emphasized the themes of loss, struggle, and final victory while also employing the single standing solder often serving as centennials. See also Baruch, Beckman, and Daughters of Union Veterans of the Civil War., *Civil War Union Monuments: A List of Union Monuments, Markers, and Memorials of the American Civil War, 1861-1865,* Brown, *The Public Art of Civil War Commemoration: A Brief History with Documents*, 24.

battlefields, in cemeteries, and in Northern civic space, public monuments also served as a focal point for contesting the war's memory. As was the case for those monuments that eventually appeared in a variety of settings throughout the southern landscape, organized activities aimed at establishing public monuments revealed themselves to be not only a commemorative act, but a political act as well often involving a contest over authority and legitimacy.

Public monuments appear to stand for widely shared consensual visions embraced by the community at large. The commemorative vision is, in reality, frequently divided among a variety of sponsors as well as numerous constituencies and "publics" all asserting legitimacy of their claim to ownership of the commemorative vision. Public monuments represent, in fact, a highly nuanced record of the war's public memory. Whether located in a battlefield cemetery, on a former battleground, or in a park or town square, public monuments are sites of a robust and ongoing negotiation among a variety of ideological positions concerning the ultimate meaning of the commemorative form. Simultaneously functioning as both the most solidly fixed and the most highly malleable form of public remembrance, monuments to the Civil War serve as a commemorative link between America's past and its present.[40]

By the end of the 1880's, monuments dedicated to the service of all northern soldiers who had served in the Union cause began to outnumber those established solely as memorials dedicated to those who had been killed in combat. They did, however,

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[40] Brown, *The Public Art of Civil War Commemoration: A Brief History with Documents*, 6.According to James Mayo, memorials appearing typically in a central public space of a town did not directly proclaim victory or defeat. In a broad sense, they existed to bestow dignity on the war's dead and not to proclaim the correctness of the cause represented and/.or the sectional animosities that were held by each side. See Mayo, *War Memorials as Political Landscape: The American Experience and Beyond*, 171.

ordinarily list the names of those who had died although some also contained the names of all those who had served presented either by rank or, much more commonly, in alphabetical order. The northern veterans that had survived were not hesitant to exert ownership over the evolving commemorative landscape. As influential voices directing the thematic construction of the war's memory they did not hesitate to exert a controlling force in which they were both the subjects and sponsors of the evolving northern public landscape of memory. This occurred while their most prominent veteran's organization, the Grand Army of the Republic, was slowly becoming less narrowly partisan and more overtly amenable to acknowledging a common bond with their former Southern enemies.[41]

Whether built in the public civic space of a town square or the sacred space of a former battlefield, Northern monuments reflected the increasingly ubiquitous theme of reconciliation, which was emphasized over time by both Northern and Southern veterans. This rising "cult of the veteran" shaped the wider contours of the war's public memory for the nation as a whole arguing that the war as an occasion of mutual honor and glory for both sides while highlighting the comradeship between former enemies. This specific conceptualization of the war's ultimate meaning increasingly set the thematic direction and texture of Civil War monuments and commemoration of the war itself. Stylistically, the death and destruction that had occurred during the war would not be completely ignored; occasionally, wounded and dying soldiers were represented in some monuments on battlefields and in town squares. These sculpted human forms were, however,

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[41] John E. Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991), 95, Brown, *The Public Art of Civil War Commemoration: A Brief History with Documents*, 36.

presented as possessing a heroic quality that served a truly profound and transcendent purpose. Wounded and dying soldiers from both sides had remained loyal and brave to their cause until the end.[42]

Design Features of Northern Battlefield Monuments

Battlefield monuments, in general, demonstrate a wider variety of designs and stylistic variations than monuments in the public space of Northern towns and cities. Physical representations of a variety of distinct soldier forms and accompanying activities can be found on virtually all preserved Civil War battlefields today. Infantrymen, artillerymen, cavalrymen, buglers, and occasionally civilians can be found represented in sculptural form on the battlefield. Additionally, the various implements of war, such as cannon balls, artillery pieces and other artifacts of combat are frequently represented to aid in recreating the wartime physical space. The space of the battlefield is seemingly frozen and unchangeable, intended to forever bear the evidence of its own constructed narrative of memory.[43]

Those Northern memorials established on Civil War battlefields during the nineteenth and early twentieth century also reveal classical influences. The sculptors who created the major memorials frequently demonstrated the influence of the training they had received while studying their craft in Europe. Virtually all of the major battlefield

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[42] Thomas C. Leonard, *Above the Battle: War Making in America from Appomattox to Versailles* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), Linderman, *Embattled Courage: The Experience of Combat in the American Civil War*. Cited in Piehler, *Remembering War the American Way*, 72.

[43] The spatial associations existing between the locations of each side's monuments on Civil War battlefields serves to remind visitors of the territorial nature of battlefield memory. These built environments frequently encourage visitors to reflect on the nature of ones loyalties and opinions on the causes represented by each side. See Wayne Craven and Milo Stewart, *The Sculptures at Gettysburg* (New York: Eastern Acorn Press, 1982), 37.andMayo, *War Memorials as Political Landscape: The American Experience and Beyond*, 172.

memorials from this era were sculpted by individuals who had or who soon would study in European cities such as Vienna, Rome, and Paris.[44]

Many of the battlefield monuments from this era also attempt to combine idealism with realism. Unlike the monuments that appeared in the public space of northern towns and cities, the classically influenced sculpture forms that appeared on battlefields more frequently represented the common soldier in lifelike and realistic poses and often portrayed the human form in the throes of fighting and dying. Close examination of many of the monuments reveals that the individuals represented often communicate to the viewer a robust determination to endure. The ordinary soldiers in these works are represented as offering their lives in a dignified but not overly glorified manner. The classical realism apparent in some of these works is intended to reveal to the viewer the bitter harshness of battle. As with the monuments that were established in Northern cities and towns, the physical features of these monuments also revealed the identity of those who were being remembered. [45]

Contained within this often repeated sculptural form was the representation of a male figure whose facial characteristics were readily discernable by observers. Those physical characteristics that soon became inextricably associated with virtually all Northern monuments' particular form were of a white, apparently Anglo-Saxon male. As succinctly expressed by Kirk Savage, the figure of a solitary soldier, whether standing motionless or posed as if in battle, was intended to be universal in its reference to a

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[44] Craven and Stewart, *The Sculptures at Gettysburg*, 19-30, Mayo, *War Memorials as Political Landscape: The American Experience and Beyond*, 175.

[45] Those monument that were to appear on Civil War battlefields after World War I most often would clearly manifest the influence of a shift towards modernism. This will be especially true of Confederate monuments which have a tendency to appear latter than Union monuments. See Mayo, *War Memorials as Political Landscape: The American Experience and Beyond*, 175.

generic representation of the authentic citizen soldier. However, this figure was in fact particularized in some significant respects, most importantly in its facial typing. The generic physiognomy was structured to construct the polyglot faces of the northern population into a standard "American" type. While the specific components of this face are not easy to define, most definitely, *whiteness* was clearly a prerequisite and considered a prima face component of appropriate representative masculinity. Thus, the image of the citizen-soldier was replicated over and over again in the form of the standing soldier monument whether the figure was at rest and standing motionless or posed in an active motion of some sort. That the ubiquitous representation portrayed a specific notion of race, ethnicity, and masculinity was not accidental and can be viewed as a tacit insight in an understanding of whose interests were being represented in the monuments by sponsoring groups and what they themselves had determined through their design choices as worthy of remembrance in public space.[46]

This visual image of the brave, white, Northern male citizen was also widely portrayed and reiterated in the press and popular literature of the post war period and provided a constructed model of citizenship that was represented as being most worthy of emulation. This image represented a laudable political posture of selflessness in the best tradition of true republican virtue, while demonstrating an obligation towards collective responsibility. Additionally, this male image became the embodiment of post

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[46] Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth-Century America*, 162.

war ideas centered on authentic masculinity that persisted during the social upheavals that were to follow in the decades to come.[47]

Many easily recognizable high ranking officers and army commanders also represented in battlefield monuments, such as those including Ulysses S. Grant and Robert E. Lee, are frequently portrayed in an equestrian form and often located at some distance from the front lines of battle or at a spot on the battlefield that had some significant association with him and his presence at a specific location on the battlefield. They are portrayed differently from the ordinary soldier, not because their sacrifice was any less noble than that offered by those in the ranks, but rather because the service that they provided was different than that of the common soldier. Representing brave leadership and unshakable loyalty to their cause, they also came to symbolize the common sacrifice of all the soldiers in the ranks.

The theme of reconciliation that was to eventually dominate the war's public memory is also somewhat evident in some of the monuments that appear on Civil War battlefields. At the nexus of the physical confrontation that is the essence of warfare, monuments expressing themes of reconciliation and reunifications are, however, rare on battlefields. Most of those monuments established by the veterans themselves express notions of sacrifice, personal bravery and individual loyalty.[48]

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[47] Brown, *The Public Art of Civil War Commemoration: A Brief History with Documents*, 16, Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998). For an incisive treatment of the intersection of race and public memory, see Paul A. Shackel, *Memory in Black and White: Race, Commemoration, and the Post-Bellum Landscape* (Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press, 2003).and Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth-Century America*.

[48] The Missouri memorial on the Vicksburg battlefield commemorates both the Union soldiers and the Confederate soldiers from Missouri the participated in the battle. Also on the Vicksburg battlefield, the memorial to the state of Kansas symbolically represents the themes of union, war, and union once again. The Wisconsin memorial at Vicksburg contains a bronze relief depicting "…a Union and Confederate

As those who overtly worked to control the dialogue of the war's memory, Northern veterans acting through the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association set a direction for public memory of the Civil War that would coalesce in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. At Gettysburg, the High Water Mark Memorial (located at a spot in the Union lines on cemetery Hill where Confederate forces made their deepest penetration on the climatic third day of the battle) was dedicated on the twenty fifth anniversary of the battle in 1892. The monument bears an inscription noting the units from Confederate states that participated in the assault and the units from Northern states that participated in the repulse. Although not directly making a gesture of reconciliation, the acknowledgement of the participation of the soldiers from opposing sides in a single monument indicates the degree to which northern veterans themselves were willing to recognize the bravery of their opponents while subtly implying the legitimacy of their former foes' cause.

Northern veterans generally supported this effort to include both Union and Confederate constituencies, and the effort to establish the monument can be traced to the mid 1880s. Northern veterans sought to embrace their former enemies and the past itself with a sentiment that overlooked prior divisions and celebrated a unifying and inspirational ethos of America's marshal spirit. Reconciliation between North and South became a persistent theme in virtually all commemorative activities as the end of the nineteenth century approached.

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soldier with hands clasped in friendship to symbolize the peace which exists now between North and South." See Harold Young, Steve Walker, and David F. Riggs, *Vicksburg Battlefield Monuments: A Photographic Record* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1984), 44-45:60-61. Cited in Mayo, *War Memorials as Political Landscape: The American Experience and Beyond*, 176.At Gettysburg, the monument to the 66th New York Infantry contains a bronze plaque entitled "Peace and Unity." It portrays two soldiers, one Union, one Confederate, in the act of shaking hands. See Frederick W. Hawthorne, *Gettysburg: Stories of Men and Monuments*, (Association of Licensed Battlefield Guides), 1988. 67.

Design Features of Northern Monuments in Civic Space

The somewhat generic replication of the standing soldier monument for the public spaces of cities and towns should not be viewed as an indication that the constituencies of these public monuments were unconcerned with stylistic issues. Some sponsors had opted for the more active figure of a soldier in motion.   Although seeming to be only minimally concerned with artistic design and esthetic considerations in choosing the readily available standing soldier design, some sponsors and their supporters viewed the representation of the calm yet resolute white Anglo-Saxon male outfitted in the marshal regalia of the brave Union soldier as the embodiment of republican self sacrifice, exemplifying the most laudable aspects of American democracy. The figure represented the freely offered commitment of the white American male to the preservation and continuation of the nation of the founders. This sculptural design also connected the local community with the commemorative spirit of the nation as a whole. The standing soldier asserted local solidarity with the entire nation.[49]

While many public commemorative venues throughout the North prominently displayed the standing soldier as an integral part of its civic memory of the Civil War, many sponsors sought out monument designs that went beyond this often utilized "standing" human figure in military garb. By the mid-1880s dissatisfaction was growing concerning the somewhat static nature of the increasingly ubiquitous but seemingly

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[49] The seemingly repetitious nature of this monumental form has produced a fair amount of literature froth with speculation concerning what might be seen as an "off the shelf" quality to these monuments. Kirk Savage argues persuasively that the monument industry grew and developed during the nineteenth century to meet popular demand for the standing soldier form of public monument. While they were inexpensive and readily available, it is an overstatement to assume that sponsoring groups were somehow duped or pushed into adopting this particular form. Once the form became popular it was sought after by many communities. See Lewis Waldron Williams, "Lorado Taft: American Sculptor and Art Missionary" (Thesis--University of Chicago) 1991.

sterile commemorative form of the standing Union soldier at rest that was appearing throughout the North. Gradually, dissatisfaction increased over the apparent absence of inspirational qualities in the monumental figure of the motionless solitary soldier. Sponsors of some proposed monuments complained noting that this commemorative figure, although popular, failed to illustrate "the patriotism, self sacrifice, bravery, and devotion which our soldiers have always displayed." This dearth of patriotic inspiration resulted in the popularization of an updated commemorative form for Northern civic space: the figure of the more active soldier moving forward became more common over time. Before 1890, only four known non battlefield monuments depicted a soldier with his rifle off the ground while between 1890 and 1920 no fewer than seventy-seven portraying a solitary figure moving forward, either at a walk or a run, were established throughout the North.[50]

Despite the desires of many sponsoring groups to include active figures within the sculptural composition of their monuments, the solitary soldier at rest accounts for over 80 percent of single figure monuments established between 1880 and 1920. Although this image of the motionless soldier at rest was frequently criticized in professional trade journals while other viable alternatives were readily available from the monument

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[50] A monument committee from Covington, Kentucky, asserted in 1894 that it would not approve a soldier "at parade rest, or one that looks as if he were ashamed that he was a soldier." See Dennis R. Montagna, "Henry Merwin Shrady's Ulysses S. Grant Memorial in Washington, D.C.: A Study in Iconography, Content and Patronage" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Deleware, 1987), 144, 146-147. Quoted in Brown, *The Public Art of Civil War Commemoration: A Brief History with Documents*, 35. Those more elaborate monuments that were established latter in the nineteenth century, like those earlier more elaborate monuments that had made use of classical and allegorical illusions, made use of the figure of the solitary soldier

industry, the sculptural figure of the standing soldier at rest remained a favorite of the sponsors of public monuments well into the twentieth century.[51]

African Americans and White Woman of the North

Only a small handful of Northern Civil War monuments commemorated the service of African Americans, and those that did so frequently represented them in a clearly marginalized fashion. They were presented either in postures of deferential subservience and separation or represented in an ancillary background image that was clearly not a focal point of the composition. Other ethnic groups were also marginalized as authentic physical subjects for public monuments throughout the North. By the first decade of the twentieth century the pervasive nature of the imagery of the universal white male in public monuments had become omnipresent and ubiquitous.[52]

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[51] The planning for a triumphant arch to be erected in the city of Brooklyn reveals the sentiment of some that rejected the motionless standing soldier figure as an appropriate addition to a major public monument. In 1888, the proposal for a monument including several solitary soldier statues was rejected by the mayor of Brooklyn. Rather, a design consisting primarily of a triumphant arch was eventually dedicated in 1892 complimented by sculpture reliefs featuring small groups of soldiers and sailors in motion apparently departing for the front. Clearly, these portrayals were inspired by Francois Rude's *Departure of the Volunteers in 1792* on the Arc de Triomphe in Paris. Large groupings of soldier figures in motion can be found in several major public monuments established in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century: Clevand, Ohio (1894); Milwaukee, Wisconsin (1898); Indianapolis, Indiana (1902). See David M. Kahn, "The Grant Monument," *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 41, no. 3 (1982): 224. Brown, *The Public Art of Civil War Commemoration: A Brief History with Documents*, 33.

[52] Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth-Century America*, 187. Certainly, the lack of artistic images of the bodies of African Americans in the public art commemorating the Civil War parallels the exclusion of blacks in general from the main stream political and social life of the nation for many decades. For an excellent introduction to the issue of race and memory see Shackel, *Memory in Black and White: Race, Commemoration, and the Post-Bellum Landscape*. Also of great assistance in the understanding of how artistic images can often replicate and reiterate dynamics of power is Albert Boime, *The Art of Exclusion: Representing Blacks in the Nineteenth Century* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990). The previously mentioned Brooklyn Memorial Arch does contain the representation of a lone African American sailor on his knees surrounded by whites. Perhaps the most well known public monument to the Civil War featuring African Americans is the *Shaw Memorial* (1897) located on Boston Commons. Of special note is Thomas Ball's *Freedmen's Memorial to Abraham Lincoln* sometimes referred to as the Emancipation Monument. Dedicated in1876, it depicts a standing Abraham Lincoln and a kneeling slave on the verge of freedom as a result of Lincoln's proclamation. Also, the See Richard Benson, Lincoln Kirstein, and Augustus Saint-Gaudens, *Lay This Laurel; an Album on the Saint-Gaudens Memorial on Boston Common, Honoring Black and White Men Together, Who Served the Union Cause with Robert Gould Shaw and Died with Him July 18, 1863* (New

African American men who were soldiers and were supposed to be full citizens were not only excluded from the sculptural representations in public commemoration in monuments but were also excluded from the many activities associated with the establishment of the North's public memory of the war. Unlike northern women, who were also largely excluded from the sculpture forms of commemoration but played a significant role in the organizational and ritual structures of public memorial art, African American men were essential invisible in the narrative of the production of public monuments commemorating their own service and bravery. According to Kirk Savage, if they contributed to campaigns to establish monuments as a part of the nation's commemorative landscape, their contributions were not stressed, and they had virtually no organizational role that could realistically be compared to that of northern white women. It was these women who played a key role in the establishment of commemorative monuments in Northern civic space.[53]

Despite the apparent hegemony of white northern veterans over the evolving public memory of the war and their overall authority over the unfolding commemorative landscape of battlefields, the women of the North were able to exert a significant influence over the process of establishing monuments. Their efforts would far exceed similar endeavors that had been undertaken by women during the period prior to the Civil War at actively participating in the public sphere of civic life, and their leadership role in this regard is evidenced by the frequent acknowledgement given to the their efforts in

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York,: Eakins Press, 1973), Boime, *The Art of Exclusion : Representing Blacks in the Nineteenth Century*, 199-219, Lois Goldreich Marcus, "The "Shaw Memorial" by Augustus Saint-Gaudens: A History Painting in Bronze," *Winterthur Portfolio* 14, no. 1 (1979), Stephen J. Whitfield, ""Sacred in History and in Art": The Shaw Memorial," *New England Quarterly* 60, no. 1 (1987).

[53] Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves : Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth-Century America*, 188.

numerous monument inscriptions noting their role in campaigns to build monuments. Organizations such as the Women's Relief Corps and the Ladies' Auxiliary of the Grand Army of the Republic created specifically to assist in organizing and campaigning to establish monuments, were key participants in sponsoring or assisting in a material way in establishment of numerous Union monuments. [54]

Their efforts as promoters of memorials to the memory of the Civil War were, however, part of a broader agenda concerning the establishment and propagation of a broad range of patriotic rituals and remembrances. Although originally established and popularized due to the efforts of the Grand Army of the Republic, the role of women in organizing and perpetuating Memorial Day ceremonies, for example, quickly became prominent as the annual commemoration of the North's war dead became widely acknowledged and observed.[55]

Early in the war, both men and women in the North became aware of the potential significance of the contributions that women could make to the overall war effort on the home front. Popular literature of the day encouraged women to accept active roles in assisting and supporting Northern efforts in the struggle, but these roles were bounded and informed by the prescribed gender norms of the era. Reflecting the powerful social and cultural construction of the role of woman as mother and wife, and acknowledging the importance of high morale among the non combatant home front population, women

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[54] The participation of woman in the efforts to establish public monuments was crucial in confirming and embracing the norms of masculinity projected by public monuments. See Ibid., 188-89, 253.

[55] Observance of Memorial Day, promotion of the recitation of the Pledge of Allegiance, widespread adoption of the national anthem, and the acceptance of the custom of flying an American Flag on the location of every schoolhouse were some of the patriotic activities that women's organization such as the Women's Relief Corps were involved with in addition to the establishment of monuments to northern soldiers who fought in the Civil War. See Brown, *The Public Art of Civil War Commemoration: A Brief History with Documents*, 23, 35.

were encouraged to support, comfort, and care for the men who were doing the fighting. During the war, tributes were offered on behalf of women for the sacrifices of their husbands, sons, and brothers, but widespread interest in public commemoration and remembrance of their role in northern victory, however, never significantly materialized and steadily declined in the years following the war. Their material role in the conflict was real; the North's public memory of their role did, however, exclude them from the dialogue of public memory. The commemorative landscape of the North eventually exhibited an absence of presence of any tangible trace of their contribution. Although the gendered nature of this reality is apparent, the ordeal of war provided opportunities and avenues, such as the recruitment of women as nurses, for breaching the ante bellum boundaries which excluded them from autonomy and agency in the North's public sphere. Women's participation in activities and occupations traditionally closed to them that would have formerly been labeled as subversive to the wellbeing of family life and of the nation as a whole during the antebellum period were viewed differently due to the unusual exigencies of the Civil War. [56]

In their role as nurses northern women received the most legitimate public praise and remembrance. The specific realities of their actual service and how it was actually commemorated clearly demonstrated the degree to which the North's public memory of

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[56] The term "absence of presence" is discussed in great detail in William R. McKenna and Joseph Claude Evans, *Derrida and Phenomenology*, *Contributions to Phenomenology ; V. 20* (Dordrecht ; Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1995). The role that northern women played in sustaining the willpower of men was especially significant. Despite this fact, public monuments acknowledging this are virtually non-existent. A simple and modest memorial tablet was dedicated in Auburn N.Y. in 1914 to acknowledge the contributions of Harriet Tubman and her work as a spy and guide for the Underground Railroad. See Brown, *The Public Art of Civil War Commemoration: A Brief History with Documents*, 59. One of the most well known tributes to the bravery of northern women on the home front is "Barbra Freitchie" (1863) by John Greenleaf Whittier. See Lyde Cullen Sizer, *The Political Work of Northern Women Writers and the Civil War, 1850-1872*, *Civil War America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000).

the Civil War, like all public memory, was selectively constructed. Conflicting visions of the appropriate model for women's participation as nurses during the war and the tensions surrounding this participation served to damper the active acknowledgement of their contributions and muffle the overall commemorative impact of the public memory of their role. Some women served as nurses without pay in the spirit of a volunteristic ethos of social uplift and were drawn primarily from the ranks of the middle and upper classes. Others served as wage earners and were drawn from a wide range of mostly non-elite backgrounds. It was these workers that faced frequent conflicts and tensions regarding the legitimacy of their presence in the male dominated sphere of wartime medical practice. The popularized image of the northern nurse as a voluntary figure reflecting conventional gender roles and serving as a direct representative of the home front came into conflict with that of those nurses who were paid government employees seeking a legitimate status and autonomy within the sphere of wartime medicine. Ambivalence was high concerning the status of women as paid labor especially when the direct object of their care was men who were neither husbands nor members of their own families.[57]

Remembrance of the efforts of northern women during the war was largely the result of the efforts of northern women themselves. These efforts often reflected emerging feminists themes. In addition to producing countless narratives of their experiences during the war, northern women sponsored public monuments

[57] A number of titles give wide coverage to this topic. See Cathy East Dubowski, *Clara Barton: I Want to Help!* (New York: Bearport Pub. Co., 2006), Alice K. Flanagan, *Great Women of the Union* (Minneapolis: Compass Point Books, 2007), Candice F. Ransom, *Clara Barton*, *History Maker Bios* (Minneapolis: Lerner Publications, 2003), Susie King Taylor and Margaret Gay Malone, *The Diary of Susie King Taylor, Civil War Nurse*, *In My Own Words* (New York: Benchmark Books, 2004), Sarah Tieck, *Florence Nightingale* (Edina, Minn.: Abdo Pub., 2006).

commemorating the service of northern nurses. Because these monuments commemorated the contributions of nurses and not all northern women, they portrayed nursing as a sphere of women's leadership and autonomy. As such, the overall male centered context of the constructed public memory of the war was at odds with this vision. The selfless bravery of Northern white men, not only as defenders of the Union but as protectors of women and their place in the mid-nineteenth century, occupied the commemorative spaces of the North.[58]

Union women would remain largely absent from the commemorative landscape. Curiously, it was men, from both the North and the South along with southern women, who would take a pointed interest in later efforts directed towards remembrance of the efforts and contributions of Confederate women.[59]

The ubiquitous image of the white Anglo Saxon male that became the centerpiece of the vast majority of northern public monuments and an integral component of the memory of the Civil War not only excluded African Americans but white northern women. The gendered construction of this exclusion, as noted by Kirk Savage, embodies a double exclusion of women in civic space in that northern women were neither citizens nor soldiers. Yet, women were prominent participants in monument campaigns centered

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[58] See Alice Fahs, *The Imagined Civil War: Popular Literature of the North & South, 1861-1865*, *Civil War America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001).and Alice Fahs, "The Feminized Civil War: Gender, Northern Popular Literature, and the Memory of the War, 1861-1900," *Journal of American History* 85, no. 4 (1999). Popular magazines such as Century and McClure's included in excess of 120 articles and reminiscences about the Civil War in their magazines published between 1887 and 1900. Not one focused on the experiences of northern women. See Brown, *The Public Art of Civil War Commemoration: A Brief History with Documents*, 59.

[59] At Gettysburg, despite the dozens of women who ventured to the Gettysburg battlefield in the days and weeks following the battle to serve as nurses in caring for the thousands of wounded from both sides have been ignored. Only one monument, that of the 44th New York Infantry (dedicated 1893) and standing on Little Round Top has a female name included in the monument's inscription. See Frederick W. Hawthorne, *Gettysburg: Stories of Men and Monuments,* Association of Licensed Battlefield Tour Guides, 1988, 54.

in Northern civic space and also prominently participated in the overall ritual of monument dedication aimed at the commemoration of white, male soldiers. Although they were excluded from the sculptural forms of commemoration they played a crucial role in the commemorative rituals intimately connected to the establishment of those forms.[60]

Monument Inscriptions

While identifying the monument's originators and those to whom the monument was dedicated and perhaps including a roster of the names of the dead and the surviving veterans, monument inscription provided sponsors an opportunity to create a unique commemorative vision. Inscriptions allowed the sponsors of monuments to present a didactic message to the various "publics" that were to visit and view the monument itself. Minimally, inscriptions on Northern monuments included the identity of the monuments sponsor. This was especially true for monuments erected in towns and less cosmopolitan areas where localized sponsorship was frequently the norm, and those monuments established through the beneficence of a single individual usually contained an inscription announcing this to those who visited the monument.[61]

Since the vast majority of Northern monuments established on battlefields were dedicated by the surviving members of the units involved in a specific military action, the number of causalities as well as the total number serving in the unit being

[60] According to Kirk Savage, the evidence of the participation of women in the establishment of public monuments in the North is overwhelming. A search of the Inventory of American Sculpture reveals numerous examples of Northern monuments that were sponsored or aided by women's organizations. See Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth-Century America*, 188, 253.

[61] Individuals sometimes created controversy when their motives for the sponsorship of a public memorial appeared to be questionable. See Sabrina Shields Freeman, "Dan Rice's Monument: Patriotism or Circus Promotion?" *Pennsylvania Heritage* 12 (1986): 14.

commemorated was often included as part of the monument's inscription. In this manner, the extent of the sacrifice and bravery of the soldiers themselves was represented and communicated to the visitor with exact figures sometimes revealing the truly freighting losses suffered by some units. [62]

Beyond identifying the monument's sponsors and the names of those who had served, both living and dead, inscriptions on Union monuments in civic space and those established on battlefields, frequently attempted to articulate the motives underlying the service of the soldiers being honored. A number of rhetorical strategies are apparent in the inscriptions on Union monuments. Whether employing quotations from poetry, the words of notable individuals associated with the Union cause, or the philanthropic mottos of patriotic groups such as the Grand Army of the Republic, the sponsors expected that the sentiments expressed would be accepted as legitimate by those reading the inscription.[63]

Of all the texts quoted exclusively on these Union monuments, sentiments and imagery from Abraham Lincoln's *Gettysburg Address* appeared most frequently. Even when not quoting directly from Lincoln's speech, many inscriptions echoed Lincoln's sentiment by establishing a tacit connection between the death of Union soldiers in battle

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[62] On July 1, 1863, the 24th Michigan Infantry entered the fighting on the battle's first day with almost five-hundred men in the ranks. By nightfall, only ninety-nine men remained fit for duty. The actions of this unit that day helped contribute to its fierce reputation as part of what became known as the Iron Brigade. The specifics of the unit's causalities on that day are included as part of the monuments inscription.

[63] The Horatian adage "Dulce et decorum est pro patria more" ("It is sweet and proper to die for one's country") was sometimes used. It was common for excerpts from Theodore O'Hara's poem "The Bivouac of the Dead" (ca. 1850) to also be used. Daniel Webster's "liberty and union," Ulysses S. Grant's slogan "Let us have peace," and President James Garfield's assertion that "the war for the Union was right, everlastingly right, and the war against the Union was wrong, forever wrong," were also often included. The GAR and its local affiliates frequently inscribed this motto, "Fraternity, Charity, Loyalty" on monuments that they sponsored. Brown, *The Public Art of Civil War Commemoration*, 2004.

and the perpetuity of the nation that had resulted from their sacrifice. Of these inscriptions, the key word often used was "preservation." The motivation of Union soldiers was announced through the specific inscriptions on monuments with no attempts at justification. Simply put, the continuation and the survival of the American nation established by the founders was made possible through the sacrifice of the Union soldiers being remembered. In that sense, the service given by the ordinary Union soldier was represented as the highest form of patriotic dedication.[64]

Reunions, Reconciliation, Public Memory and Veterans North and South

In addition to having a significant influence on the form and content of commemoration of the Union victory while also ritualizing annual Memorial Day remembrances, members of the Grand Army of the Republic took action soon after the war that facilitated the spirit of reconciliation that was to become a dominant theme of the late nineteenth century. Beginning in the 1870's, various regionally established groups within the GAR began to organize reunions of union veterans of the war. Significantly, as the end of the nineteenth century approached, these gatherings were attended more and more by former Confederates also. Often, these events took place over the course of several days and were held at the sites of former battles such as those at Antietam and Gettysburg.

These commemorative gatherings attended by former enemies now reunited, at least nominally as Americans, promoted a spirit of reconciliation among the former soldiers from both North and South. Since the combatants from both sides were assumed

[64] Less than 5 percent of known Union inscriptions make explicit reference to ending slavery as an outcome being commemorated by the monument. See Brown, *The Public Art of Civil War Commemoration: A Brief History with Documents*, 37.

to have demonstrated laudable martial valor inspired by a sincere commitment to their respective causes, the causes of both North and South came to be viewed as equally valid. By establishing this reconciliation with former foes while discounting any acknowledgement of the deep divisions, such as those regarding black slavery, which constituted the causes of the bloodshed, Union veterans set the direction for the commemorative ethos that was eventually widely embraced by the nation as a whole. [65]

Rather than remembering the brutal nature of over four years of bloodshed or the issues connected to the war's causes, the mutual experience of war became the focus of these joint commemorative events. The boundaries that were acknowledged by these occasions were not those separating North and South, but focused rather on the distinction between those who had tested their manhood under fire and those who had not. Privileging their status as free white men, the bonds uniting the former enemies became stronger as the years passed. This became especially pronounced after Reconstruction was officially ended and the late nineteenth century approached. Hoped for legal and social equality for black Americans long spoken of by many northerners was not realized. The comradeship between the former enemies became the focus of remembrance and served to encapsulate tensions concerning the war's causes while

[65] The theme of reconciliation was not one that was universally accepted by all veterans. The *Grand Army Review* of 1887 was not in agreement with the spirit of joint veterans reunions that were evolving: "Short of abject apology and admission that the defense of the Union was a crime…nothing has been left unsaid by our gushing comrades at these pleasant gatherings to express our sorrow at having to use the bullet and bayonet." See Linenthal, *Sacred Ground: Americans and Their Battlefields*, 93,119. Quoted in Davies, *Patriotism on Parade; the Story of Veterans' and Hereditary Organizations in America, 1783-1900*, 267.

common racial attitudes towards African Americans further united white veterans from both sides.[66]

This spirit of reconciliation that was to become nationally pervasive can be discovered in its infancy in the commemorative activities of both North and South, associated with those early efforts directed towards memorialization and remembrance of the war's dead on both sides. Drew Faust has argued that the magnitude of the bloodshed prompted each side to immerse itself immediately at war's end in the process of mourning and its associated commemorative practices. This allowed, in part, the living from both North and South to come to terms with the war's ultimate meaning while honoring the many dead who perished in the fighting. According to Faust, many of the divisive issues connected to the period of Reconstruction "became gradually muted as much of the nation redirected its interest in the war to the work of memorialization, into a focus on the heritage of loss and mourning common to both sections." Thus, reconciliation became a foundational phenomenon of the post war era and increasingly pronounced as it was articulated, on both sides, in the commemorative process of structuring a shared public memory of the Civil War.[67]

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[66] Leonard, *Above the Battle : War Making in America from Appomattox to Versailles,* Linderman, *Embattled Courage : The Experience of Combat in the American Civil War*. See Brown, *The Public Art of Civil War Commemoration: A Brief History with Documents*.

[67] Drew Gilpin Faust, "The Civil War Soldier and the Art of Dying," Journal of Southern History 67, no. 1 (February 2001): 3-38, 36. David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2001), 23, 84-97. Recently, it has been argued by John R. Neff that the processes associated with mourning and commemorating the dead on both sides in the Civil War reflects the need of both North and South to fashion myths and rituals associated with commemoration and the shape and texture of their respective constructed public memories of the Civil War. His assessment challenges the most widely accepted assessment of the formative approaches to understanding the constructed memory of the war known as Lost Cause. It is this analysis, which emphasizes the degree to which the south had a need to create a myth of understanding the war's causes and the south's utter defeat in the war. In this analysis, slavery has no connection to the war's causes. Neff argues that a corresponding myth, the "Cause Victorious," was constructed by the North out of a corresponding need to structure an understanding of the blood shed, as was done by southerners through the

This construction of an ideology of reconciliation began as the newly reunited nation progressed from the divisive sectional hatreds that had been well fortified by the length, brutality, and cost of the war towards what Paul Buck has described as a "union of sentiment based on integrated interests." Also, it is noted by Wallace Davies that during the 1870s, Union rhetoric had frequently highlighted the South's "criminal responsibility" for starting the war. Additionally, he notes that there was an overall sense in the North that the fruits of victory had been hard won and that "offers of forgiveness [extended by the north to the south] depended upon the South's admission of how grievously it had sinned." Due primarily to the leadership of the GAR and its assertions of ownership of the war's public memory, the spirit of reconciliation eventually displaced this early post war sentiment of bitterness as the nineteenth century moved closer to its end.[68]

The Northern Public, Republicans, and Late Nineteenth Century Reconciliation

As early as the time of Rutherford B. Hayes' election to the presidency in 1877 and with it the official end of Reconstruction, there was an overt shift in the northern public's overall reaction to reunion which demonstrated the degree to which the spirit of reconciliation had become both fashionable and pervasive throughout the North. As is

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structuring of "Lost Cause" myths that explained the death and destruction of the war. See Neff, *Honoring the Civil War Dead: Commemoration and the Problem of Reconciliation*. For an explanation of the Lost Cause and its significance in southern history and our understanding of the Civil War see James R. Arnold and Roberta Wiener, *Lost Cause : The End of the Civil War, 1864-1865*, 1st American ed. (Minneapolis: Lerner Publications Co., 2002), William C. Davis, *The Cause Lost : Myths and Realities of the Confederacy*, *Modern War Studies* (Lawrence, Kan.: University Press of Kansas, 1996), Thomas A. Desjardin, *These Honored Dead : How the Story of Gettysburg Shaped American Memory* (Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 2003), Gary W. Gallagher, *Jubal A. Early, the Lost Cause, and Civil War History : A Persistent Legacy* (Milwaukee, WI: Marquette University Press, 1995), Gary W. Gallagher, *Lee & His Army in Confederate History*, *Civil War America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001)

[68] Paul Herman Buck, *The Road to Reunion, 1865-1900* (Boston,: Little, Brown and company, 1937), viii, Davies, *Patriotism on Parade; the Story of Veterans' and Hereditary Organizations in America, 1783-1900*, 249. Both quoted in Linenthal, *Sacred Ground: Americans and Their Battlefields*, 94.

argued by Gerald Linderman and others, this spirit was fueled in part by northern nostalgia for the constructed remembered image of the prewar South. The reality of the rising tensions and frictions brought on by the slow erosion of small-town communities exacerbated by the problems already associated with urbanization, industrialization, and rising levels of immigration prompted northerners to express empathy for southerners who seemed to have experienced their own loss of a secure and structured social framework.[69]

It was during this period beginning soon after his death in 1872 that Robert E. Lee emerged as a heroic figure on a national level. Lee came to be seen as representing a noble aristocratic world that was clearly doomed by the rising tide of industrial development. In the immediate aftermath of the war, Lee's apparent magnanimity in defeat initially established his reputation and personal integrity among even the most strident Unionists. Eventually, and in part the results of the reconciliation movement in which northern veterans played a major role, his image was increasingly associated with an authentic American patriotism. This became so despite the fact that that he was the

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[69] Linderman, *Embattled Courage: The Experience of Combat in the American Civil War*, 278-79. Quoted in Linenthal, *Sacred Ground: Americans and Their Battlefields*, 94.The pervasive nature of the spirit of reunion could quickly serve to counterbalance the memory of the war's suffering, see Silber, *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865-1900.* See especially Chapter Four "The Culture of Conciliation: A Moral Alternative in the Gilded Age, 93-123. As is noted by Edward Tabor Linenthal, a letter from the Gettysburg National Military Park Library (henceforth known as the GNMPL) written by the president of the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association, David McConaughy, in 1869 to Robert E. Lee reveals the former general's attitude towards efforts to keep the memories of the Civil War alive. Requested to visit the battlefield to assist in the then ongoing efforts to mark the lines of battle on the battlefield itself, Lee responded on August 5 that his schedule did not permit him to do so but that he also thought it "wiser…not to keep open the sores of war, but to follow the example of those nations who endeavored to obliterate the marks of civil strife and to commit to oblivion the feelings it engendered." (letter in GNMPL files, 11-30)

military chief of a now defeated army that been bent on the destruction of the American nation.[70]

In concert with the spirit established by Northern veterans emphasizing reconciliation, the majority of Northern Republicans eventually joined Democrats in urging sectional reconciliation. Southern resistance to the Reconstruction policies implemented by the national government, a desire for economic and social stability, and widespread racist sentiment allowed those that had carried the mantel of the most ambitious hopes for racial equality and justice to acquiesce to the temptations of political, social, and economic expediency and emphasize national unity while celebrating a vision of the nation that gave tacit assent to the notion that the nation was justly and exclusively by, for, and of white men.[71]

Northern business leaders were also enamored by the spirit of reconciliation and saw in the former Confederacy a plentiful source of cheep labor, large amounts of raw materials, and a potential market for consumption of manufactured goods. These business interests were more than willing and eager to embrace the American South in a self serving spirit of reconciliation that would hopefully prove to be profitable. In that sense, they believed that acknowledging the constructed memory of the war that recalled it as a

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[70] No national monument exists dedicated solely to Robert E. Lee. Despite this, it should be noted that the U.S. Congress compensated the Lee family for the loss of their property at Arlington Virginia which became the Arlington National Cemetery. For a generally positive assessment of the image and reality of Robert E. Lee see Thomas Lawrence Connelly, *The Marble Man: Robert E. Lee and His Image in American Society*, Louisiana pbk. ed. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978). For an assessment of Lee that challenges that of Thomas Connelly see Alan T. Nolan, *Lee Considered: General Robert E. Lee and Civil War History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991).

[71] The failure of Reconstruction clearly was connected to both the causes and consequences of the movement toward reunion. Those economic, social, and political rights gained by blacks were slowly lost as the nation turned away from the previous dreams of racial justice. The best source for understanding Reconstruction is Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877*, 1st ed., *The New American Nation Series* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988).

noble struggle between two sections of the nation both equally patriotic and brave was believed to be a small price to pay for economic gain and stability. These northern interests contributed to spirit of reconciliation by overlooking the true nature of the South's actions, and furthering the acceptance of a constructed memory of the war that casts each side as moral equals while helping to solidify the racial caste system that relegated African Americans to a profound and seemingly permanent status as second class citizens. [72]

By encouraging a public memory of the Civil War that recalled it as a noble endeavor, northern political and business elites along with the general public sought to encourage peace and stability within American society. They supported commemorative efforts connected to the public memory of the Civil War that sought to heel the divisions it had caused. Sectional animosities within this vision were portrayed as transitory and as connected with arcane constitutional and political squabbles centered on the legitimacy of secession rather than to issues of racial and ethnic equality and slavery.

Race, Masculinity, and American Nationalism

During the late nineteenth century, many native born white Anglo-Saxon Protestants from the middle and upper classes joined white veterans in insisting that they too were proper interpreters of the memory of the Civil War and of all American History. Citing their ancestry, which was often used as a way of differentiating themselves from the many new immigrants that were flowing into America's cities and towns and raising fears of social chaos, they openly asserted ownership of the nation's memory. In this sense, race and ethnicity became closely associated with authentic citizenship and further

[72] Stanley P. Hirshson, *Farewell to the Bloody Shirt; Northern Republicans & the Southern Negro, 1877-1893* (Gloucester, Mass.,: P. Smith, 1968).

separated black Americans not only from the fading dreams of equality associated with the Civil War but also acted to delegitimize others who were not of appropriate ethnic background and lineage. [73]

In commemorating and remembering the past, the nation's political leadership also sought to define citizenship on a narrow and less inclusive basis. As had most middle and upper class whites, they sought to maintain the racial status quo of exclusion that was directed towards blacks and further extend it to the throngs of immigrants from eastern and southern Europe that were then entering the nation's ports and cities. Wary of the overt threat to the nation's ethnic hierarchy, political leaders embraced the vision of America as the bastion of white Anglo Saxon Protestants and their inherently superior cultural values. This narrow vision of the nation's identity and background engendered a constructed memory of the nation's struggles that conformed to the specific form of nationalism, largely based on race, then materializing within the nation lexicon of political and social rhetoric.[74]

Commemorative efforts that centered themselves on the battlefields coincided with a vision of remembrance that associated military victory and prowess with the spirit of American nationalism that was becoming widespread by the end of the nineteenth century. A number of national leaders argued that the United States needed an expanded

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[73] During the late nineteenth century genealogical societies flourished and attracted many members fro the middle and upper classes. The growth of these organizations was encouraged by the centennial of the American Revolution. The Daughters of the American Revolution and other organizations worked to preserve historic places associated with the Revolution and build monuments to its memory. By focusing on the connection between family history of settlement going back to the time of the Revolution and ancestral participation in the fighting, these Americans were asserting a claim of authentic ownership of citizenship. See Kammen, *The Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture*, 112, 276, Piehler, *Remembering War the American Way*, 77.

[74] John Higham, *Strangers in the Land; Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925* (New Brunswick, N.J.,: Rutgers University Press, 1955).

military fortified by a system of universal military training. A large naval fleet was considered to be a necessity in this new system. Perhaps the most strident supporter of this undertaking was Theodore Roosevelt.[75]

Additionally, what was then referred to as an organic theory of nationalism had emerged encouraging a memory of the Civil War that was centered on reconciliation, unity, and white skin. Advanced by Teddy Roosevelt and others, this theory emphasized an ideology of unity among Americans and portrayed military service to the nation as one of the most important methods for a citizen to demonstrate loyalty to the republic. Those northerners who had served in the Civil War, and those who had served in all American wars in the name of national survival, were viewed as role models. By the end of the nineteenth century, those white men who had fought for the South were also now seen as equally loyal to the vision of the founders and considered just as patriotic and noble as those who had fought for the North.[76]

The reintegration of the white South into the mainstream of rising American nationalism of the era was further assisted by an international conflict. In 1898 the United States went to war with Spain and won an easy victory in what was soon to be referred to as a "splendid little war." Nationalistic fervor made possible, in part, by the memory of the Civil War as an authentically patriotic and self affirming conflict for the participants on both sides and the nation as a whole, enabled the nation to support a war apparently fought to liberate the island of Cuba from the tyranny of Spain.[77]

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[75] Piehler, *Remembering War the American Way*, 76.

[76] This approach to nationalism stood in sharp contrast to what was then older humanist and legalistic definitions of patriotism that emphasized ideas like freedom and justice. See Merle Eugene Curti, *The Roots of American Loyalty* (New York,: Atheneum, 1968).

[77] Bogart, *Public Sculpture and the Civic Ideal in New York City, 1890-1930*, 195.

Theodore Roosevelt served as a colonel during the fighting and led his Rough Riders against Spanish forces in a successful attack on San Juan Hill in 1898. After the war, he insisted that the Spanish American War had allowed his generation an opportunity to demonstrate their white, masculine bravery by distinguishing themselves on the battlefield. In a 1907 address delivered as part of the dedication ceremonies for a memorial in Arlington National Cemetery to those who had died from his own regiment in Cuba, Roosevelt proclaimed that these deceased comrades had the "supreme good fortune of dying honorably on a well-fought field for their country's flag." [78]

Like others, Roosevelt's praise for the efforts of those who had fought stopped short of fairly and equally praising all those who were truly deserved. Not surprisingly, his overt admiration for the efforts of his own men of the Rough Riders for their accomplishments at San Juan Hill in 1898 stood in sharp contrast to his silence regarding the accomplishments of an African American regiment which had also played a significant role in the successful attack. The formula for citizenship and masculinity touted by Roosevelt and others did not include people of color, regardless of their marshal prowess. Largely omitted from the memory of the Civil War, African Americans were again dismissed from the constructed memory of the conflict with Spain.[79]

Further serving to solidify the bonds of race among white men, this military conflict against Spanish held colonies was remembered as a heroic struggle against a devious foe. Centering remembrance on the iconic artifacts of the battleship Maine helped to highlight the common heritage of the heroic white soldiers, sailors, and marines

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[78] Theodore Roosevelt, Hermann Hagedorn, and Roosevelt Memorial Association., *The Works of Theodore Roosevelt*, National ed. ([New York,: C. Scribner's Sons, 1926), 89-90.

[79] Ibid. see Philer , 208.

who died in its destruction. The real divisions of the Civil War became more obscured through the celebration of the bravery and sacrifice of the Anglo-Saxon American fighting man. The common heritage honored in the monument to the battleship Maine was the same that was to be honored in the Virginia Memorial at Gettysburg.

Assisted by the feeling of nationalism engendered by the victory against Spain, those undertakings during the twentieth century directed at further commemoration of the Civil War, continued to view the conflict as one worthy of public commemoration in which all, Northerners and Southerners, were equally honored as truly worthy of patriotic acclaim.

Southerners too were to remember the Civil War and those who had sacrificed themselves in the name of an authentic patriotism to a noble and legitimate cause that was uniquely their own, one that was as legitimate as the cause of the American nation's revolutionary generation. Defeated and disheartened, the citizens of the white South were challenged to construct a narrative of understanding of themselves that brought coherence and wisdom out of the horror of war and death. The ways in which this process was to occur and the structuring of the South's narrative of itself that were to become part of the national text of the remembered nation, was to bring hope, consolation, and patriotic pride to the once dishonored South.

Chapter Three:

Commemorating the Confederacy

Wile uttering the words "My God! Has the Army been dissolved?" General Robert E. Lee gazed in bewildered astonishment on the final action of the Army of Northern Virginia at Sayler's Creek Virginia on April 8, 1865. A Federal Army had been able to cut off and capture over 7000 Confederates from the already critically weakened army led by Lee. The next day, a Federal army encircled the tattered remnants of his once grand army 100 miles west of the city of Petersburg near Appomattox Courthouse. The stark reality of what had finally occurred stunned what was left of the once powerful Army of Northern Virginia. General Robert E. Lee, already an almost deified persona throughout the American South, realized that the long struggle of both he and his army and the Confederacy was now finally approaching its end. The hoped for victory was now utterly and finally lost and was soon to be permanently replaced with long anticipated and feared specter of a future that would be forever built on the foundations of a profound and costly defeat.[1]

Rejecting the suggestion that the army disband throughout the countryside in an effort to carry on the struggle as a guerrilla campaign that he was certain would only

[1] Douglas Southall Freeman, *R. E. Lee, a Biography* (New York, London,: C. Scribner's sons, 1934), 120-23.

serve to increase the suffering of the people of the South, General Lee met with Ulysses S. Grant and signed the instrument of surrender. Receiving and accepting the generous terms offered by General Grant that included a full parole of the entire army, Lee signed the instrument of surrender. Suddenly, it was over.

With the loss of the Army of Northern Virginia, whose fortunes were considered the South's best hope for victory, the entire southern effort collapsed. Those remaining forces fighting still functioning surrendered one by one. By the end of May, 1865 those Confederate armies operating west of the Mississippi had surrendered. Scarcely one month after the surrender at Appomattox, the population at large throughout the seceding states had accepted the demise of the Confederate nation and its now seemingly lost cause. [2]

As in the North, the human cost of the war had been great. Over 260,000 Confederate soldiers were killed during the struggle, and tens of thousands of others were wounded. Unlike the North whose physical environment bore little evidence of the war's destruction, the Southern landscape presented a starkly bleak image of devastation and destruction. The agricultural base of the southern economy, which had consisted of plantations and farms, was overgrown and depleted. The remaining infrastructure of roads and railroads was largely in need of significant maintenance or completely beyond hope of repair. The long suffering civilian population of the South, which had faced increasingly acute physical and material hardships during the final months of the war, now faced the dismal prospect of possible worsening conditions that were sure to be

[2] Emory M. Thomas, *The Confederate Nation, 1861-1865*, 1st ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1979).

exacerbated by the almost unavoidable psychological dissonance associated with the Confederacy's defeat. [3]

Perhaps most disturbing of all, the war had resulted in a profound change in the South's social order. Both its primary workforce and the social system upon which it was based were gone. The end of slavery initiated changes in the South and throughout the entire nation that could hardly be appreciated at the time. Former slaves were now free; a significant number of them had taken up arms against the seceding states and had served in the Union Army. The not too subtle notion that their freedom was in part the byproduct of the oft-cited abolitionist's belief in the equality of the races was both insulting and infuriating to the Southern white population. In the 1860s Republicans enacted legislation and constitutional amendments that legally elevated the status of African Americans to full citizenship. The Union Army, which included many black regiments, functioned as an occupying security force throughout the states of the former Confederacy during the immediate post war period. Their ultimate withdrawal and the reemergence of autonomous state governments were by no means assured.[4]

The magnitude of death and destruction experienced by virtually all residents in the seceding states engendered a considerable amount of anxiety throughout the southern population. Although appraisals of the post war Southern mood are somewhat difficult to measure accurately, reports of continued defiance toward Union soldiers and violence directed toward free blacks are mixed in along with reports of docility and acquiescence

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[3] James M. McPherson, *Ordeal by Fire: The Civil War and Reconstruction* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1991), 533.

[4] Gaines M. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865 to 1913* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 60. The only Southern state that was excluded from what is referred to as military reconstruction was Tennessee.

to Union authority. The vast majority of white southerners were deeply demoralized and shocked by the enormity of their collective loss.[5]

Commemorating Defeat

The loss of so many lives in pursuit of an imagined destiny was clearly a source of the most profound anxiety for the white residents of the former Confederacy. How would the sacrifice and loss of so many lives be reconciled and remembered? In spite of the obvious calamity, most former Confederates were loath to admit that the secessionist movement and the subsequent waging of a war of Southern Independence had been a mistake. Despite this intransigence, most white southerners over time would prove themselves to be committed realists in spite of their continued insistence on the justice of their cause, and actively take part in the process of rebuilding their society. They soon forgot dreams of a hoped for republic of black slavery, yet continued their fidelity to the concepts of states' rights and unquestioned white supremacy. Southerners were ready to work within their post war identity as full citizens of the nation which they had previously shunned, but they were completely unwilling to repudiate their decision to wage war against that nation. Over the decades, white Southerners would aggressively defend their actions and insist that the North acknowledge the heroism and the honorable motives of their cause and the masculine bravery of their soldiers.[6]

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[5] Ibid., 13, McPherson, *Ordeal by Fire : The Civil War and Reconstruction*, 534.

[6] The story of the evolution of notions of "southerness" and the specific factors involved in the constructed understanding of the South's identity before, during, and after the Civil War are succinctly explored in Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy : Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865 to 1913*.One of the more obvious ways in which former Confederate loyalists demonstrated their displeasure at being compelled to again becoming part of the Union can be observed by examining the manner in which southerners reacted to celebrations taking place on Memorial Day and the Fourth of July sponsored by the Grand Army of the Republic. During the first two decades following the war, they were most often boycotted by Confederate loyalists and developed an almost exclusively Republican following made up of both black and white southerners. See "Independence Day," *Charleston News and Courier*, 5 July 1873, 4.

Southerners became active participants in constructing a public narrative documenting the Confederacy's defeat and the war's ultimate meaning for the South. Southerners themselves during this process asserted a legitimate ownership of the war's evolving public memory. The specific contours and patterns of remembrance and commemoration that became an integral part of this constructed narrative eventually received widespread support and acceptance not only in the South but throughout the North as well. Known collectively as the Lost Cause, this multilayered approach to structuring a viable public narrative presented an interpretation of the causes, conduct, and consequences of the war and enjoyed great credibility by the time plans were being made to establish a grand monument honoring the state of Virginia and Robert E Lee on the former battlefield at Gettysburg. The political leadership of the former Confederate States of America would not, however, be included in this constructed myth at the center of the short lived narrative of the Confederate nation. Its most highly respected and prominent military leader would fill that role. As the central figure of this evolving mythology, General Robert E. Lee's image and remembered persona quickly became a central force of the constructed public memory of the Southern cause. His ascendancy as the most lauded icon of this constructed narrative began almost immediately after his death in 1871. [7]

Cited in G. Kurt Piehler, *Remembering War the American Way* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995), 204.

[7] Perhaps the earliest use of the term "Lost Cause" as such can be traced back to 1867 when the editor of the *Richmond Examiner,* Edward Pollard, published The *Lost Cause: The Standard Southern History of the War of the Confederates.* A number of works investigate the development of the term itself. See Thomas Lawrence Connelly, *The Marble Man : Robert E. Lee and His Image in American Society*, Louisiana pbk. ed. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978), Jim Cullen, *The Civil War in Popular Culture : A Reusable Past* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995), Gary W. Gallagher, *Lee & His Army in Confederate History*, *Civil War America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), Gary W. Gallagher and Alan T. Nolan, *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History* (Bloomington: Indiana

Ideology of the Lost Cause, Confederate Defeat, and the Problem of National Memory

The Lost Cause ideology, which cast the shattering defeat of the Confederacy and the sacrifice and suffering of the southern people in the best possible light, addresses a number of broad areas and serves as a "Southern" explanation of its history that became the subject of widespread national consumption. A number of organizations were eventually formed dedicated to directing the South's commemorative efforts centered on the memory of its failed attempt at nationhood. Their task was encouraging and shepherding a memory of the Civil War that was acceptable to Southerners and especially to those who had fought for the South. Organizations like the Southern Historical Society (1869), the United Confederate Veterans (1889), the Sons of Confederate Veterans (1896) and the United Daughters of the Confederacy (1894) would all serve as custodians of the war's memory. Memorial organizations of many varieties were also an important component of the maintenance of the Lost Cause. Public monuments appeared throughout the public space of the south and eventually on battlefields of both the South and the North commemorating the sacrifices of Southerners to their cause and shaping a public memory addressing the reasons for the South's ultimate defeat. This constructed and remembered narrative still retains credibility throughout American culture today. This network of organizations, formed by and for southerners, along with the convening of widely shared ceremonial activities and rituals and an ongoing effort to establish

University Press, 2000), Rollin Gustav Osterweis, *The Myth of the Lost Cause, 1865-1900* ([Hamden, Conn.]: Archon Books, 1973)

public monuments were the dominant forces responsible for shaping Southern perceptions of the Confederacy's defeat.[8]

As in the North, the ordinary soldier from the ranks served as the focal point of southern commemoration and public remembrance. Unlike in the North, however, commemorative efforts intended to honor the sacrifice of Southern soldiers did not result in the construction of a public narrative of the war in which a much sought after victory served as the capstone of the discourse. The fact that the Confederacy was defeated with the great loss of life and property resulting in significant pain and suffering for the civilian population meant that any constructed dialogue of memory would always have as a part of it the undeniable reality of a profound and devastating defeat. Those Southern patriots and the white population of the South that had given even minimum approval to the secessionist cause were now faced with the collective social imperative that required them to come to terms with the physical, emotional, and psychological stress of the Confederate loss. As in the North, the white, male soldier was touted as a laudable model of noble republican virtue and sacrifice. Unlike in the North, however, while applauding his image as a model of masculinity and citizenship, commemorative efforts in the South were confronted with the fact that the Confederate soldier had been defeated. How would his sacrifice be honored? The initial commemorative efforts in the South began a process through which Southerners would interpret the meaning and implication of their defeat. [9]

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[8] What became known as the "Confederate Tradition" emerged referring to the sum total of attitudes and emotions frequently adhered to by southerners as an integral part of the Lost Cause explanation of defeat. See Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865 to 1913*, 5.For an explanation of the use and misuse of tradition see E. J. Hobsbawm and T. O. Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge [Cambridgeshire] ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

[9] Thomas J. Brown, *The Public Art of Civil War Commemoration: A Brief History with Documents*, *The Bedford Series in History and Culture* (New York, NY: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2004), 10. For an informative

An intricate negotiation took place in which Southerners and Northerners structured a public memory of the war's outcome in which the former Confederacy and the entire reunited nation was to find deliverance. Asserting often that they were happy, and in some cases elated, that the Confederate movement had been defeated, did not mean, however, that white Southerners gave their assent to the North's program of Reconstruction nor to its implied justification in the restructuring of a newly evolving southern society centered on racial equality.

The structuring of commemorative efforts throughout the South was shaped by a wide spread effort to resist what seemed to be a new and pervasive Northern aggression. A widely shared desire among Southerners to resist Northern controlled efforts at reconstruction would have a profound influence on the evolving commemorative dialogue. Commemorative activities controlled by Southerners themselves were marshaled with the intention of becoming part of a wider movement aimed at resisting and eventually defeating Reconstruction. Increasingly, the cause of "states rights" was offered by Southerners as both an overriding cause of Southern secession and the justification for the persistence of ongoing efforts to resist federal interference.

In the process of structuring a commemorative narrative, authentic republican virtue was offered as a justification for the wartime efforts of white southern soldiers who were attempting to establish independence in the face of arbitrary and oppressive policies to which the citizens of southern states objected in what was argued to be the best tradition of the founders. In this sense, the movement towards southern autonomy was identified with the movement of colonial independence against British oppression.

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look at the earliest forms of commemorative cultural expressions see also, Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865 to 1913*, 36-46.

Hence, Southern men were, according to this logic, acting as the inheritors of the tradition of the founders. Arbitrary and non consensual government oppression, be it emanating from London or Washington, D.C., both demanded the same response. Southerners, despite their defeat in battle, believed that they had little reason to feel disgraced. On the contrary, it was they who had acted in the true spirit of revolutionary patriots. Despite the magnitude of the military defeat, the white Christian masculinity exhibited by the southern male acting in the highest expression of Republican sacrifice was judged as truly worthy of a reverent and respectful commemorative public memory. This dynamic, and a number of others, assisted the creation of the myth of the Lost Cause explanation of the fate of the Confederacy. As a prime influence on the creation of a public memory of the Civil War, it was the primary paradigm shaping the constructed commemorative dialogue that comprised a widely shared constructed memory of the Civil War for both the South and the North. Significantly, it evolved into a major influence on the effort to establish a commemorative memorial landscape throughout the South and in the North as well.[10]

Perhaps the very first use of the term "lost cause" can be attributed to Virginian Edward Pollard, the publisher of the *Richmond Examiner.* His post Civil War book, *The Lost Cause: The Standard Southern History of the War of the Confederates,* first published in 1867, is a formative statement of what was to become the basis of the Confederate point of view concerning every aspect of the war's causes, its conduct and

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[10] William Garret Piston maintains that the Myth of the Lost Cause "developed a romanticized stereotype of the Confederate soldier." See Piston, *Lee's Tarnished Lieutenant: James Longstreet and His Place in Southern History*, 157-58. For an insight into a variety of applications of "republican virtue" see Irving Kristol, *Republican Virtue Vs. Servile Institutions* (Bloomington, Ind.: Poynter Center, Indiana University, 1974). See also Sarah J. Purcell, *Sealed with Blood: War, Sacrifice, and Memory in Revolutionary America*, *Early American Studies* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002).

its seemingly tragic conclusion for the South. It also was to suggest a template by which both Northerners and Southerners were encouraged to structure a commemorative dialogue in which the American South was exonerated for the waging of war while offering up an elite cadre of its military leadership as truly deserving of patriotic reverence and esteem worthy of the heroes of the American Revolution. This sentiment, tacitly relying on a heroic imagery associated with the American Revolution, eventually found its highest expression in the Virginia Memorial and its prominent portrayal of the figure of the most significant icon of the patriotic heritage of the Confederacy, Robert E. Lee. [11]

Significantly, this interpretation asserted that slavery was by no means the cause of the war. Inherent cultural differences between the two sections, controversies surrounding tariff legislation, and the incompatibility of agriculture and industry were all offered as prominent components of the long simmering conflict that resulted in war. Slavery as an institution was remembered as being humane and well suited to the true nature of African Americans themselves. Playing on the widespread racial prejudice that characterized ante bellum American culture in both the North and South, the institution of slavery was portrayed as uniquely suited for those who could not and would not survive in a free society made up of white citizens. The Lost Cause also helped to popularize the image of blacks, purported to be an accurate reflection of their "nature", as either that of the "faithful slave" or what can be described as "the happy darky stereotype." Far from

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[11] The literature dealing with the Lost Cause is extensive: Connelly, *The Marble Man : Robert E. Lee and His Image in American Society,* Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy : Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865 to 1913,* Piston, *Lee's Tarnished Lieutenant : James Longstreet and His Place in Southern History*. See especially Gallagher and Nolan, *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History*.

being an evil institution, slavery, according to this interpretation, had by the start of the war become an institution that provided benefits to both master and slave alike and was, in fact, remembered as an institution that was both materially and morally superior to the system under which the majority of workers in the North were forced to survive as lowly members of a "free" society.[12]

Additionally, this myth strongly argued that slavery would have been abandoned by the South eventually and was in fact undoubtedly headed in that direction when the war began. In light of the fact that the Northern government eventually held the end of slavery as a primary goal of its war effort, the entire war was portrayed by the Lost Cause philosophy as a tragedy brought on primarily by self centered fanatics of the North.[13]

Abolitionists are held up to special loathing and criticism in the Lost Cause. As dangerous fanatics that represented the most threatening aspect of anti slavery rhetoric in the North, they were chosen for special scorn as primary architects of the rupturing of the symbiotic relationship that had existed between the North and South in the decades before the war. This specific line of argument asserts that the vast majority of Americans,

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[12] Gallagher and Nolan, *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History*, 15-16. The racial stereotypes that existed prior to the war were nurtured and advanced by southern adherents of the Lost Cause for decades after the conflict's conclusion. Piston, *Lee's Tarnished Lieutenant: James Longstreet and His Place in Southern History*, 158. See also Bruce Chadwick, *The Reel Civil War: Mythmaking in American Film*, 1st ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2001). Southern leaders frequently asserted the superior condition of their slaves as compared to that of Northern workers. See James Henry Hammond, *Speech of Hon. James H. Hammond, of South Carolina, on the Admission of Kansas* (Washington,: Printed by L. Towers, 1858).

[13] Both Alexander Stevens and Jefferson Davis published accounts of the war which vilified both individuals and groups in the North for helping to fuel the disputes of the 1850s and triggering the actual outbreak of violence. Later explanations of the war's causes offered by professional historians were far less accusatory of the opposing side in bringing on the fighting, but rather argued that the war had really been brought about by impersonal forces such as competing economic interests, cultural systems, and social institutions. Picking up on the phrasing offered by William H. Seward in 1858 asserting that the tensions between North and South amounted to an "irrepressible conflict between opposing an enduring forces." See Introduction in Michael Perman, *The Coming of the American Civil War*, 3rd ed., *Problems in American Civilization* (Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath, 1992).

North and South, had little real disagreement regarding the issue of slavery. Abolitionists, along with their self serving political allies acting as surrogates in the realm of politics, did tremendous harm by promoting an agenda that was aggressive, confrontational, and ultimately severely rebuked that insulted all slaveholders and southerners in general. Eventually, the common racial bias of North and South formed an important basis for national reconciliation that allowed the acceptance of the South's most notable military commander as an authentic patriotic American hero truly worthy of commemoration and remembrance by the entire nation. [14]

The war did have some real "causes" according to this myth. A cultural basis did in fact exist that served to drive the two sections of the country towards divergent ways of life and differing views of reality. Of course, this and other factors that distinguished the Southern population from that of the North would be fashioned to present the South and its "distinctive" culture as being superior to that of the North. Accordingly, Northerners were thought to be primarily descended from Anglo-Saxon forbearers who had been conquered long ago by Norman cavaliers. It was, according to the myth, from this superior race of conquering cavaliers that southerners had descended.[15]

This cultural mythos was not simply a post war fabrication resulting from the trauma of military defeat and societal displacement. The June 30th, 1861 edition of the *Southern Literary Messenger* noted that cavaliers "were descended from the Norman Barons of William the Conqueror, a race distinguished in earliest history for its warlike

[14] Gallagher and Nolan, *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History*, 13-14.

[15] An excellent treatment of this dynamic and its various sometimes subtle nuances can be found in William Robert Taylor, *Cavalier and Yankee: The Old South and American National Character* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979).

and fearless character, a race in all times since renowned for its gallantry, chivalry, honor, gentleness and intellect." This pre war appropriation of history served as a preview of the kind of mythical aura that was to shape the discourse of memory and commemoration for the south and the nation in the decades following the war. [16]

Significantly, within the interpretation we can also discover a somewhat facile rationalization for the Confederacy's ultimate defeat and devastation at the hands of Union armies. What can be categorized as a confusing and contradictory line of logic can be summarized in the assertion that the south did not really lose the Civil War, but rather, it simply failed to win. Northern industrial and financial might combined with a much larger pool of human assets able to take up arms provided the North with an overwhelming advantage that the South, from the outset, never had a chance of overcoming. Since Southern victory had never really been possible because of the overwhelming numbers and resources of the North, the South really never lost because victory, in fact, had never been possible. Further confounding a logical analysis, the myth also simultaneously asserts that *victory would have been possible* had the Army of Northern Virginia been successful at the battle of Gettysburg. By pointedly pushing the blame for the Confederate loss at Gettysburg on Lt. General James Longstreet, and thus freeing Gen. Robert E. Lee of any real culpability for the defeat itself, the myth of the Lost Cause constructs a clear, if somewhat tenuous, explanation for the Southern military defeat that attempts to absolve Southern political leaders, the Confederate military, and the southern people themselves of any guilt and responsibility for waging a military operation that was defeated at a fantastic cost for both sides. The reputation of Robert E.

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[16] Gallagher and Nolan, *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History*, 17. See also Richard E. Beringer, *Why the South Lost the Civil War* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986), 76.

Lee, already lauded as heroic by southerners during the war, was further elevated and exalted by the codification of this myth.

The Southern civilian population was remembered in the Lost Cause as having comporting themselves admirably under the worst of conditions during the war. Treated harshly by Northerners in occupied areas, deprived of the basic necessities of survival by a cowardly blockade designed to break civilian morale, and robbed of their property in slaves by emancipation, the Southern populace is portrayed as remaining steadfast, united, and completely loyal to the cause of the Confederacy while sacrificing all in support of Southern armies in the field. Even the slaves themselves, despite their enslavement and perhaps because of their exposure to the benefits of the civilization of the white South, consistently remained loyal to the cause of the Confederacy according to this approach. [17]

Guided by this interpretation, even the act of secession itself and the mounting heartache and violence that it brought on was portrayed and remembered as being wholly justified, legal, and constitutional. Citing the compact theory' s assertion that the federal union was really a confederation of sorts in which the central government acted legitimately only if its actions validated the autonomy and the individual wishes of each and every state, Southern states, beginning with the state of South Carolina, had withdrawn their consent for remaining within the Union. Having become part of the Union voluntarily, Confederate theorists asserted that separation from it was simply the

[17] The "moonlight and Magnolias" approach to life in the South before and during the war is presented perhaps most ubiquitously in the epic film *Gone with the Wind*. Refined and gentile ladies, forthright and honorable gentleman, productive and manicured agriculture, and peaceable and well cared for African Americans are a significant part of the thematic attributes of David O. Selnick's classic adaptation of Margaret Mitchells 1937 book. As a persistent and pernicious representation of the power of the Myth of the Lost Cause, this film remains a well known and well liked archive of the life and time of the Lost Cause. See Chadwick, *The Reel Civil War: Mythmaking in American Film*.

exercise of a right by which they would free themselves from the subjugation that they anticipated with the presidency of Abraham Lincoln. When the majority of the states within the federal union were moving in a direction which the South saw as potentially destructive to their right to property in slaves, they seceded in response to the likely prospect of continued and unrelenting coercion. In this analysis, the actions of the Southern states were modeled in the best tradition of republican autonomy and independence, citing their home state governments as the source of their freedom and liberty. Southerners pointedly asserted after the war that it was they, and not Northerners, who were acting in the spirit of the founders by exerting their rights as citizens dedicated to the propagation of an authentic democratic republic created by the founders themselves.[18]

In addition to showering praise on the ordinary Confederate soldier who had risked life and limb in fighting for the Confederate cause, the military leadership of the Confederacy was also offered up as being extraordinary and praiseworthy in a number of ways. To a far greater extent than the political leaders located in Richmond and in local state capitals throughout the South, those white Southern men who had served in a military capacity received far more attention as significant parts of the constructed commemorative narrative of public remembrance throughout the post war South.

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[18] A Confederate veteran from Georgia summarized a clear motivation for the structuring of this part of the Lost Cause logic. In a letter to a fellow United Confederate Veteran member he stated, “If we cannot justify the South in the act of Secession, we will go down in History solely as a brave, impulsive but rash people, who attempted in an illegal manner to overthrow the Union of our Country.” He continued on to assert that, “we had a legal and moral justification,” and no need to “fear” the verdict of history. Cleament A. Evans, to J.L.M. Curry, 25 July 1896, *Jabet L.M. Papers*, Library of Congress, Wash., D.C. United Confederate Veteran Minutes, 1896, 46. See also B.B. Munford, “The Vindication of the South,” *Southern Historical Society Papers*. Both cited in Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865 to 1913*, 117.

In addition to lauding their military skills, their devotion to duty, and their unshakable bravery the Lost Cause ideology characterized these individuals as the embodiment of all the best qualities of brave, noble, and truly superior white southern males. This ideology of praise presented these leaders as possessing qualities of character that are unique and extraordinary. Most notable of all figures included in this panoply of soldiers and officers was Robert E. Lee. By the turn of the century, his exalted reputation became one that was lauded not only by southern ideologues and partisans but by all Americans, North and South. His image was that of the noble and brave white Southern male representing the highest ideals of republican virtue and honor drawn from the same mold set by the founders themselves.

As an active part of the cultural reconstitution in the newly reunited states of the South, the Lost Cause ideology exerted a continuing influence on the evolving self image of the white South and eventually became the primary influence in shaping the opinions of the citizens of the North regarding recollection of the war itself. Serving as a philosophy of reintegration, this ideology provided a lens through which both the South's motivations and the realities of the Civil War's ultimate meaning were remembered and commemorated by North and South alike, both eventually coming together and sharing in their praise and admiration for the brave Southern fighting man. Most of all, Robert E. Lee would be the recipient of unreserved praise from both the North and South.

Burial of Confederate Battle Dead

Facing the same exigencies and stress as Northerners in combat during the war, Confederates soldiers did their utmost to provide a proper internment on the field of battle for their fallen comrades. They, like their Northern counterparts, were forced to

face the realities of caring for the remains of their comrades in arms under the sometimes brutal restrictions and realities of ongoing warfare. What care could be given by Confederates was first directed towards the remains of the dead from their own side. Simple but effective protocols were followed. As was the practice of Union soldiers, steps were taken to preserve the identity of the Confederacy's own deceased while striving as much as possible to maintain the proper standards that were considered important to the Victorian sensibilities and traditions of the day. [19]

As was the case for the burial of Northern soldiers, crude and often hastily made markers of all types were used to mark the remains of Confederate soldiers and became the first public monuments to be established in the name of the Southern cause. As was also the case with the remains of Northern soldiers buried in the immediate aftermath of the fighting, Confederates buried by Southerners benefited from the efforts of those surviving because their identities were recorded when possible on many of these rudimentary markers that were placed on Southern graves. Of course, these efforts could only be undertaken if the field was controlled by Confederates. Also, like their Northern counterparts, efforts undertaken by Southerners were limited by the tactical situation and the logistics connected with the movement of troops. Frequently, mass graves were dug which provided for the expeditious burial of dead soldiers but significantly decreased the likelihood of the easy identification of their remains. When efforts were undertaken in the later decades of the nineteenth century to return Confederate dead to their home states for

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[19] Although they were at war, Americans on both sides of the Civil War shared a common cultural heritage regarding notions of a good death and a proper burial. John R. Neff, *Honoring the Civil War Dead: Commemoration and the Problem of Reconciliation*, *Modern War Studies* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2005), 1-65.For a broad overview of the background in the evolution of the practices and attitudes towards death for much on the nation's history see Philippe Ariáes and David E. Stannard, *Death in America* ([Philadelphia]: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1975).

re-internment, the task of identifying specific remains became, in many cases, virtually impossible. As discussed in Chapter Two, these wartime battlefield efforts were often ad hoc and marking the location of the graves of the dead and preserving the identity of those buried often was at best, rudimentary.

In the immediate post war period and for the months and years that followed, Southerners and Northerners alike confronted the great loss of life on their respective sides and engaged in the process of mourning in somewhat different fashions. Northerners were challenged with the task of locating and maintaining approximately 300,000 graves of deceased Union troops that were scattered across seventeen states. The newly created National Cemetery System allowed the establishment of permanent cemeteries throughout the South containing the remains of Union soldiers while also providing a formalized location for the re internment of the remains of Union soldiers uncovered in various locations on or near the sites of military campaigns. Southerners, meanwhile, were presented with far fewer options and were by necessity much less capable of accomplishing a similar task for their own dead. Furthermore, especially during the early post war years, public activities and sentiments associated with remembrance and public commemoration of the Confederate dead always risked the possibility of being interpreted as a treasonous act. A negative incentive initially hampered public commemorative activities for the defeated South, and anything that could be viewed as excessive an unwarranted was initially shunned by most of the white Southern population. [20]

[20] The Northern effort to locate and appropriately inter their own war dead in one of several newly created National Cemeteries was stressed due to the potential conflicts that could arise with the burial of both white and colored troops in the same cemetery locations. See Neff, *Honoring the Civil War Dead: Commemoration and the Problem of Reconciliation*, 12.

Illustrative of this dynamic are the comments made by a member of the House of Representatives from Pennsylvania in response to the activities reportedly being carried out in the South during the early period of Union occupation. He proposed a resolution in Congress in June of 1866 aimed at investigating reports that "the memories of the traitor dead have been hallowed and consecrated by local public [in a variety of locations throughout the South] entertainments and treasonable utterances in honor of their crime, which have not only been tolerated by the national authorities, but in some instances approved by [their actions]." During the early post war period, public remembrance in the South always risked a negative reaction from Union authorities. Clearly, the Confederacy's public narrative that would slowly be constructed in memory of itself was fated to face challenges on many fronts. During the first years of peace, a collective process of grieving and angst overtook the white citizens of the former Confederacy. While a pervasive sense of anguish over the loss of friends and beloved family members spread throughout the former Confederacy, a longing for an appropriate way to honor their dead gnawed at the psyche of Southerners. How, if ever, would the public civic culture of the defeated South be able to fully honor and remember its dead? [21]

The first formalized public expression of this urge to simultaneously grieve, commemorate, and remember the dead found expression in the establishment of cemeteries throughout the Southern landscape devoted specifically to the internment and memorialization of the Confederacy's fallen soldiers. As permanent sites of mourning and remembrance, these cemeteries were established in an effort to conform to the still prevalent attitudes regarding what constituted a proper setting for proper burial while

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[21] U.S. Congress, House, Congressional Globe, 39th Cong., 1st sess., 4 June 1866, 36, pt4: 2945. Quoted in Ibid., 146.

permanently and proudly commemorating the bravery and the sacrifice of the Southern soldier. Remembrance and commemoration were at first confined to the physical space of these formalized burial grounds. It was in this environment that both a sense of mourning and pride coalesced into a commemorative vision that was to eventually breach the physical boundary of the Southern cemetery, move into the public civic space of Southern cities and towns, and eventually make its presence known on the war's many battlefields located throughout the South. This effort would be greatly assisted by the efforts of the South's civilian population.

Most significantly, commemorative public monuments dedicated to honoring the sacrifice of Confederate soldiers would eventually appear on the "hallowed" Northern soil at the site of what was perhaps the Confederacy's most stunning defeat in Gettysburg Pennsylvania.

Southern Women

According to Thomas Brown, wartime commemoration in the Confederacy identified patriotism as the new heart of white Southern womanhood. In both the iconography of works of art and in the imagery of popular literature, white southern women were portrayed as the embodiment of Confederate sentiment. Southern women played a highly significant role in the establishment of these first post war commemorative efforts to honor the Confederacy's war dead.[22]

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[22] Perhaps the most notable instance in which southern women were portrayed as being at the heart of the Confederate commemorative tradition evolved from an incident associated with the Peninsula campaign of 1862. A Richmond author published a poem recounting how the burial of Lieutenant William Latane who had died while serving in the cavalry of General J.E.B. Stuart had been provided a funeral and burial by a group of white southern women and their slaves. The poem soon received wide circulation and became the inspiration for a painting completed by the Virginia artist, William D. Washington in 1864. Entitled, *The Burial of Latene*, was permanently on display during the war in the Virginia state capital in Richmond. See Brown, *The Public Art of Civil War Commemoration: A Brief History with Documents*, 61-65.

According to Kurt Philer, by the spring of 1865 the women of the South had begun the practice of tending and decorating the graves of Confederate soldiers and organizing memorial services honoring their sacrifice and memory. This custom had spread North by 1867, and during the early post war period it was common for local communities to continue the practice of the decoration of fallen soldier's graves on a wide variety of spring days. This tradition became formalized in the North thanks in large measure to the efforts of the leadership of the Grand Army of the Republic. Formalized ceremonies were organized in some communities, North and South, which included public orations in honor of the occasion. Eventually Memorial Day became a widely celebrated federal holiday.[23]

The significant role that Southern women played in the effort to commemorate the Confederacy had its beginnings with the harsh realities of warfare. As is noted by John R. Neff, Southern women, just as women in many other places, times, and cultures, assumed much of the responsibility for honoring and caring for their war dead. The first efforts to honor and commemorate the dead of the South were carried out on a localized and personal level. The origin of the organization founded in Columbus Georgia often credited with beginning the formalized acknowledgement of Memorial Day provides an example. During the war the women of the South formed a number of soldier's aid

[23] Mary R. Dearing, *Veterans in Politics; the Story of the G.A.R* (Westport, Conn.,: Greenwood Press, 1974), 175-90, Piehler, *Remembering War the American Way*, 58, United Daughters of the Confederacy. Georgia Division. Lizzie Rutherford Chapter no. 60 Columbus., *A History of the Origin of Memorial Day as Adopted by the Ladies' Memorial Association of Columbus, Ga., and Presented to the Lizzie Rutherford Chapter of the Daughters of the Confederacy* (Columbus, Ga.,: T. Gilbert, 1898), Mathew Woodruff and F. N. Boney, *A Union Soldier in the Land of the Vanquished; the Diary of Sergeant Mathew Woodruff, June-December, 1865*, *Southern Historical Publications, No. 13* (University,: University of Alabama Press, 1969), 45. It seems likely that the formalization of this day for both North and South can be traced to the practice of individuals decorating the grave of friends and loved ones with flowers in the springtime when the flowers first are in bloom.

societies dedicated to aiding the men serving in the field, assisting their families when possible, and caring for the wounded and the sick that all too frequently crowded the hospitals of many southern communities. While serving in the role of nurses they comforted the wounded and sick soldiers in their final moments of life. These women often assumed the task of communicating with the dead soldier's family through letters in which they consoled the bereaved family by assuring them that their loved one had not died alone and had been comforted in his last hours by a caring human spirit. Also, these women ensured that the final internment of the soldier was carried out in a fitting and proper manner. At the war's end, women from numerous soldiers' aid societies continued to maintain, care for, and decorate the graves of fallen Confederates.[24]

The proliferation of memorial associations organized primarily by women eventually ushered in the era of public monuments honoring fallen Confederates. During the early post war period, financial limitations, in addition to possible sanctions that could be imposed by authorities during the period of military occupation, prevented the establishment of significant commemorative structures, even within the bounds of cemeteries.

Beginning in 1865, however, with the formation of a women's memorial society in Winchester Virginia dedicated to the proper burial and remembrance of Confederate soldiers who had fallen in battle in and around their own part of the state, memorial

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[24] John R. Neff asserts that Southern Women were a unique situation in that they were, due to the nature and outcome of the conflict, making a political statement about the cause for which Southerners waged war against the North. Significantly, according to this author, because they had little significance in the antebellum life of the American South and the nation in general, structuring the earliest form and content of the post war South's commemorative vision was easily relegated, at least initially, to their sphere. Because their cache in the sphere of the civic culture of the South and the nation as a whole was virtually non-existent, they risked nothing in waging the war of remembrance in the nation's public memory. See John R. Neff, *Honoring the Civil War Dead: Commemoration and the Problem of Reconciliation*, *Modern War Studies* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2005).

associations began to be founded by women on a local level. Groups of women met, established procedures and rules, elected officers, and often applied for state charters officially recognizing their organization. Most adopted the title of "Ladies Memorial Association", and throughout the South these locally based organizations most often had similar goals although they never organized themselves on a regional or state wide basis.[25]

According to Gaines Foster, the name "Ladies Memorial Association" is somewhat misleading. Southern men did play a significant role in establishing a good number of these organizations. Sometimes, men were accorded an honorary status in which their influence was often minimal. In other instances, men sat on functioning committees that performed vital duties for the practical operation of the organization. Much of the manual labor needed for early cemetery projects was provided by Confederate veterans recruited by members of the local association for that purpose. Most significantly perhaps, male members provided sorely needed financial assistance necessary for the support of these memorial associations.[26]

Evidence indicates that Confederate veterans and the white male population of the South viewed the effort to memorialize Confederate soldiers as being of great importance although few memorial societies were established exclusively by men. One that was

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[25] There are a number of resources that document the activities of these organizations. Meeting with varying frequency, they none the less kept accurate records of their meetings. Many of these records survive largely intact. An inclusive and detailed account of a number of these associations can be found in Confederated Southern Memorial Association (U.S.), *History of the Confederated Memorial Associations of the South*, Rev. and authorized ed. ([New Orleans,: The Graham Press, 1904), Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy : Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865 to 1913*, 38.

[26] Information on male financial support for memorial work can be found in P.F. Pescud, "A Sketch of the Ladies' Memorial Association of Raleigh, N.C.: Its Origin and History," 1882. See also Circular, L.H. Pickens, "To the Patriotic Women of Edgefield County," Ladies' Memorial Association (Edgefield County), South Carolina Library, Columbia, South Carolina, and E. Merton Coulter,. "The Confederate Monument in Athens, Georgia," *Georgia Historical Review*, 40 (September 1956) 230-31.

eventually surrendered both its funds and its charter to women "recognizing memorial work as peculiarly fitting to women…" The act of memorializing was consigned to Southern woman and considered to be in harmony with their temperament and the sphere of sentiment and feeling in which women possessed an innate superior capability as compared to men. Reflecting the same gendered ethos as was apparent in the North, the southern women's role as wife, mother, and care giver was viewed as making commemorative efforts ideally suited for them. In this way women were to maintain a leadership role over the evolving process of memorialization. [27]

The prominence of Southern women in the commemorative efforts was due to a number of factors. White Southern women did witness a higher proportion of their men going to war than was experienced by Northern women and they experienced a lower proportion of them returning. Although the number of memorials established throughout the South did not outpace those that were established in Northern states commemorating the Union effort, the number in which women took a major leadership role was higher in the South. Additionally, as was previously discussed, it was they who during the war cared for the wounded and in many cases buried the dead. They were ideally positioned to be of major influence on the process of commemoration.

At the war's end the true extent of the loss suffered by the South went far beyond the number of killed and wounded. Families were clearly bereaved by the loss of loved ones but an aura of humiliation existed in the South. This was evident among Southern veterans and Southern men in general due to what has been described as a perception of the "loss of Southern manhood." Additionally, the threat of sanctions against Southern

[27] Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865 to 1913*, 38.

veterans for participating in activities that could be construed as attempting to revive the Confederate movement, such as organizing and participating in ceremonies commemorating the sacrifices of dead soldiers, discouraged white Southern men from participating and further afforded the opportunity for the actions of women to be of greater significance.[28]

In this climate, Southern women forcefully undertook the task that they had begun during the war and carried forward the process of honoring and commemorating the Confederate dead. In what can be viewed as a political act, white Southern women endeavored to honor the Confederate dead and in so doing honor the cause, now lost, for which their men had sacrificed so much. According to John R. Neff, Southern women were also encouraged to undertake this task by white men because they were in a real sense politically irrelevant to begin with and accordingly had no true political capital to risk. [29]

The dedication of Southern women to the care and proper disposition of the honored remains of Confederate soldiers and the activities associated with commemoration inextricably connected southern womanhood with the cause of southern patriotism. Far beyond the humanitarian aspects associated with properly interring the dead, southern women were positioned during the war as the custodians of commemoration, burial, and commemoration. This concept found expression in art,

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[28] Ibid., 26-29.

[29] Neff, *Honoring the Civil War Dead: Commemoration and the Problem of Reconciliation*, 146.

literature and music. This focus on white southern women as the embodiment of Confederate ideals and sentiment was to continue after the war.[30]

Clearly, women of both the North and South were essential elements in the wartime unfolding of commemoration of the sacrifices of the men on both sides due to their central role in the rituals of caring for war dead, but the role of the women of the South during the war itself would ensure that it was they who were in large part to become the de facto custodians of the Lost Cause narrative. [31]

"Cities of the Dead"

The efforts to establish cemeteries for Confederate dead can be traced to the earliest efforts to inter the Southern dead on the grounds of the former battlefields in close proximity to where they had fallen. The first memorial associations dedicated to this purpose were formed in Winchester, Virginia and Columbus, Georgia in 1867 and soon undertook the task of gathering the corpses of Confederate dead which had been buried in and around the former battlegrounds of each town, identifying the corpses when possible, reburying them in individual state sections in an area designated as the formalized cemetery site, and carefully marking their graves with a memorial headboard of some kind. This effort at Winchester also resulted in the construction of a wooden shaft dedicated collectively to the dead of each state represented. These efforts presumed

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[30] One of the most prominent, and perhaps the first, works of what can be classified as commemorative art was created in 1864 by a Virginia painter William D. Washington. Entitled *The Burial of Latane*, the painting represents an incident reported from the Peninsula campaign of 1862 in which Lieutenant William Latane, the only casualty from J.E.B. Stuart's audacious maneuver around the Union lines of General George MacLellan, is laid to rest. White Southern women, along with their docile and respectful slaves, are portrayed as the central focal points of this painting. By the war's end it was the most noteworthy Confederate icon produced during the war. The central role of Southern women in this representation in no small way was largely responsible for its popularity. It can be viewed today at The Museum of the Confederacy in Richmond. See Brown, *The Public Art of Civil War Commemoration: A Brief History with Documents*, 64.

[31] Ibid., 147.

that the former states of the Confederacy would, at some point, undertake the task of establishing more permanent structures at these burial sites formally and permanently honoring the dead of their state.[32]

As had also occurred with the marking of Northern graves, the temporary wooden headboards that were frequently used to mark these locations of the Confederate battlefield dead, in addition to any temporary markers that may have designated the location of these battlefield remains before they were reentered in formalized settings, constituted what are in fact the first true public monuments dedicated to the Confederate cause. Although they clearly did not have the stature of later commemorative monuments and memorials that were to appear in the public space of preserved battlefields and Confederate towns and cities, these early durable memorial structures served as the first physical markers in remembrance of the sacrifice of Confederate soldiers. Additionally, permanent internment of the Confederate dead on a portion of a former battlefield designated the site itself as a permanent venue of commemoration and remembrance. Remembrance of the Southern cause would, however, face challenges not presented to commemorating the memory of the North soldiers.[33]

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[32] The term "cities of the dead" was a well understood descriptive for late 19th century cemeteries. It also comprises a part of the title of a recent book written by William Blair. I am indebted to work concerning the evolution of the South's memory of the Civil War. See William Alan Blair, *Cities of the Dead: Contesting the Memory of the Civil War in the South, 1865-1914*, *Civil War America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004).

[33] The first Confederate monument officially recorded as such was established in June 1867 in the bounds of a cemetery located in Cheraw, South Carolina. The memorial located in Bolivar Tennessee also has some claim to this notoriety. Regardless of this apparent conflict, the monument at Bolivar is in fact the first Confederate monument that was established outside the boundaries of a cemetery. It is located in a courthouse square. For an excellent comprehensive record of memorial organizational activities that were engineered across the South in the late nineteenth century. See Confederated Southern Memorial Association (U.S.), *History of the Confederated Memorial Associations of the South*.

Eventually however, most of the sites designated by memorial associations for permanent internment of the Confederate dead were not on the grounds of a former battlefield, but rather they were located in Southern cemeteries situated in local communities away from the actual battle site. This process, which began during the war, involved either the establishment of a special section within the bounds of an already existing cemetery, or the establishment of a new cemetery dedicated exclusively to the Confederate war dead. Over time, these burial grounds became a source of both civic pride and continued patriotic fealty to the now Lost Cause of the Confederacy. As sights of manicured beauty and quiet repose, even the most modest local cemetery utilized for this purpose combined civic pride, respect for the memory of those who fought bravely for the South, and a setting of bucolic solemnity in which still extant antebellum attitudes towards death found expression in a reworked notion of the rural cemetery movement. [34]

In addition to the modest markers and gravestones for individual soldiers that were a part of these Southern cemeteries, Ladies Memorial Associations undertook the mission of erecting more ornate commemorative monuments and memorials within the boundaries of cemeteries although some groups were hampered by a lack of funds or an absence of popular interest in any large scale undertaking of public commemoration. This was especially during the period prior to 1885. Between 1865 and 1885, approximately 70 percent of the monuments that were established by Southerners in the South were done so within the bounds of cemeteries containing the South's dead. When all those

[34] Perhaps the most well known Confederate cemetery is the Hollywood cemetery located with the city limits of Richmond, Virginia. A large section was apportioned for the eventual re internment of Confederate war dead. See "Something of Hollywood Cemetery, "Confederate *Veteran* (June 1893), 164. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865 to 1913*, 39. These "cities of the dead" became popular sites of quiet relaxation and pastoral beauty. See Blair, *Cities of the Dead: Contesting the Memory of the Civil War in the South, 1865-1914*.

monuments established throughout the South before 1885 are considered, over 90 percent incorporate some form of funerary designation either in placement or design. Reflecting the collective needs of mourning, these commemorative monuments demonstrated a desire on the part of Southern partisans to remember and grieve free from the fear of sanction. By containing the establishment of monuments within the geographic boundaries of cemeteries, Southerners were able to simultaneously demonstrate their pride and grief while sequestering the physical act of monument construction and commemoration within the seemingly benign ceremonial space of what they commonly referred to as "cities of the dead." In what I would describe as a constructed private sphere of remembrance and commemoration, Southerners sought to demonstrate their sense of bereavement and pride, avoiding the wider civic space beyond the cemetery bounds. By restraining the act of commemorating and honoring their dead within the context of mourning and the physical space of cemeteries, Southerners could also proudly honor the former cause of the South itself while avoiding the possibility of inciting proscriptions from individuals and organizations, such as the GAR and its Republican allies, that could interpret their acts of mourning and remembrance as subversive and suggestive of further disloyalty. [35]

According to Gaines Foster, the earliest post war memorial activities undertaken by Southerners, such as the establishment of cemeteries and the construction of

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[35] The data for making these and other assertions regarding the number, kind, dates of dedication and location of specific monuments are largely derived from three sources: John J. Winbery, "'Least We Forget': The Confederate Monument and the Southern Townscape," *Southeastern Geographer* 23 (November 1983): 107-121; Stephen Davis, "Empty Eyes, Marble Hand: The Confederate monument and the South," *Journal of Popular Culture* 16(Winter 1982) 2-21. .Confederate cemeteries during the post Civil War period were often pointed to a signs of civic pride and progress during a period that was often beset by severe fiscal and budgetary restraints on the part of elected government official. See Blair, *Cities of the Dead: Contesting the Memory of the Civil War in the South, 1865-1914*.

monuments within their bounds, comprised virtually the only early post war cultural expressions centered on the war's meaning for Southerners. As an authentic expression of Southern sentiment that enjoyed wide popular support throughout the defeated South, these early efforts at commemoration offer significant insight into the way in which the people of the South began to come to terms with defeat. Accordingly, these restrained and somewhat stealthy commemorative efforts occurring within the context of public monuments and mourning affected Southern public commemoration greatly.[36]

Foster also notes that the establishment of monuments to the Confederate dead and indeed the practice of commemorating the Confederate war effort allowed the Southern population to honor not only those who had fallen in the defense of a noble cause, but also honored the cause itself and those who still survived. By duly acknowledging those who had fallen, the South ritualistically acknowledged the death of their cause. Locating monuments apart from the common public space of day to day living, Southerners were symbolically placing distance between themselves and their defeated Lost Cause. Memorial activities, especially those associated with the establishment of early monument to the Southern dead in cemeteries, assisted white Southerners in assimilating their defeat without repudiating those who had been defeated.[37]

Freed from the confines of burial grounds that located commemorative efforts in the realm of mourning, the public monuments of the South were eventually to assert a

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[36] For insight into the common modes of expressing these sentiments see David E. Stannard, *The Puritan Way of Death: A Study in Religion, Culture, and Social Change* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977). Limiting the placing of monuments to the bounds of cemeteries was not an effort at stealth on the part of organizers and should be considered to be authentic expressions of Southern sentiment.

[37] Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865 to 1913*.

new paradigm. Those who had fought for the South were to increasingly be honored by all Americans and not only Southerners. The Southern Cause, according to the rising ethos of the late nineteenth century, was to be viewed as just, pure, noble, and as patriotic as any that would have been supported by the founders themselves. Eventually, the migration of these noble commemorative structures beyond the bounds of cemeteries and into the public spaces of the South's cities and towns would bring the commemoration of the Confederacy into the public spaces of the North as well.

The New South and Old Veterans

After the Federal government's disengagement from Reconstruction, financial and business concerns viewed the struggling South and its economy with its largely displaced work force of both black and white workers as a promising source of both cheep raw materials and cheap labor. In the 1870s and 1880s, while the commemorative visions of the former Confederacy were slowly emerging into the civic spaces of the South, a new southern elite was emerging. They, along with their Northern business allies, led a movement toward commercial and industrial development within the states of the former Confederacy. These business interests, who favored the development of an industrial base that was tied into the national economy, became leaders of what was termed the New South. [38]

The term "New South" strongly invites juxtaposition with the old and suggests a need to abandon the latter. Although the supporters of the New South desired reunion

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[38] The economic power of these leaders had a direct influence on the funding efforts of those groups and organizations that desired to establish monuments. A recent analysis of this movement can be found in Edward L. Ayers, *The Promise of the New South: Life after Reconstruction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).See also: Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865 to 1913*, 79-89.

with the North, in addition to economic prosperity and the profits that may accompany it, they did not turn their back on the memory of the Confederacy and by no means desired to repudiate it. These individuals joined with a number of organizations, including those of the veterans themselves, in remembering and honoring the Confederacy through a variety of activities including the support and the funding of efforts to establish monuments to the memory of the Southern soldier and his cause.[39]

Southern veterans too eventually formed their own organization. Taking shape after the end of Reconstruction and coalescing during a period when the shock and sadness of the immediate post-war period was waning, veterans of the Confederacy, like their Northern counterparts, formed an influential organization. Founded in 1889, the United Confederate Veterans (UCV) was by far the preeminent veteran's organization in the South. Clear parallels between this organization for Confederate veterans and the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) did exist. It too was organized into local autonomous units referred to as camps. The organizational structure moved higher through the local and state levels, all organized under one national organization. This organization was lead by former officers of the Confederate Army. Also, as was the organizational practice in the GAR, the UCV established an auxiliary organization of white women while a

[39] According to Kirk Piehler, business leaders were more than ready to support moves towards reunion along with the Southern effort to commemorate the Confederacy in a positive manner due to the fact that the Southern population at large did not resist the economic exploitation of their region. It is tempting for one to view this analysis as one that suggest that a trade off was at hand. Southerners could benefit from economic revitalization as long as those with the financial strength were given free rein. Southerners were also to receive support in their efforts at public commemoration from these financial sources. See Piehler, *Remembering War the American Way*.

completely separate organization was formed latter on for the sons of Southern veterans.[40]

From its inception, the UCV undertook the task of supporting and organizing a wide range of commemorative activities. During the late nineteenth century the acceptance of the major tenets of the Lost Cause on a national level encouraged the orchestration of commemorative activities that were more celebratory and far less mournful than had been common during the years immediately after the war. The white Southern male soldier was now more often viewed through the unifying prism of American patriotism. This image was encouraged and nurtured by both the rising nationalism of the day and the growing acceptance of the actions of former Confederates asserted as being born of the same spirit of independence that had been embraced by the founders themselves.

Both the civic and business leaders of the New South and the leadership of Confederate veteran's organizations like the UCV eschewed slavery as in any way a cause of the Civil War, as these interests groups undertook commemorative efforts to honor the Southern cause as authentically American. Arcane constitutional issues centered on states' rights and the legitimacy of the power of the federal government that were the foundation of their constructed narrative of the South's motivation for waging war. While neither apologizing for what they considered a legitimate effort at defending their rights, nor expressing regret at the war's outcome, most southerners demonstrated little inclination towards a revival of the Confederacy. Economic prosperity as part of a newly invigorated national economy was a far more palpable part of their rhetoric.

[40] Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy : Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865 to 1913*, 112-59, Piehler, *Remembering War the American Way*, 64.

Reunion was both possible and desirable with their former enemies in the North as long as the South could retain autonomy over both the region wide principles concerning race relations, as well as the form and content of commemorative efforts directed towards honoring the Confederate cause. Significantly, it was Northern Republicans who provided the actual means of reconciliation between the two sections. By abandoning the predicament of African Americans and allowing Southern states autonomy over the social reconstruction of what essentially became a race-based caste system of political and civic rights, Republicans became allies of Lost Cause advocates in the construction of a public memory that both exonerated and applauded the South. Most often, Northern Republicans joined with Southern Democrats in sponsoring broad based commemorative efforts.[41]

Eventually by the end of the nineteenth century, Republican administrations in Washington D.C. would make a number of overtures aimed at honoring the South's war dead. Clearly, many of these moves were directed at gaining the support of Southerners for Republican candidates and policies. The memory of the Confederate cause continued to benefit from a rising sense of national credibility that cast the bravery and devotion of Southern soldiers in the same patriotic mold as that of those who fought on behalf of the Union. During the administration of William McKinley, who was himself a former officer in the Union army, an area of the Arlington National Cemetery was designated as an exclusive burial ground for the remains of Confederate veterans. This action reflected

[41] Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy : Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865 to 1913*, 12-131, Piehler, *Remembering War the American Way*, 65. William Blair argues that commemorative activities directed at celebrating the Confederacy were far less directed at a hoped for reconciliation with the North and far more directed at reiterating a separate and distinct identity that asserted autonomy from the federal government, the same government against which the Confederate armies had fought. Blair, *Cities of the Dead: Contesting the Memory of the Civil War in the South, 1865-1914*.

the extent to which the sacrifice and bravery of Southern soldiers was nationally recognized as being worthy of recognition and praise.[42]

Federal legislation authorizing the perpetual care of graves of Confederates at Arlington and others scattered throughout the North was signed into law by McKinley's successor, Theodore Roosevelt. His successor, William Howard Taft, in turn signed a bill designating the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) with the authority to establish a major Confederate commemorative memorial on the Grounds at Arlington. Also, beginning in 1879, Union veterans buried in privately held cemeteries had been entitled to the receipt of a headstone to mark their grave which was paid for by the war department. This courtesy was to be eventually extended to include the remains of former Confederates. In 1929 President Calvin Coolidge authorized legislation that ensured that all deceased former confederate soldiers receive equal treatment regardless of the location of their graves.[43]

Pride Replaces Mourning

After 1885, the grounds of local courthouses, parks, and public thoroughfares became a more frequent site for the establishment of Confederate monuments. By the last decade of the nineteenth century, many communities throughout the South sought to establish a suitable public monument in their own civic space honoring the Confederacy's memory. Moving beyond the bounds of cemeteries and modes of remembrance centered

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[42] Eventually, the remains of 247 Confederate soldiers that had been buried throughout the North would be interred in this Confederate section. Karen L. Cox, "The Confederate Monument at Arlington," in Mills and Simpson, *Monuments to the Lost Cause: Women, Art, and the Landscapes of Southern Memory*, 148-62, Nina Silber, *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865-1900*, *Civil War America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993).

[43] Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy : Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865 to 1913*, 153-54.See also *The Code of the Laws of the United States of America*, Washington D.C. GPO 1935, 991.

on mourning, the civic space of the South was now more often claimed as an appropriate and legitimate venue for a construction of public monuments which asserted the legitimacy of the Confederate cause while honoring all those who had fought in its name. Honoring both those who had died and all those who had served and survived from a particular county or local, heroic individuals of note, or notable events from the war itself asserted that the South's war effort was worthy of remembrance. These memorials and monuments were frequently funded by local constituencies comprised of interested benefactors.[44]

Local citizens sometimes ventured to establish a monument committee chaired by civic leaders. Most often, especially after its creation in 1895, committees of the local United Daughters of the Confederacy chapter took the lead. The interest on the part of local communities throughout the South in establishing public monuments was eventually matched by a willingness and ability on the part of private citizens to fund these efforts.[45]

Former battlefields of the war eventually became a significant site for the establishment of Confederate monuments. Typically they were dedicated to entire units from a particular state although notable individuals and what can be considered "generic" state memorials were also established. Although most Confederate monuments were located in cemeteries, in courthouse squares and parks, or on the grounds of Southern

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[44] Most of the monuments that would eventually occupy the public spaces of court house squares would be established after 1900. The United Daughters of the Confederacy was perhaps the most influential of all the women's organizations connected to the commemoration of the confederacy. By 1912, the group could claim more than 800 chapters with over 45,000 members. This is approximately two to three times the membership of the Sons of Confederate Veterans (1896), also formed as an auxiliary of the UCV. See Mary B. Poppenheim, *The History of the United Daughters of the Confederacy* ([Raleigh, N.C.: Edwards & Broughton Co., 1956). See also Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865 to 1913*, 116-26.

[45] Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865 to 1913*, 129.

state capitals and other public spaces, many Southerners believed that locating Confederate monuments on the grounds of actual battlefields was both fitting, proper, and necessary in acknowledging the bravery of Southern soldiers and the legitimacy of their cause. Had Southern men not fought with the same forthright American bravery as their Northern counterparts? This perspective advanced the Confederate celebration of itself far beyond the limitations of simply preserving the memory of an individual Southerner or even the Confederate Lost Cause. Resting in the same space as those monuments honoring the martial bravery of Northern soldiers, battlefield monuments honoring the fighting men of the South provided a built commemorative environment in which the American patriotism and bravery of the soldiers of both sides were deemed equally worthy of praise and admiration.

In a practical sense, those monuments on former battlegrounds located in the South were most often visited by those who were most actively mindful of the nobility and bravery of the Southern fighting man: Southern citizens themselves. But, as is indicated by the comments of one Confederate veteran, establishing Confederate monuments on the sites of *all* former battlegrounds, whether located in the North or the South, would provide an opportunity for widespread acknowledgement of the legitimacy of the Southern cause because, "visitors from every quarter of the broad continent, from every country perhaps of the civilized world may gaze upon the shaft, may read the inscription and learn the historic deed you desire to record and commemorate." The didactic nature of this entire undertaking is by no means incidental to the desire among those charged with commemorating the Confederacy's memory. These efforts were funded almost exclusively with state funds. Contributions to these state sponsored

campaigns to build public monuments on former battlefields were offered in a spirit of pride and patriotism.[46]

The acquisition of the former battle grounds by the U.S. Congress for preservation as national war memorials was of major significance for Northern and Southern veterans and for the nation as a whole. As discussed in Chapter Two, the first parks created by the federal government (Chickamauga and Chattanooga, 1890; Shiloh, 1894; Gettysburg, 1895; and Vicksburg, 1899) were to become the sites of commemorative monuments erected by both Northern *and* Southern interests and constituents. After 1910, most of the public monuments commemorating the Confederacy have been established on the former battlefields of the Civil War and not in ordinary public space. As an overt claim to an honorable expression of patriotism, public monuments dedicated to the memory of individual Confederate soldiers and regiments on Civil War battlefields today posses a legitimacy that is widely acknowledged as appropriate and authentic. They exert a powerful force within the interpretive text of battlefield monumentation and public memory that bears witness to the legitimization of the myth of the Lost Cause and its tacit assertion of vindication for those that fought for the cause of the South. Those Southern monuments that appear on the battlefields located within the bounds of Northern states are especially significant physical markers of this vindication.

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[46] "Address of Basil Duke at the dedication of the Alabama monument at Shiloh battlefield, May 7, 1907", *Confederate Veteran*, XV (1907), 350-51.A real concern of the leadership of commemorative organizations and Southern veterans' groups in general, especially the UCV, was countering what they viewed as a possible negative verdict from history concerning the Confederate cause. The president of the Southern Memorial Association of Fayetteville, Arkansas, expressed it directly: "These monuments we build will speak their message to unborn generations…will stand as vindicators of the Confederate soldier…will lift these brave men and stand them in the line of patriots. This is not alone a labor of love; it is a work of duty as well. We are correcting history." See Bettie Alder Calhoun Emerson, *Historic Southern Monuments; Representative Memorials of the Heroic Dead of the Southern Confederacy* (New York and Washington,: The Neale Publishing Company, 1911), 267-68.

The eventual establishment of Confederate monuments on the grounds of battlefields maintained by the federal government did not, however, proceed without occasional dissent both in the North and the South. An effort led by law makers from the state legislature of Mississippi met resistance to their plan to dedicate a state memorial to the Mississippians who fought at Vicksburg. This effort was opposed by those Southerners who felt that any such memorial would most certainly tend to commemorate what was, in fact, a Northern victory. [47]

Design Features of Confederate Monuments

At the time of the formation of the SCV in 1896 in Richmond Virginia, the number of monuments being established throughout the South was proliferating. In fact, the number of monuments dedicated between 1886 and 1899 was far more than had been established in the twenty years following the war's conclusion. However, the proportion of Confederate monuments that were established within the confines of cemeteries fell from 70 percent during the two decades following the war to 55 percent for the period of 1886 to 1899. In addition to the change taking place in the location of these Confederate monuments, a notable change took place in the common design features of monuments now appearing along public thoroughfares and in the public spaces of Southern cities and towns. The funerary design that had characterized the earliest southern monuments was now being replaced by designs meant to honor heroic deeds and preserve the memory of the brave and beloved soldiers of the Confederacy. The percentage of monuments which reflected a funerary design motif declined from 70 percent for the period of 1865 to 1885

[47] Harold Young, Steve Walker, and David F. Riggs, *Vicksburg Battlefield Monuments: A Photographic Record* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1984), 42. See also *Administrative History Gettysburg* ,95-96.

fell to just 40 percent during the years between 1886 and 1889. Of the newer monuments, over 60 percent included a figure of an individual Confederate soldier presented with realistic features. The period of 1900 to 1910 represents what I would characterize as a "high tide" in the establishment of Confederate monuments in Southern civic space. More of them were established during this ten year period than at any other time. Of all those monuments that were to appear in Confederate towns and cities rather than cemeteries, the physical image of a lone Confederate soldier became the most often used motif. As a noble embodiment of the Lost Cause and its beliefs regarding the nature of the white Southern male and his motivation for going to war, post war Southerners were quit adamant in remembering both him and his cause as noble. These commemorative structures that proliferated in Southern public space both celebrated the heroic bravery of Southern men and asserted a claim to a legitimate memory of the past that both honored those now gone and inspired those still living.[48]

As in the North, many of these "standing soldier" monuments portrayed a solitary Confederate soldier perched on a stone shaft or pedestal with his hands folded across the top of his rifle with its butt resting on the ground directly in front him. Also, as in the North, many of these monuments were mass produced by monument companies. The reaction to this generic and somewhat passionless representation of the Confederate soldier was by no means completely positive. Described as "pathetic' by some in the South for their lack of an overt didacticism regarding those qualities that some felt were essential in representing the brave white men of the Confederacy, these monuments can

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[48] See *Southeaster Geographer*, John Winbery "Least We Forget". As Gaines Foster notes, the increasing number of Confederate monuments that were to appear in the public spaces of the Southern landscape were an indication of the rising significance of what was called the Confederate tradition.

be viewed as legitimate expressions of public consensus while simultaneously lacking in any significant artistic inspiration.[49]

Despite this criticism, monuments of this type proliferated and replicated in a physical form the white, southern male body centering the focus of commemoration and memory for the South on the ordinary soldier. The artistic form of the "great-man" monument that had formerly represented the noble characteristics of the republican hero of the past was replaced, as it had been in the North, by the ordinary figure of a common soldier represented in unadorned yet passable sculptural style. This sometimes generic figure of a lone male figure established a connection between the local community and the ultimate cause at issue during a war. Its physical presence reminded all who viewed it that the most significant burden of war had fallen to the masses of the local white male population and not only to those noble leaders who had been of such importance in the past. Exalted heroes still counted, but the burden of war was not theirs alone. The democratized nature of the South's memory of its struggle was readily apparent in the dozens of public monuments in which the South was celebrated by the lone figure of a common soldier. [50]

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century festivities associated with the dedication of these monuments, even in smaller Southern communities, became grand public spectacles complete with parades, large and enthusiastic crowds of observers and celebrants, ceremonial prayers and public addresses, as well as dramatic unveilings of

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[49] William Alexander Percy and Carl Howard Pforzheimer, *Lanterns on the Levee: Recollections of a Planter's Son*, 1st ed. (New York: Knopf, 1941), 11-12. See Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865 to 1913*, 129.

[50] Kirk Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth-Century America* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997), 178.

monuments punctuated by the crash of artillery pieces firing in salute. As significant participants and witnesses to the public celebrations, those Confederate veterans often in attendance provided living proof that many had served bravely for a now "lost cause." Both the ordinary soldier and the cause for which he fought were being commemorated in the dedications of these public monuments. By widespread popular participation in these grand occasions, the southern population acknowledged the correctness of the Southern cause while simultaneously becoming part of what was being remembered and celebrated. They too could stand on behalf of the Confederacy; in honoring its memory they became a part of it.[51]

The late 1890s provided a context in which Southerners, long accustomed to rhetoric that branded the white men of their region as "traitors' and "rebels" would witness a vindication. Northerners and Southerners, former bitter enemies, together defeated a common enemy during the Spanish-American War.   During the late 1890s and early twentieth century white males from both sections were now reveling in what has been described by Nina Silber as the "cult of Anglo-Saxonism." This "romance of reunion" was largely centered on the shared experience of bringing forward the moral superiority of the white race and its civilizing influence and mastery of a "non-white" people. This joint military exercise in racial domination contributed to the growth of mutual respect between Northern and Southern veterans as well as a wide spread sense of a spirit of reconciliation centered primarily on commonly shared racial attitudes and beliefs. Bound together in a new vision of the lauded "democracy of white men" so

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[51] For an insight into the functional aspects of the types of ritualistic activities that frequently accompanied these events, see Victor Witter Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*, *The Lewis Henry Morgan Lectures, 1966* (Chicago,: Aldine Pub. Co.1969).

much a part of the white South's constructed antebellum persona, the white population of the nation moved towards reunification while simultaneously suggesting a tacit vindication of Southern white men and the entire South cause itself.[52]

During the 1890's and early 1900s when Civil War battlefields were being acquired, preserved, marked, and monumented under the direction of the federal government, a new and more overt sense of nationalism and national identity was becoming more apparent throughout the nation. There occurred during this period according to Merle Curtie, "a marked shift in emphasis away from the older legalistic concept of the Union to the organic theory of the nation." The palpable spirit of the times was conductive to a new search for the roots of loyalty and nationality. In part, this manifestation of national identity privileged the common identity of the white race and encouraged the solidarity of the white male, from all regions of the nation, as the bedrock of an emerging American civilization. Marking and preserving important historic sites associated with the Civil War was a natural consequence of this celebratory acknowledgement of Anglo Saxon bravery. White males from both sections had served and fought bravely, while each side acted out its own legitimate vision of American patriotism.[53]

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[52] The topics of vindication and reunification are succinctly addressed in Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865 to 1913*, 159. The topic of the "democracy of white men", frequently connected to the notion of *Herrenvolk democracy* is drawn from the work of James Mc Pherson . See James M. McPherson, *Ordeal by Fire: The Civil War and Reconstruction*, 3rd ed. (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2000), 36-38. For a penetrating analysis of the construction of "whiteness" and the implications of this construction for the post Spanish-American movement toward reunification of the North and South, see George M. Fredrickson, *The Black Image in the White Mind : The Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny, 1817-1914* (Middletown, Conn.Scranton, Pa.: Wesleyan University Press ;Distributed by Harper & Row, 1987).

[53] In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, over fifty new patriotic societies were founded. Merle Eugene Curti, *The Roots of American Loyalty* (New York,: Atheneum, 1968).

The groundswell of reconciliation characteristic of this era did not proceed without resistance. The commemorative discourse at the turn of the century did include some dissenting voices that objected to the acknowledgement of the Confederate cause as honorable and legitimate. This was clearly demonstrated by some of the reaction to the proposal in 1910 to establish a public monument to Robert E. Lee in Washington D.C. The New York state branch of the Loyal Legion of the United States, a society made up exclusively of former Union officers, strenuously objected to any proposals made in the Congress of the U.S. for the creation of any such monument for display in the nation's capital. Also, the membership of this organization considered the establishment of monuments to the Confederate dead in federal cemeteries to be inappropriate. Those that were disloyal should not, according to the membership, be honored by the very government that the Confederacy had betrayed. Clearly, they maintained that a monument to the military commander of traitors could not be countenanced within the bounds of the nation's capital.[54]

Nevertheless, objections like these were seldom, however, brought forward. The nation's capital would remain, as it had during the Civil War, safe from an invasion of a public memory suggesting that the government at Richmond had been as legitimate as its own. The most "hallowed ground" of the war at Gettysburg would not, however, be able to defend itself from a new invasion of memory.

Monument Inscriptions, Materials, Numbers

Whether located in the quiet repose of a Confederate cemetery marking the final resting place of a brave son of the South, standing proudly in a prominent public space in

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[54] Thomas Sturgis, *Shall Congress erect equestrian Statues at National Expense to Confederate Officers in Washington? (* New York), 1910.

a Southern town or city, or resting gallantly on the site of former battle alongside structures dedicated to the memory of former foes from the North, public monuments commemorating the memory and the bravery of the men of the South were intended to serve as important symbols that "spoke" to those that viewed them. Inscriptions were included in Southern public monuments chosen with a keen eye towards communicating an unequivocal message that spoke of the bravery, loyalty, and the patriotism of those honored. Southerners viewed these monuments to the memory of the Confederacy as vehicles of vindication that were neither hesitant nor self conscious in their didacticism.

Suggesting a comparison between the conduct and motivation of Confederate soldiers and those who fought for the cause of independence during the American Revolution, monument inscriptions often stressed the noble republican virtue of Southern soldiers. They were lauded for their struggle "in defending the honor of the South, the rights of the states, the liberties of the people, the principles of the Union as they were handed down to them by the fathers of our common country."[55]

Some monuments presented in words an unambiguous message regarding its purpose. The inscription proposed by the Daughters of the Confederacy for their monument in Dallas, Texas, is somewhat typical of this phenomenon. The inscription left little room for speculation: "The children of Texas, sons and daughters of Confederate Veterans, place this soldier to tell the passers-by that our soldiers were brave."[56]

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[55] Emerson, *Historic Southern Monuments; Representative Memorials of the Heroic Dead of the Southern Confederacy*. See also Stephen Davis, "Empty Eyes, Marble Hands: The Confederate Monument and the South", *The Journal of Popular Culture* 16, no. 3 (1982).

[56] *Confederate Veteran*, I (1894), 216

The absolute significance of the inscriptions included on monuments for the South was seldom underestimated by sponsors. The president of the Southern Memorial Association of Fayetteville, Arkansas, exemplified the attitude of many of those constituencies that undertook the establishment of monuments: "These monuments we build will speak their message to unborn 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 of love. It is a work of duty as well. We are correcting history."[57]

Honoring the common southern soldier does seem to overlook the fact that the Southern soldier, no matter how brave or how noble, had been defeated in battle. None the less, the solitary figure of the common Confederate soldier presented in public monuments honored his service because, despite his defeat, the Southern soldier had fulfilled his obligation as a man and did his duty. This selfless adherence to a code of duty, despite the arguably questionable nature of the Southern cause, was a major reason why northern and southern veterans were so readily able to find a common ground for reconciliation.[58]

The use of the word "patriotism" or highly evocative descriptive language that clearly alluded to it was the key phraseology of Southern monuments and was frequently combined with verbiage that evoked the sense that Southern white men, in taking up arms, were essentially defending their homes from invasion by an aggressive foe.

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[57] *Confederate Veteran*, III (1895), 313.

[58] Both Confederate and Union soldiers lived and acted on a common, unifying code; that is a call to duty. See Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth-Century America*, 178.

Additionally, the inscriptions on Southern monuments often cited constitutional arguments centered on the concepts of "states rights' or "self government" while occasionally more broadly defined references appeared that included allusions to "constitutional liberty" or "constitutional government." These allusions to constitutional integrity and guarantees as being central to the Southern war effort first appeared on some public monuments established in Georgia in the 1870's. The first decades after the war was a period in which the shock and loss of the conflict was still fresh in the consciousness of most southerners. This was especially so for those with vivid memories of the advance of the Union army of General Sherman as he attempted to break the Confederacy's ability to continue the war during his invasion of Georgia in the fall of 1864. Monument inscriptions citing Constitutional arguments as a motivation for waging war became more widespread as the latter part of the nineteenth century approached. This trend continued into the twentieth century and was invoked as recently as 1963 when an assertion that "states' rights" had been the true motivation for those Confederate troops from South Carolina who fought at Gettysburg in 1863 was included as part of the inscription on that state's monument.[59]

Inscriptions on Southern monuments seldom included references to the issue of race or the institution of slavery, both of which had most certainly been central to the secessionists' movement, the coming of the war, and the structure of the South's pre-war ideology. References to African Americans, however, did appear in monument

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[59] The South Carolina State Memorial at Gettysburg was dedicated on July 2, 1963.The sentiment supporting the issue of states' rights as a persistent theme in the partisan explanation of the war's causes and the lost cause itself is evidenced in the monument's inscription: "That men of honor might forever know the responsibilities of freedom. Dedicated South Carolinians stood and were counted for their heritage and convictions. Abiding faith in the sacredness of states rights provided their creed here. Many earned eternal glory." See *Story of Men and Monuments* P. 43.

inscriptions but were mostly limited to that of "faithful slaves." There were several inscriptions included in southern monuments that lauded a theme that was implicit, especially as the end of the nineteenth century approached: every effort at restructuring the social order in the defeated South would continue to be resisted and overcome by Southern whites.

An overt example of this dynamic can be found in the inscription accompanying the monument dedicated in Obion County Tennessee in 1909. It profusely honored the efforts of the Confederate soldier while ignoring the fact that the South had been defeated militarily during the war, yet honoring the ordinary soldier as the one "who has preserved Anglo-Saxon civilization in the South." [60]

In total, monuments honoring the Southern soldier who had fought for the Confederacy incorporated a larger repertory of distinctive texts than monuments established to honor Union soldiers. Frequent references in monument inscriptions to "our Confederate dead" or "our Confederate heroes" had no clear parallel in those inscriptions appearing on Northern monuments. A self consciousness seems to be apparent within the text chosen by the sponsors of many southern monuments. Clearly, an overt desire to construct and control the commemorative text and its resulting public memory is present. [61]

The preferred materials for Confederate monument were marble and granite which were more affordable for monument sponsors than was bronze. Like many Northern monuments, the physical pose chosen for a lone Confederate soldier appearing

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[60] Brown, *The Public Art of Civil War Commemoration: A Brief History with Documents*, 39.

[61] Ibid., 40.

as the central focus of a Southern monument was one that presented him at parade rest holding his musket vertically with one end resting on the ground near his feet. This rather typical pose was, in some cases, struck with fine attention to detail aimed at representing the sculptural form of the soldier along with his uniform and equipment in an authentic and lifelike manner. Those figures that contained fine details were often based on photographs of actual soldiers.[62]

Overall, the number of monuments dedicated commemorating the Confederacy increased in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. This increase in activity lasted only until about 1912. In this immediate pre World War I period, the number of Confederate monuments dedicated declined sharply.[63]

The decline in the number of Confederate monuments being dedicated occurring immediately prior to World War I was the results of several factors. First, Confederate veterans' organizations could establish no consensus indicating agreement among the former soldiers regarding the future direction of the commemorative effort. Additionally, the membership rolls of these organizations were dominated by the upper class. Those working class members who had previously actively participated slowly relinquished their role as active members. Consequently, these organizations began to focus more on the social aspects of their associations and less on the formerly ongoing efforts to

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[62] There were exceptions to the often repeated pose of the "standing soldier." The memorial association of Clarkstown, Tenessee, asserted that it chose its statuary model from pictures of Confederates from surrounding Montgomery County. See Davis, "Empty Eyes, Marble Hand: The Confederate Monument and the South," 9.

[63] This decline in monument dedications does not take in to account the type or number of monuments being established on battlefields. At the time of this writing, no source can be found that traces and/or describes this dynamic. Regardless, the data is assessable for those Confederate monuments that were established in cemeteries, and the public spaces of the South. The most comprehensive sources for this information can be found in Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865 to 1913*. H. E. Gulley, "Women and the Lost Cause: Preserving a Confederate Identity in the American Deep South," *Journal of Historical Geography* 19, no. 2 (1993)

commemorate and perpetuate the public memory of white Southern men in defense of the South. As the veterans died off, those non veterans that had an interest in perpetuating the organization's goals directed their energies away from establishing public commemorative structures. Conceptualizing, designing, and organizing an active movement to establish monuments in the South's public spaces faded as a priority.

However, the most universally admired figure of the South was to defy this trend. The arrival of an equestrian figure of Robert E. Lee in the former Confederate capital of Richmond signaled a growing legitimation of the South's Lost Cause and its most beloved military chieftain. His appearance along the tree lined expanse of Monument Boulevard did not mark the end of a journey for Lee and the beloved cause of the South. Rather, it was a pause along the way of a longer journey, one that was destined to bring General Lee and all that he represented back to the rolling countryside of southern Pennsylvania. This new campaign would not involve bloodshed but would be no less important than that of 1863. This time it would not involve troops bent on conquest, but rather, memory bent on victory.

Chapter Four:

Robert E. Lee as Icon of the Lost Cause

Near the end of May 1890, a crowed estimated at over a hundred thousand gathered in Richmond Virginia to witness the unveiling of a statue of Robert E. Lee mounted gallantly on his horse Traveler. A crowd of this size had not been seen in the former Confederate capital since the tumultuous arrival of the first president of the Confederacy, Jefferson Davis, in 1861. During his first official public statement, the new president implied a connection between the Confederacy and the revolutionary past by delivering his address in the shadow of a grand equestrian statue of George Washington on the grounds of the Virginia state capital.

The grand celebration that was now taking place in honor of the dedication of an equestrian statue of Robert E. Lee evoked similar sentiments based on the heritage of the American Revolution. Placards of all kinds decorated the city bearing pictures George Washington and Robert E. Lee along with hundreds of Confederate and Union flags hung from public buildings and private residences. Patriotic music could be heard echoing throughout most of the city reminding all that this celebration was indeed one in which the memory of the most beloved of the founders and the memory of Lee were rightly merged into one moving tribute.[1]

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[1] Gary W. Gallagher and Alan T. Nolan, *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), 111.

Following a festive parade stretching for over four miles through the city, a large crowd gathered around the new Lee monument on the outskirts of Richmond to hear dedicatory remarks and speeches commemorating the unveiling of a noble equestrian monument of the South's beloved general. The keynote address was delivered by a veteran of the Army of Northern Virginia, Archer Anderson. In his remarks, Anderson paid a grand tribute to Lee that reflected what had become the frequently articulated themes of the now widely accepted mythology of the Lost Cause. Like many Lost Cause spokesmen of the era, Anderson did not simply address the more obvious issues surrounding the justifications for the war and the unavoidable reasons for the eventual Southern defeat. Going further, he defended the cause of the South as a truly righteous one cast in the image and spirit of the American Revolution. He further asserted that it had been led by a son of Virginia who was truly worthy of the same esteem that had been directed towards his fellow Virginian, George Washington. Lee was, according to Anderson, an example of the rare combination of Christian values and the unchallenged courage associated with classical images of the Roman hero. Lee was in fact a contemporary embodiment of republican citizenship cast in the image and likeness of the founders themselves. By the time of the dedication on that spring day in 1890, Lee's memory had already become directly associated with the personage and reputation of George Washington. The Lost Cause ideology had positioned Lee as the South's ultimate hero who had become the personification of the finest virtues of republican citizenship worthy of praise from *all* Americans, North and South alike.[2]

[2] Archer Anderson, "Robert Edward Lee: An Address Delivered at the Dedication of the Lee Monument," in Southern Historical Society., R. A. Brock, and Virginia Historical Society., "Southern Historical Society Papers," (Richmond,: Virginia Historical Society [etc.], 1876).17:315

Lee and the Lost Cause

The memory of the Civil War is subsumed in a vast mythology. Historian Gary Gallagher describes the phenomenon as one in which there are two distinctly separate versions of the war. On one hand is, according to Gallagher, the *history* of the war, the account of what in fact happened. On the other hand there is what Gaines Foster calls the "Southern interpretation" of the event. This "codified", account according to Foster is generally referred to as "the Lost Cause." Originating essentially as a Southern rationalization of the war constructed by southern apologists and their advocates, the Lost Cause ideology spread like an army on the march to the North and soon became an integral part of the entire nation's public memory of the war. In fact, according to Gallagher, it became a substitute for the *history* of the war.[3]

No other individual connected to the Confederacy received acclaim and admiration as has Robert E. Lee. Over time, the commander of the Army of Northern Virginia became the preeminent hero of the Lost Cause, and by the time of his reappearance at Gettysburg and the dedication of the Virginia Memorial in June 1917, Lee had joined Abraham Lincoln as one of the two most popular figure associated with the period of the American Civil War. Not surprisingly, it was the white South that was to engage in a mythopoeic construction of an epic parable based on the life and persona of Robert E. Lee. To meet the needs of those left to make sense of the defeat of the Confederacy, the former general's legend was imbued with sacred associations enabling it to regionally displace the imposing figure of his fellow Virginian George Washington at the apex of the nationalistic mythology surrounding the nation's heroes. Often

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[3] Gaines M. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865 to 1913* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 117.

characterized by contemporaries as an "imposing figure whom the Greeks would have deified," Lee became a lesson in what a Southern man could and should be. By the early part of the twentieth century, his image and stature were held up as an example for the nation of authentic and noble white American manhood.[4]

The white South followed this lesson closely. Wide scale reverence for and emulation of Lee's moral and social code during the last quarter of the nineteenth century ensured that the eventual apotheosis of Lee would be no less grand than that which had accompanied the deification of Washington. In paintings, public orations, literature, and public memorial art in the post bellum South, the mythos of Robert E. Lee was carefully and reverentially constructed and lauded as a pedagogical tool to be frequently invoked and readily appropriated by ex-Confederates. Lee also achieved a status and reputation that far outstretched those associated with the political leadership of the failed Confederacy.

His image was adopted as a cultural signifier that was to find durable expression for the former Confederacy in two public monuments established in the state of Virginia before the end of the nineteenth century, safely within the territorial boundaries of the former Confederacy. The Recumbent Figure at Lee's tomb in Lexington (1883) and the equestrian monument of Lee in Richmond (1890) were commissioned, financed and designed by the collective effort of the Southern people. The Virginia Memorial that was to eventually appear on the battlefield at Gettysburg (1917) was commissioned jointly by the states of Virginia and Pennsylvania and was the ultimate expression of the celebration and acceptance of the Lee persona by the entire nation and signals a final and hard fought

[4] "Valentine's Statue of Lee," *Memphis Appeal*, June 29 1883.

victory in the war of ideology and remembrance that informed the post war nation's public memory of itself. The Lost Cause, and indeed the *cause* of the former Confederacy, achieved final and complete vindication when its ultimate iconic American hero, Robert E. Lee, was forever guaranteed a place of honor and admiration by appearing atop the Virginia memorial located on the same blood soaked ground upon which Lincoln so profoundly asserted as embodying a "new birth of freedom."[5]

Lee was deified in the tradition of the ancient Greeks by the former Confederacy who sought a universally recognizable symbol that could represent the unchallenged nobility of their cause. Their ancestors had in the past embraced the unifying iconic image of Washington who was both an unquestioned example of noble republican citizenship and the unquestioned leader of the cause of the American Revolution. Now, the members of a new "revolutionary generation" had appropriated a new mythic leader as their own representative of republican citizenship and the legitimacy of their cause. [6]

Lee and his contemporaries were part of what historian George B. Forgie has labeled as the "post-heroic" generation. In his analysis, those who reached full maturity between 1820 and 1861 were seen as offspring of the Revolution, and as such struggling for some legitimate claim to a stature that would be on par with the Revolutionary generation. According to Forgie, their generation was exemplified by an adherence to models of accomplishment and stature established by the founders themselves. Their generation also harbored traces of resentment in that they themselves were denied the

[5] For an insightful discussion on the context, origins, myths, and implications of Lincoln's address at Gettysburg during the dedication of the Soldier's National cemetery on a portion of the former battlefield at Gettysburg in November of 1863, see Garry Wills, *Lincoln at Gettysburg: The Words That Remade America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1992).

[6] See Sarah J. Purcell, *Sealed with Blood: War, Sacrifice, and Memory in Revolutionary America*, *Early American Studies* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002).

chance to readily gain the stature of those that had come before them and had been a part of great and seemingly immortal accomplishments. The sons of post-heroic America rebelled against the legacy of their fathers, according to Forgie, in pursuit of heroic accomplishments that they could legitimately call their own.[7]

According to this analysis, it became obvious that the material progress of the Post-Jacksonian era would not be matched by the moral progress of the people; a new breed of valiant Christian soldier was needed in order to combat the modern degeneration of the times and reorient the nation to its originally divinely inspired course. In 1847, an author in the *Southern Literary Messenger* attempted to summarize this sentiment when he claimed: "The great revolutionary names- at the head of which stands… that of Washington- are safe…and the world admires them, but the dead can not save the living. They acted well their part, and received their reward. We and our successors also have a part to act."[8]

Nearly twenty years latter, the defeated South settled on the power of myth to serve as a palliative for their shattered dreams of nationhood. Myth itself posses a tremendous inherent power to become real in the popular mind, not because it is a narrative that is contrived for the narrow purposes of those who insist on its creation, but because in large part its power rests on the dynamic that myths always have to some extent a basis in fact which greatly bolsters its credibility. The construction of myth then

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[7] George B. Forgie, *Patricide in the House Divided: A Psychological Interpretation of Lincoln and His Age*, 1st ed. (New York: Norton, 1979), 6-12. Masculinity and the nineteenth century American male are further discussed in David Leverenz, *Manhood and the American Renaissance,* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), 7-9. E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1993).

[8] Joshua N. Danforth, "Thoughts on the Fourth of July, 1847," *Southern Literary Messenger* 13 (1847): 501.

is a powerful force because at least some of what it presumes is undeniably anchored in truth. It is the power of myth as a phenomenon that allowed the Lost Cause and its reliance on Lee to crystallize and quickly gain stature throughout the defeated South.[9]

Robert E. Lee as Icon of the South and Its Cause

The defeated post-heroic generation of the American South readily appropriated their one and only Robert E. Lee as an august and lauded warrior, templar of their cause, and ideal example of the moral bearing of a noble Virginian gentleman. Publicly crafted into the ideal Christian soldier, yet unable to win in life the decisive victory in war that would allow his name to be made immortal, Lee in death became a malleable hero and icon to a lost generation of Southerners. By the second decade of the twentieth century, his appearance atop a memorial dedicated by Virginia to "her sons" on the battlefield at Gettysburg demonstrated Lee's acceptance as legitimate hero and American patriot by the entire nation.[10]

By the close of the nineteenth century Lee had already become the unquestioned figurehead of the Lost Cause, ascending to the pinnacle of an ideological movement that exhibited religious overtones. In an important sense, the ideology of the Lost Cause can be described as little more than the convergence on a number of myths. The term itself can first be identified in accounts of the Jacobite movement for Scottish independence following a devastating defeat by the British in the mid eighteenth century. This event and the literature that appeared connected to it were well known in a pre- war South that

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[9] For a detailed and highly readable treatment of the many verities of this dynamic and its power throughout modern history see Joseph Campbell and Bill D. Moyers, *The Power of Myth*, 1st ed. (New York: Doubleday, 1988).

[10] The inscription across the front of the base of the Virginia Memorial at Gettysburg is: "Virginia to Her Sons at Gettysburg" See Wayne Craven and Milo Stewart, *The Sculptures at Gettysburg* (New York: Eastern Acorn Press, 1982), 79.

self consciously focused on its Scots-Irish roots and commonly displayed a deep admiration for the novels of Sir Walter Scott.[11]

Unsurprisingly, the literature that was created by Southern writers after the war that centered on the evolving mythology surrounding the Lost Cause was ideally suited for appropriating the stylized conventions of Scott's novels, especially imagery centered on the noble hero. The literary tradition of the Scottish lost cause and the heroic and brave figures exemplified best by the personage of Ivanhoe influenced the evolution of Southern Lost Cause literature that habitually memorialized figures from its own past. Readily apparent in literary and film imagery well into the twentieth century, the magnolia scented belle, the chivalric planter, and the good and noble Confederate soldier recast as a modern Christian knight are all images that are suffused with the influence of the romanticized images of Lost Cause iconography.[12]

The realities of ante-bellum Southern life and its supreme dependence upon the institution of slavery, not just as an engine of economic prosperity and plenty for *some* Southerners but as the basis of an entire social system, were perhaps far too

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[11] Of all the novels commonly read and written about in the popular literature of the ante-bellum era in the American South, *Ivanhoe* was held in the highest esteem. For an analysis concerning the religious aspects of the Lost Cause Mythology see Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865 to 1913*.

[12] The Southern connection to the issue of Scottish independence is addressed in Thomas Lawrence Connelly and Barbara L. Bellows, *God and General Longstreet: The Lost Cause and the Southern Mind* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982), 2-3, 8. The most obvious visual evidence of the connection can be found in the similarity of the Confederate battle flag and the Scot's Cross of St. Andrew's. The Celtic ethnic influence on the South's war effort is also addressed in Grady McWhiney and Perry D. Jamieson, *Attack and Die : Civil War Military Tactics and the Southern Heritage*, 1st pbk. ed. (Tuscaloosa, Ala.: University of Alabama Press, 1984).The authors argue that the high rate of Southern battle casualties can be explained in part by the cultural influence of aggressive behavior typical of the Scotts-Irish. For an explanation of the merging of heroic images of the Lost Cause with film such Birth of a Nation and Gone With the Wind, along with their connections to a tradition is post war Southern literature see Bruce Chadwick, *The Reel Civil War : Mythmaking in American Film*, 1st ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2001).

overwhelming a legacy for the Southern population to comprehend by the war's end in light of the magnitude of destruction and defeat. As Peter Kolchin aptly explains, the antebellum American South was not simply a "society with slaves" but was in fact a "slave society." He argues that the institution of slavery was by no means simply an economic framework for bringing rationality to the problem of labor, but was in fact the underpinning of an a entire social system that evolved in the South encouraging it to adapt a highly conservative and at times reactionary civic culture in which normative social relations were at the end of the day under the control of a very small minority of elite white slave holders. Realizing that the suffering descending upon the white population of the former Confederacy was the result of the wide spread defense of the rights and property of the very few through the sacrifice of many created a psychological strain that was difficult for many Southerners to bear.[13]

It is no surprise then that the destruction and utter failure of their quest for autonomy caused the Southern population at large to wrestle with the formation of a coherent remembered past that somehow helped to explain and to justify what they had so willingly supported. In this sense then, the images and the myths that had once been little more than regional folklore were readily elevated to the stature of increasingly accepted and revealed truths. Remembering the South as neither a largely undeveloped agricultural area dominated by un-free labor under the direct control of the few, nor as a defeated and occupied conquered territory, Southerners facilely grasped for salvation in constructed imaginings of what the war years *should* have led to for their now shattered society. A collective cultural memory was constructed by early chroniclers of the war

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[13] Peter Kolchin, *American Slavery, 1619-1877* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1993).

including, most especially, Southern politicians and religious leaders. In the constructed post war parables of the failed nation's remembered past, both the Old South and the Confederacy itself were contrived into a unified narrative in which the chivalric planter and the noble cavalier were said to have been real. The viability of this allusion was greatly enhanced by the shower of praise and admiration that was readily directed to the South's own noble Christian knight, Robert E. Lee.[14]

The collective adulation and unquestioned acceptance of Robert E. Lee and his mythical apotheosis in the constructed narrative of the Confederacy's heritage was not without precedent. Ann Uhry Abrams demonstrates that the former British colonists engaged in what she describes as post colonial myth making when they essentially engaged in "disclaiming" their connection to British culture through the act of declaring independence. With no indigenous culture of their own distinct from the mother country, post-revolutionary Americans readily constructed an unequivocally "American" civilization complete with paragons of virtue and bravery. Post war Southerners also maintained that in their distinct "culture" lay the underpinnings of a unique and separate civilization that was in no way connected to the Yankee North. Revolutionary Americans centered their cultural construction on the iconic image of George Washington and acclaimed it as the archetype of republican virtue and citizenship. For post war Southerners, this role was filled by Robert E. Lee. Representing what was alleged to be the best of a uniquely distinct and virtuous society, Lee effortlessly was elevated to the

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[14] The self identification of the American South as a uniquely separate and "exceptional" entity has been closely examined. For background on the fundamental notions behind this approach and an updated reading of the verity of interpretations that have made up this analysis see James C. Cobb, *Away Down South : A History of Southern Identity* (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), Paul M. Gaston, *The New South Creed; a Study in Southern Myth-Making* (New York,: Vintage Books, 1973).

pinnacle of the South's remembered hierarchy of republican virtue wile serving as the focal point of a rich mythology of constructed cultural distinctiveness.[15]

Perhaps one of the earliest and most significant events that served to promulgate the increasingly pronounced tendency of post war Southerners towards myth making was the publication of the Edward Pollard's pro Confederacy narrative addressing the causes, conduct, and tragic outcome of the war entitled *The Lost Cause*. Pollard was the well known editor of the *Daily Richmond Examiner* and first published his history of the Confederacy in 1867. As a work of propaganda that was widely accepted throughout the South, Pollard's work laid out a pathway to maintaining Southerners' dignity and their sanity. Addressing the wide spread fear that the former Confederacy could be entering an indefinite period during which the South would be under the total domination of the now emboldened North, Polllard asserted that, "There may not be a political South…Yet there may be a social and intellectual South," and called for what amounted to a rhetorical "war of ideas" to resist complete Northern domination. Since the political nation of the Confederacy no longer existed, the dream was now replaced with a search for a coherent and distinctive Southern cultural identity. It is the Lost Cause's insistence in locating the entirety of the Southern white population and their individual and at times ambiguous interests within a framework of cultural unanimity that necessitates the categorizing of the ideology of the Lost Cause as being firmly planted within the realm of myth. Myths, by their nature, are most often created from the chaos of experience and are intended to rectify it. For post war Southerners, the ultimate defeat suffered as an outcome of the war and the anguish of the era of Reconstruction provided the chaos, while Edward Pollard's

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[15] Ann Uhry Abrams, *The Pilgrims and Pocahontas: Rival Myths of American Origin* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1999), 3-14.

"war of ideas" and its reification in the establishment of public monuments to the Confederacy and, most especially, to the memory of Robert E. Lee, provided the remedy.[16]

Lost Cause Imagery

The widespread suffering and devastation experienced by the people of the Confederacy is well documented. Clearly however, the exact nature and the extent of the suffering varied greatly among the Southern people. Despite such variations, the largest common denominator which *all* the people of the South shared was the widespread sentiment of almost incompressible loss. During the war, artistic representations appeared in which thematic depictions of what were already early Lost Cause themes centered on the then still unfolding struggles of both the Confederate soldier and the Southern civilian population.

One of the most vivid images perhaps was the creation of a German immigrant, amateur artist, and Baltimore resident tuned Southern sympathizer named Adalbert Johann Volck. During the war his wrath against the North found expression in numerous etchings which vividly expressed mourning for the ongoing suffering. In his 1863 creation, *Tracks of the Armies* (**figure 1**) the artist presents a stark image of death and destruction. The work conveys the shock and the horror of a Confederate veteran who has returned to his home to find it completely in ruin and his family murdered. The partially nude female appearing in the composition clearly is intended to represent the returning

[16] Edward Alfred Pollard, *The Lost Cause* (New York, Avenel, N.J.: Gramercy Books; Distributed by Outlet Book Co., 1994), 750-51. Mark Schorer, "The Necessity of Myth," in Henry Alexander Murray, *Myth and Mythmaking* (New York,: G. Braziller, 1960), 354-57. See also Thelma J. Shinn, *Worlds within Women: Myth and Mythmaking in Fantastic Literature by Women*, *Contributions to the Study of Science Fiction and Fantasy, No. 22* (New York, N.Y.: Greenwood Press, 1986).

soldier's wife, while the overturned cradle suggest that a child may also have perished. Compositionally, it is suggested to the viewer that a rape has occurred. Other similarly disturbing images such as small fragments and remains of bones, and a dead animal that could easily be interpreted as being the family pet, all contribute to the overall sense that the South and the Southern family has been violated by an invading force that is inflicting horrible damage on a victimized South. The Confederate veteran has returned home to find all that he has nobly fought for destroyed. [17]

Appearing a full two years before the end of the war and presented in the form of a dramatized exaggeration, Volck's work none the less is visual evidence of how the Lost Cause ideology had already begun to develop during the war. This artist's use of the iconic image of a veteran returning from war was not new. This practice had been part of America's iconic tradition dating back to the American Revolution. Images depicting a veteran's return home were originally intended to imply a triumphant return to both the stability and comfort of civilian life and the love and affection of the hearth and family. In Volck's presentation, the Southern veteran's home is destroyed, his child dead, and his wife, the center of the family during his absence, is dishonored, apparently violated, and murdered. Symbolically, the defeat for the South suggested in this work goes far beyond the contest of armies, and the former Confederacy is confronted by a debasement of all that is cherished, valued, and sacred to the free, white, Southern, male. His future course of action has been suggested by the wholesale brutality of the invading Yankee. Without a home, a wife, and his honor intact, the war itself for ex Confederates can never truly be

[17] For a detailed investigation of the background and the significance of Lost Cause images in art, see Mark E. Neely, Harold Holzer, and G. S. Boritt, *The Confederate Image: Prints of the Lost Cause* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987).

over. Although the defeats on the battlefields may be forgotten, and the arcane political differences often identified as being at the center of the conflict may be overlooked, Northern attempts to eradicate the southern people and their culture would not. In the post war South, only a heroic figure with the cultural and moral cachet of the most renowned Virginia gentleman would be able to serve as a moral antidote to the diseased ways of the conquering Northern populace and their invading army. [18]

In fact, at the war's end many Southerners were confronted with a devastated landscape of destroyed homes and cities, tremendous personal losses, debilitating poverty, and widespread social chaos. Millions of ex- slaves formerly valued at hundreds of millions of dollars now wandered the Southern landscape with little or no security as to their personal safety, their survival and their future prospects as citizens. Many former Confederates were stripped of land, property, social rank and privilege, and were faced with the realization that their currency and investments were totally worthless. In the face of such devastation, the commonly shared theme of loss soon became unifying bond among post war Southerners. Functioning as a badge of honor, this theme was to help legitimate a mythology that soon took on religious overtones.[19]

While most Southern citizens were confronted with physical evidence of the failure of their dream everywhere they turned, religious leaders were confronted with the challenge of mediating the strains placed on the spiritual lives of the Southern people

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[18] Christopher Kent Wilson, ""Winslow Homer's Thanksgiving Day-Hanging up the Musket"," *The American Art Journal* XVIII, no. no.4 (1986).

[19] Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877*, 1st ed., *The New American Nation Series* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988), 1-11, 77-119. See also Edward L. Ayers, *The Promise of the New South: Life after Reconstruction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 132-60. For an explanation of the role of organized religion in the process of healing for the post war South see Charles Reagan Wilson, *Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause, 1865-1920* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1980).

struggling to deal with the shock, guilt, and resentment that were a byproduct of the war's outcome. Spiritually bound to the creation of the Lost Cause mythology was the South's own jeremiad which can be understood as comparable to the one experienced by Puritans two centuries earlier. This dynamic was to engender a legitimacy of purpose in the Southern people encouraging them to seek out the evolving myth containing their own redemption. [20]

Puritan religious leaders had instructed the settlers in their charge that they were the new Chosen People on earth and that they were part of God's intention they fulfill their mission on earth. Confessing their sins in ritualized public confessions and acting as the collective voices of their communities, Puritan leaders had warned their flocks of the dangers posed by a possible moral decline away from the virtuous corpus of religious proscriptions offered by New England's founders and issued calls for immediate repentance to forestall any future punishments for their willful transgressions. Generally identifying themselves as citizens of a new Israel, these Puritans of New England had seen themselves as regionally, culturally, and morally distinct from the sinfulness that they associated with a "fallen" European society. Succeeding generations reinforced this rhetorical strategy until it had, by the time of the Revolution, become firmly entrenched in the American colonial psyche and was used as a part of the justification for a complete break from England.[21]

The people of the post war South soon began to see themselves as a new chosen people who had been wrongly and brutally stripped of their idealized civilization.

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[20] The role of religious ideology in the post war South is discussed in Wilson, *Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause, 1865-1920*.

[21] Sacvan Bercovitch, *The American Jeremiad* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978), 38-47.

Because of this, the former Confederacy was remembered and defined through the creation of religious doctrines that portrayed the antebellum South as superior to the "fallen" society of the North. Religious leaders promoted former notable Confederates, and especially Robert E. Lee, as the ideological center of this contemporary jeremiad and proclaimed that their adherence to duty, despite the intense hardships of the past and present, had elevated them to the position of spiritual and moral models. Southern veterans of the fighting were lauded and thought of as serving as apostles to Lee, and remembered as the embodiment of an ideal that should be the basis by which all Southerners were to be judged. [22]

Like a conversion experience recounted from the early days of Calvinism in New England, the defeat and destruction of the Confederate nation was represented as a test from God in which its moral strength and resilience was presented as robust enough to do God's will. If Southerners could, despite their defeat, measure up to the standards of behavior and strength presented to them by the heroic models of strength and courage in their midst, salvation could be theirs. The constructed mythology of the Lost Cause held the promise that despite their present hardships and anguish, the merciful wisdom of the Divine was present in their struggle. Southern religious leaders, as if taking their cue from the model of the Puritans, articulated what amounts to a second jeremiad offering relief to the distress of the downtrodden South through the denunciation of the sinful ways of the Northern society.[23]

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[22] Ibid., 176-210. See also Wilson, *Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause, 1865-1920*, 79-89.

[23] Viewing war as being a test of a societies will and faith is a phenomena that is centuries old. The idea that the Civil War was a test was also a theme of the religious rhetoric of the North, as well as a widely addressed concept in the work of artists. See Angela L. Miller, *The Empire of the Eye: Landscape Representation and American Cultural Politics, 1825-1875* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 107-36, 209-41.

The restorative power of this spiritual construction can be found in an artistic representation that received wide circulation. Currier and Ives's hand painted lithograph of 1871, *The Lost Cause* **(figure 2),** offers one example of the restorative power of the Lost Cause ideology and is an early visual example demonstrating that only a few years after the war's end, the basic outline of this approach to explaining the south's defeat to itself had already been formed.

In this print, produced in the North, the viewer can observe a Confederate veteran returning to his now abandoned home to discover the landscape and fields in need of tending, his house in disrepair, and the nearby graves of what are presumed to be his wife and his child. As in the engraving by Volck, the implication is clear that this veteran's family has been wiped out as a result of the war. This setting serves as a background to a scene that further shows the noble Confederate veteran clutching a handkerchief to his mouth as he gazes at two wooden crosses sitting presumably atop the graves of his wife and child. Above the crosses and visible within the tree tops that form this part of the print, an angled view of a confederate battle flag appears positioned in such a way as to show the stars of the flag in the figure of a cross. Although the South has suffered an earthly defeat, the Cause for which it stood is blessed and sanctified by the Almighty. Just as the soul of man will rise up to heaven in the promises of God's resurrection and delivery from evil, it is strongly implied that the shattered Confederacy too will be blessed and honored by a merciful God. The jeremiad of the Lost Cause presents itself to the viewer in this print. A test of authentic faith is being thrust upon Southerners by God as a means of challenging them to accept salvation. In so doing, the defeated South will

also be able to find its way on earth as a newly restored, and newly emboldened Christian society still committed to the correctness of their cause.

The Lee Image

By the end of the war, the wartime appearance and image of Robert E. Lee was commonly recognized in both the North and South. This image was, however, only readily available for public consumption after 1863. Up to and including most of 1863, the image most often provided to the public was one that dated back to the time of the Mexican American War. As a response to early adulation and clamor for images of Lee that existed in the South by the mid point of the war, the *Southern Illustrated News* in its January 17, 1863 issue included an engraving of Lee based on what was then the most recent picture of Lee (**figure 3**). The etching is accompanied by a caption that incorrectly claims that the general's middle name was "Edmund," and also claims that the engraving was based on a ten year old photo by someone whose name is recorded as "Rees." A modern examination of the relevant evidence connected to the true origins of this image reveals that the original image was the creation by Mathew Brady in 1850 (**figure 4**). [24]

Not surprisingly, Lee's actual appearance had changed in significant ways over the course of the war years. Before 1863, virtually anyone not acquainted intimately with the Confederate military or residing in close proximity to Richmond were far better acquainted with this dated image of a younger Lee frequently reproduced in the press

[24] For an explanation and discussion of this particular cover from the *Southern Illustrated News* cover plate see Neely, Holzer, and Boritt, *The Confederate Image: Prints of the Lost Cause*, 60-62.

than they were with the aging and graying countenance that he possessed by the start of 1863.[25]

By the time of Lee's death in 1870, his updated likeness had become widely circulated and celebrated throughout both the South and the North. Much had been made throughout the South of Lee's public statements immediately after the surrender at Appomattox concerning his oft repeated calls for reconciliation and peaceful reunification with the now victorious North. His apparent insistence that Southern partisans resist the temptation to continue the war as a guerilla campaign against the North also became well known to Southerners. During the remaining years of Lee's life spent as a civilian, Southerners had already begun to structure a mythology of exalted reverence for their retired military chieftain.[26]

In the face of complete military, economic, political, and social devastation, the post war South was willing to grasp at any opportunity to vindicate its region and its cause. Some of the first wide scale laudatory recognition that it was to receive came in the form of the rhetorical praise from Northerners directed at Lee's legacy immediately following his death. As time passed praise was showered upon his memory internationally as well. The London Standard noted:

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[25] It has bee suggested that the figure of the returning veteran represented in the Currier and Ives etching of *The Lost Cause* does have the facial characteristics consistent with those of Robert E. Lee. The implication is made that the artist intended this returning figure to suggest a metaphorical connection with Lee and the ultimate demise of the Old South and the suffering to follow. Although some similarities can be ascertained if one uses the extant images of Lee recording his appearance at the time of the Mexican American War, the question remains as to why an artist trying to represent Lee's features as they were commonly known in 1865 would be done by using an image that was no less than twenty years old in comparison to his 1865 appearance. See Christopher Rowland Lawton, "Myth and Monument: The Sculptural Image of Robert E. Lee and the Lost Cause," M.A. thesis, 1994, University of Georgia. Copy in the Virginia Historical Society

[26] For the classic representation of the underpinnings of the Lee legend see Thomas Lawrence Connelly, *The Marble Man: Robert E. Lee and His Image in American Society*, Louisiana pbk. ed. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978).

> Few are the generals who have earned, since history began, a greater military reputation; still fewer are the men of similar eminence, civil or military, whose personal qualities would bear comparison to his…, Truer greatness, a loftier nature, a spirit more merciful, a character purer, more chivalrous, the world has rarely, if ever, known.[27]

Southerners welcomed the praise that was offered for the now deceased general. Even though vindication, let alone reconciliation, would not be even vaguely possible for years to come, commemoration of the memory of Robert E. Lee could be interpreted as a celebration off all that he was and all that he had represented. In essence, laudatory reverence and praise for Lee was in fact a celebration of antebellum Southern civilization. The general became securely anchored as the consummate icon of the South. His lauded image served to help rehabilitate the defeated South. The recognition directed at Lee's memory has been described as a highly significant "symbolic act in the resurrection of the Southern myth." In death, Lee became more valued to former Confederates than perhaps he had been in life because in his memory lay the hopes and the dreams of an imagined civilization that now could be reconstructed in the realm of public discourse.[28]

Lee's death provoked an unyielding fealty to the developing ideology of the Lost Cause that was to grow in intensity as the myth itself grew in scope over the remaining decades of the nineteenth century. Significantly, Lee was the central figure in this evolving myth which cast him in the image and likeness of his revered fellow Virginian George Washington. As the South's own republican hero, Lee's reputation and persona

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[27] Quoted in, Confederate States of America. Army Dept. of Northern Virginia., Robert E. Lee, and R. A. Brock, *Paroles of the Army of Northern Virginia, R. E. Lee, Gen., C. S. A., Commanding, Surrendered at Appomattox C. H., Va., April 9, 1865, to Lieutenant-General United States. Grant, Commanding Armies of the United States* (Richmond, Va.,: The Society, 1887), 12-13.

[28] Rollin Gustav Osterweis, *The Myth of the Lost Cause, 1865-1900* ([Hamden, Conn.]: Archon Books, 1973), 9.

was located at the center of a morality tale that identified him as the ideal model of republican manhood, a chivalrous white Christian soldier of the Old South, and an example of unyielding faith and forbearance in the face of defeat.

Lee's Monument at Lexington

When Edward Pollard published what can be considered the "Bible" of the Lost Cause ideology, he asserted that Southerners needed to engage in a "war of ideas" so as to ensure that the soon to be recorded history of the War between the States would be accurate and tell the *real* story of the South and the now forever gone Confederacy. In the public spaces of the American South, former Confederates and their supporters followed Pollard's lead and took steps to establish a civic landscape which did its part to help construct a public narrative in which both Pollard and the Southern people could take great pride. As the unquestioned noble embodiment of the dreams of Southern glory, the appearance of Robert E. Lee's image in a sculptural form was to be seen as a central nexus of the South's public representation of itself.

Lee's death in 1870 provided the first opportunity for a reconstructed Virginia to offer up the South's first public monument to Robert E. Lee while appropriately marking the site of his burial and commemorating his memory for all. The monument was promoted in the North as one that would celebrate the memory of the General as a symbol of peaceful reunification and reconciliation between former enemies. In the South, the monument was seen as an opportunity to display a widespread reverential admiration and loyalty as the former Confederacy unabashedly honored a public hero whose beliefs, actions, and motivations were thought to be above reproach and well deserving of praise as authentic examples of true republican virtue. As an expression of

their own self worth and that of their now Lost Cause, this first example of public memorial art representing Lee was an assertion of the correctness and moral purity of the South's ideals. Unveiled in June of 1883, the Recumbent Lee, sometimes referred to as the "Recumbent Figure," at the general's tomb in Lexington was to permanently fix Lee's sanctified image in the forefront of the South's memory of the war. [29]

Lee's exalted stature as the subject of effusive reverence in death had its roots in the events of his life. Returning from the surrender ceremonies at Appomattox Courthouse in April of 1865, Lee was reportedly surrounded by his now defeated troops as the inspired veterans moved to touch the noble leader of their faded cause. His final official communication as commander of the Army of Northern Virginia appeared the next day in his General Order No.9 and would soon to become commonly identified as his Farewell Address:

> After four years of arduous service, marked by unsurpassed Courage and fortitude, the army of Northern Virginia has been compelled to yield to overwhelming numbers and resources… You may take with you the satisfaction that proceeds from the consciousness of duty faithfully performed, and I earnestly pray that a merciful God will extend to you his blessings and protection. With an increasing admiration of the constancy and devotion to your Country and a grateful remembrance of your kind and generous consideration for myself, I bid you an affectionate farewell.[30]

[29] The name "Recumbent Figure" seems to have been decided upon in a somewhat un planned manner. From 1871 when the work was originally commissioned until August 1874 sculptor Edward Valentine refers to the sculpture as "the figure," "the monument," or simply "the figure of General Lee." In a letter dated 26 August 1874, Valentine mentions that *Frank Laslie's Illustrated Newspaper* had contacted him requesting a photograph of the "recumbent figure." From this point on, this became a common term used in his correspondence in referring to the work. Valentine's letters regarding this commission are located in the Rockbridge Historical Society files, Leyburn Library, Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Virginia.

[30] This address has also provided a basis for one of the major tenets of the Lost Cause mythology regarding the actual reasons for the defeat of the Confederacy. Although somewhat minimized by Edward Pollard, Lost Cause apologists were to argue that the South never had a real chance to defeat the North because it had an industrial capacity and resource base that was significantly inferior to that of the North. Known simply as "the overwhelming numbers and resources argument," this became a major component of the Lost Cause ideology. See Gallagher and Nolan, *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History*.

Lee's emphasis on faith in "God," and "Country and on "the consciousness of duty faithfully performed" typified the themes that were to be associated with his reputation. His praise for his troops noting their courage, fortitude, constancy, and devotion is an example of the forthright republican manhood required of the nineteenth-century Christian soldier. Over the next three decades, his Farwell Address was reproduced innumerable times in newspapers through the North and the South, on broadsides, art prints and curios, and in virtually each and every text published about the war itself. To the defeated South in need of a rallying point from which to reconstitute their region both physically and in the highly critical sphere of memory and ideas, Lee's vindication in the nation's collective conscience meant vindication for the Southern people themselves.[31]

After the war Lee turned down a number of lucrative financial offers for the use of both his services and his name. He ultimately accepted an offer of the presidency of Washington College in Lexington, Virginia. In accepting the position, Lee unhesitantly explained that his thinking was guided by the triumph of honor over finances: "I have a self-imposed task which I must accomplish. I have led young men of the South in battle; I have seen many of them fall under my standard. I shall devote my life now to training young men to do their duty."[32]

Robert E. Lee, Clifford Dowdey, and Louis H. Manarin, *The Wartime Papers of Robert E. Lee* (New York, N.Y.: Da Capo Press, 1987), 934-35.

[31] For an explanation of the degree to which Lee became a leading figure in the popular literature of the era, see Connelly, *The Marble Man: Robert E. Lee and His Image in American Society*, 66-98.

[32] Lee Memorial Association., William Allan, and John W. Daniel, *Ceremonies Connected with the Inauguration of the Mausoleum and the Unveiling of the Recumbent Figure of General Robert Edward Lee : At Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Va., June 28, 1883, Oration of John W. Daniel, Ll.D., Historical Sketch of the Lee Memorial Association* (Richmond, Va.: West, Johnston & Co., 1883), 50.

Among the changes implemented by Lee during his short tenure as the school's president was the implementation of a much publicized honor code. As Lee had stated, "We have but one rule here, and it is that every student must be a gentleman." Along with this school wide honor code, Lee championed a plan to erect a chapel on the grounds of the campus itself. Completed in time for the commencement ceremonies for the class of 1868, it was in this chapel that Lee led the student body in daily prayer.[33]

Also, it was in this same chapel that Lee would lay in state for three days after his death on October 12, 1870. Following the funeral on October 15, the general's remains were interred in the chapel's basement mausoleum during a simple and unadorned ceremony. These proceedings took place however under the watchful eye of the newly formed Lee Memorial Association. Organized within twenty four hours of the general's demise, it was made up of many of Lexington's most prominent citizens. Of special interest to the members of the committee, was the eventual establishment of a suitable monument to be erected in the chapel ensuring that the location of Lee's final resting place would forever maintain the dignity and the bearing of the general himself. Hoping to freeze the solemnity and the moral stature of this icon of white Christian citizenship, the association's efforts were among the first to exercise control over the commemoration of Lee's legacy. It was their vision that was to guide them in their appropriation of Lee's memory. Their actions reflected the wide spread understanding throughout the former

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[33] Lee's insistence on an honor code for the students was unequivocal. See Emory M. Thomas, *The Confederate Nation, 1861-1865*, 1st ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1979), 8. The chapel was designed by Thomas Hoomes Williamson who was a professor at nearby Virginia Military Institute. See Christopher Roland Lawton, "Myth and Monument: The Sculptural Image of Robert E. Lee and the Ideology of the Lost Cause," M.A. thesis, 1994, University of Georgia, 20. Copy in the Virginia Historical Society.

Confederacy that Lee's legacy was one in which he was remembered as an authentic republican hero and Christian Knight..[34]

It was quickly determined by the association that the body of the general was to be eventually moved from its location under the chapel to a specially constructed apse behind the chapel's main rostrum. The general's body would be laid in a mausoleum that was to be located below the apse, and the location was to be capped by a suitable monument that would mark the spot and appropriately honor the general's memory. After consultation with the general's widow, Mary Custis Lee, the initial plan was agreed upon and at the recommendation of Mrs. Lee herself, Richmond sculptor Edward Valentine was entrusted to complete the work. Valentine, during the summer of 1870, had sculpted the only bust of Lee that the general sat for during his lifetime. This recently completed bust had received high praise from close associates of the Lee, as it did from both the general's wife and Lee himself. Clearly, as the only sculptor to have taken actual measurements of Lee's features and the only one to have actually created a sculptural image of the general, it was clear to the association's membership that Valentine was the most qualified for undertaking the project. It is perhaps worth noting that during this same period, the artist had also taken detailed measurements of Lee's horse *Traveler,*

[34] The original members of the association were Reverend William Nelson Pendleton, Reverend William T. Jones, and two professors from the faculty of the college, William Allen and William Preston Johnson. The association was to become a major force in the propagation of the Lost Cause and was to have some other more widely recognized names associated with its work. By the early 1870s, former Confederate Generals Joseph E. Johnson and John C. Breckinridge were added to the roster. See Lawton, "Myth and Monument: The Sculptural Image of Robert E. Lee and the Ideology of the Lost Cause", 21.

perhaps indicating that at some point he hoped to complete an equestrian statue as well.[35]

The members of the association and sculptor met on the grounds of the recently renamed Washington and Lee University in November of 1870. It was then that Valentine presented his first proposals for the monument's design. The artist presented both drawings and photographs of examples of the style of sculpture that he hoped to replicate in his finished work of Lee. Obviously reflecting the influence of his classical training in Europe, the Valentine proposed sculpting the general in the style of those sculptures marking the tombs of King Frederich William III (**figure 5**) and Queen Louisa of Prussia (**figure 6**), in which each deceased leader is presented in a recumbent pose, as if lying down asleep. Created by German sculptor Christian Daniel Rauch, both figures are located in the royal residence at Charlottenburg on the outskirts of Berlin. According to Valentine himself, it was Mary Custis Lee who suggested the idea of presenting Lee as if asleep and not in death.[36]

In addition to the stylistic attraction of the European works presented by Valentine as a model for the proposed monument, the history of King Friederich William III and Queen Louisa may have played a part in the ultimate stylistic decisions. As monarchs who were unable to resist the overwhelming power of Napoleon and his military might, but yet struggled valiantly to preserve the national identity of their

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[35] For an enlightening narrative concerning the process involving the actual sessions during which Lee sat alone with Edward Valentine so as to allow the creation of this bust see Elizabeth Gray Valentine, *Dawn to Twilight; Work of Edward V. Valentine* (Richmond, Va.,: The William Byrd Press, inc., 1929), 107-08.

[36] Gerard M. Doyan, "The Recumbent Lee statue in the Lee Chapel"," *Washington and Lee Alumni Magazine*, no. 58 (1983). Edward Valentine (1838-1930) was one of the most well known sculptors in the South after the war. He had studied in both France and Germany before returning to his native Richmond in 1865. See Cynthia Mills and Pamela H. Simpson, *Monuments to the Lost Cause: Women, Art, and the Landscapes of Southern Memory*, 1st ed. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2003), 97.

subjects in the hope that Prussia would again rise up in defense of its national honor, they may have served as subjects of inspiration. Those on the board of the Memorial Association may have found an inspiration in the artistic form of the now deceased nationalists who had resisted the subjugation of their cultural identity even in the face of overwhelming might.[37]

It is probably correct to assume that to some degree the tombs of Friedrich Wilhelm III and Louisa were selected because the member's of the association thought that presenting Lee as if he were asleep in his tent on some far flung battlefield and not really "in the sleep of death," would provide some solace to a still shaken Southern population and encouragement that those values of the Lost Cause embodied by Lee had not disappeared. Although three decades passed between Rauche's sculpturing of Queen Louisa (1810) and that of King Friedrich Wilhelm III (1840), both figures were portrayed fully dressed as if simply sleeping and ready at any moment to rise up to resume their duties. It would seem as though neither sleeping monarch presented the suggestion that death is truly a permanent state but rather a transient one. Resurrection awaits those who have honorably done their duty while here on earth, and the sleep of death will be only temporary. In this sense, Lee could be presented as one who was only resting, and now residing in the world of the just and righteous. [38]

This decision to present a figure of Lee in a recumbent pose appealed to the stylistic conventions of the day concerning the proper form of memorial structures

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[37] Stylistic orthodoxy and nationalistic inspiration may have combined in making the acceptance of Valentines design suggestions a foregone conclusion. See Lawton, "Myth and Monument: The Sculptural Image of Robert E. Lee and the Ideology of the Lost Cause", 22.

[38] For a discussion of the work of the sculptor Christian Daniel Rauch, see Jutta von Simson, *Christian Daniel Rauch*, *Preussische Kèopfe ; 30* (Berlin: Stapp, 1997).

associated with death. Figurative tomb structures portraying the dead as if they were asleep had been a well accepted sculptural form by the time of Robert E. Lee's death. The rural cemetery movement had, in addition to influencing the locations, setting, and design features for cemeteries beginning in the early nineteenth century, also embraced a number of stylistic conventions concerning appropriate monumental structures marking a final resting place. Beginning in the early nineteenth century, figurative tomb structures and monuments portraying the deceased in a state of sleep had begun to proliferate throughout Western Europe and began to appear as etchings in English and American art journals. This artistic connection between death and sleep was to eventually become a fashionably appropriate design feature and was to become more frequently represented in the sculptural forms that appeared in the rural cemeteries of the United States. [39]

The use of the recumbent form at the burial sites of nineteenth century Prussian monarchs can be traced back to the tomb sculptures of medieval knights in Europe. This type of sculptural form originated during the Middle Ages in places that had been dominated by Celtic and Germanic customs such as the British Isles and Germany. Memorial structures that were appearing in a limited number at the burial sites of Confederate soldiers during the early 1870s were most often fashioned in the form of obelisks, urns, pyramids and memorial columns. The Lee Memorial Association (LMA) clearly understood that the structure used to mark the tomb of the fallen general would

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[39] The rural cemetery movement brought with it an increasing stylized and decorative form for monumental art used to mark graves. Artists such as Erastus Dow Palmer, Henry Dexter, and Harriet Hosmer were among the first Americans to utilize a recumbent figure in their designs for American cemeteries. In the early 1850's ,American sculptor Edward Bracket published a volume of poetry inspired by the recumbent style and reflecting the connection made between the sleep of rest and the *sleep* of death: "Death and Sleep twin brothers are;…Death doth give eternal rest." See Edward Brackett, "Twilight Hours" (1845) in Joy S. Kasson, *Marble Queens and Captives: Women in Nineteenth-Century American Sculpture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 108, 26.

have a unique place in the narrative of Southern remembrance and commemorative activities. Realizing that the meaning associated with this memorial for Lee would have such far reaching implications, the association's members relied on a stylistic convention that would speak forthrightly to the entire South and the nation as a whole. For the defeated former Confederacy whose social structure, wartime sacrifices, battle flag, popular literature, and Lost Cause ideology could all be associated with the South's Celtic ancestry, any association with the image of the noble medieval Christian knight understandably attracted those who directed the formation of the commemorative ethos of the Southern cause and its heroic leader.[40]

The Monument at Lexington

Southern mythology propagated Lee's memory as a Christian knight in the collective consciousness of the southern people. Valentine's monument at Lexington, the Recumbent Lee, began the appropriation of Lee's memory for this purpose and laid its foundations on the historic president of the medieval Christian knight; Valentine's final design presented the general in full uniform and included a virtually identical copy of the artist's earlier bust based on the general's exact anatomical measurements. Lying on his back in a balanced pose as if he were reclining in sleep, one of the general's hands lays on his breast while the other rests on the scabbard of the sword which lies at his side

[40] Late nineteenth century Americans were fascinated with the history of the medieval period and often saw it as a means through which they could somehow reconnect with a somewhat nebulous "primal" human nature. The popular literature of the era often attempted to address this need and therefore combined the then modern sensibilities with the folklore of medieval knights. Knights were represented as a moral and spiritual model that had been lost until it had found a new life in the personage of Robert E. Lee. See Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy : Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865 to 1913*, 38-44, T. J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace : Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920*, 1st ed. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981), 142-81, Erwin Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture; Four Lectures on Its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini* (New York,: H.N. Abrams, 1964), 48.andKirk Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves : Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth-Century America* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997), 162-91.

(**figure 7 and 8**)**.** Lee is recast in medieval form, and his representation bears a number of similarities with a typical portrayal of a fallen knight in tomb monuments. The fourteenth century tomb of John of Eltham who was the younger brother of King Edward III, located in Westminster Abbey in London, serves as a good example (**figure 9**). John of Eltham was killed while commanding the royal army in Scotland in 1336 and his tomb is structured in a manner that is fairly typical for medieval knights. He is represented lying flat on his tomb slab, dressed in full battle armor with his sword and shield at his side, with his legs crossed, a gesture that was standard for tombs of knights dating back to the thirteenth century. His head is cradled by the hands of two angles, and his hands are pressed together in a position of prayer clearly implying that he died a good death. His sarcophagus is decorated with images of various members of his royal family, each of whom is identified by a corresponding shield. [41]

Valentine clearly found inspiration for his ideas in the tomb figures of Europe, but he did exercise his judgment in the specific representations of the recumbent general. The sculptor's figure of Lee lies horizontally but rests on a slightly inclined divan supporting his upper body. Like John of Eltham and Fredrich Wilhelm III who were dressed in the uniform of their calling, Lee is attired in his Confederate uniform with his sword resting at his side. Lee's sword, however, is contained within its scabbard, which is partially covered by a blanket suggesting to the observer a readiness for action while presenting the general as profoundly passive unless provoked. By maintaining his hold on an

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[41] Certain gestures that typically represented on Medieval and Renaissance tombs are considered "typical" of indicating that the deceased was knight. See Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture; Four Lectures on Its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini*, 56. The features that are associated with the totality of works of sculpture that most often are found at tombs of knights are addressed in Anne McGee Morganstern and John A. Goodall, *Gothic Tombs of Kinship in France, the Low Countries, and England* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), 91.

instrument of war, it is implied that both Lee *and the entire South* remain loyal to their cause despite their defeat. The military bearing of the general, like the subjects of the earlier European models, is clearly apparent but expressed by Valentine in a more nuanced and subtle manner. Additionally, Lee's feet are crossed like those of Queen Louisa and Sir John, but his boots, like those of Friedrich Wilhelm III, protrude out from the covering of the blanket that covers the general's body, suggesting that Lee could, at a moment's notice, rise up from his bed and again serve his now lost cause. Lee himself is resting on a bier-like base. The base is adorned with the seal of the Commonwealth of Virginia which substitutes for the shields of noble genealogy typical of an earlier time. The appearance of the seal of Virginia on the tomb indicates that Lee himself has a cultural and political lineage that is of, by, and for Virginia and its people. Claiming that he is uniquely and unquestionably their own, while serving as an unquestioned model of Christian nobility, the people of Virginia have asserted a special claim to the general, his cause, and his memory. [42]

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[42] In accordance with a decree of the Virginia Convention held in 1776, the seal of the state of Virginia depicts "the genius of the Commonwealth dressed like an Amazon, resting on a spear in one hand, and holding a sword in another, and treading on TYRANNY, Represented by a man prostrate, a crown fallen from his head, a broken chain in his left hand, and a scourge in his right." *Journal of the Proceedings of the Virginia Convention*, quoted in Lauretta Dimmick, "An Alter Erected to Heroic Virtue Itself: Thomas Crawford and His Virginia Washington Monument," *The American Art Journal* XXIII, no. no.2 (1991). Inscribed below the seal is the Latin phrase, Sic Semper Tyrannis, (thus be it ever to tyrants). Most often associated with John Wilkes Booth and Lincoln's assignation on April 14, 1865, this phrase would take on a special meaning after the Civil War. By deciding to include the Seal of Virginia on Lee's sculpted tomb memorial, the true meaning of its presence can be fully appreciated in light of assuming exactly may have been considered a tyrant by Lee and the Confederacy. Additionally, the Virginia state flag will be included in the final presentation of the Virginia Memorial at Gettysburg in 1917 when it is finally substituted in the sculptor's final design for the Confederate battle flag. Considered far less potentially inflammatory on what is perhaps the most important Union battlefield of the war, the Virginia State Flag presents the same sentiment on the battlefield at Gettysburg as is expressed on Lee's tomb at Lexington. For some recent discussions concerning the origins and controversy surrounding the Confederate flag see John M. Coski, *The Confederate Battle Flag: America's Most Embattled Emblem* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005).

The power of the Lee mythology and its widespread association with the ideology of the Lost Cause became readily apparent soon after his death. Five months after receiving the commission to create a statue of Lee, the artist presented a plaster model for approval by the Memorial Association. The sculpture was completed in April 1875, and throngs of Richmond's citizens visited the artist's studio during the days prior to the monument's shipment to Lexington. On April 13, the crated monument was hauled through the streets of the former Confederate capital, resting upon an ornately decorated wagon. The route of the monument's passage became the site of a spontaneous procession as crowds of Richmond's residents gathered in groups to gaze upon the wagon holding the five ton sculpted piece of Vermont marble that was to rest atop the general's tomb. The *Washington Chronicle* reported that the route of the statue's passing was lined by:

> Every man, women, and child in the city…The noise of the rain drowned the music. Nothing was said or could be heard from the vast multitude, and through the mist of the shower one could well imagine a procession of the silent, powerless specters of the 'Lost Cause' moving before him.[43]

Clearly, the myth of Lee and the mythology of the Lost Cause were now inextricably intertwined into a powerful symbiotic relationship that was to remain constant and long lived.

When the marble sculpture arrived at its final destination in Lexington it was greeted by an elaborate public ceremony. Following a public address delivered by the Governor of Virginia and a thirteen gun salute, the statue was carefully loaded onto an

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[43] "Lee Monument: Its Removal from Richmond: A Spontaneous Outpouring of the People"," *Washington Chronicle*, April 15 1875.

ornately decorated wagon and led to the grounds of Washington and Lee University in a procession that included numerous military figures of the former Confederacy, students from the school, cadets from the nearby Virginia Military Institute, a large group of ministers and Sunday school teachers, and Edward Valentine himself. After arriving at the University grounds and followed closely by yet another thirteen gun salute, the statue was officially presented by the sculptor to representatives of the Lee Memorial Association.[44]

The monument would not soon, however, find its way to its final destination atop the general's final resting place. What was not widely noted during this time was that the campaign to raise funds for this effort at commemoration had achieved meager success. The economically depressed former Confederacy was not a fertile source of financial support for this venture. Few could afford to contribute much to the effort headed by the Lee Memorial Association. Funds had been raised to pay $15,000 for the cost of the monument itself; however, by the time of the monument's delivery, the additional $12,000 needed to pay for the structural addition to the chapel and mausoleum had not. Tens of thousands of small donations had been made by the people of the South, often in amounts as little as a few cents at a time. For the next eight years, the completed figure of Lee would be kept safely in storage. [45]

In 1877, the effort to secure funds for the completion of the project was greatly assisted when Baltimore city architect J. Crawford Nelson offered to donate his services

[44] Lawton, "Myth and Monument: The Sculptural Image of Robert E. Lee and the Ideology of the Lost Cause", 30.

[45] Detailed records of these donations are available in the Rockbridge Historical Society files, housed in the Leyburn Library at Washington and Lee University.

and design the chapel addition free of charge. Despite this generous offer, it would still take another six years for the members of the association to finally raise enough money to bring the project to completion. [46]

By June, 1883 the work on the chapel had been completed and plans were made for the commemorative project's completion. Dignitaries from all over the South came to Lexington for the final dedication of the Lee Mausoleum on June 28. Lee's remains had been moved into the new mausoleum space and Valentine's white marble statue had been set in place over the mausoleum itself (**figure 10**). More than 10,000 people were present for the monument's official unveiling and the entire event received coverage from nearly every major publication in the country, many of which claimed that Lexington would become the "Mecca of the South." For many Southerners over the next several decades, it did.[47]

Those who could not witness the event in person relied on the extensive press coverage to share in the pathos and pride of the dedication ceremonies. The New York editors of *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* viewed the dedication as significant enough to warrant beginning its coverage of the event a week before it was scheduled to occur and presented the Recumbent Lee on its front cover (**figure 11**) for the June 23rd issue. None of the military attributes of Valentine's design (i.e. sword, scabbard, Confederate uniform) are at all apparent from the representation on the cover illustration, and Lee appears to have passed in to the next life in a manner in which his former life as

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[46] Mills and Simpson, *Monuments to the Lost Cause: Women, Art, and the Landscapes of Southern Memory*, 87.

[47] "Local News. General Robert E. Lee: Valentines Great Work of Art-the Recumbent Figure,"" *(Richmond) Daily Enquirer*, March 26 1875.

the commanding general of a military force bent on defeating the army of the United States was hardly apparent. Reflecting the desire for reconciliation that was becoming more evident, an editorial decision had been made by the publishers to minimize Lee's obvious military legacy. None the less, the coverage of the proceedings of that day and the events leading up to them that appeared in *Frank Leslie's* and other publications from places outside of the South offered praise and positive sentiment concerning the entire project.[48]

The unveiling drew a crowd of thousands of citizens from throughout the former Confederacy hoping to take part in the public celebration of the South's unquestioned hero and his exaulted memory. By participating in this ceremony of public remembrance, those in attendance hoped to gain an intimacy with the memory and reputation of the general. By being present for this historic event, they too were in a sense becoming a part of the history of the Confederacy and the noble stature that was by this time so much a part of the remembered legacy of Lee. The throngs that descended upon the town of Lexington for the dedication were described by the *Daily Enquirer* of Richmond as going to Lexington "much as they would make a pilgrimage to see a sacred shrine."[49]

The keynote speech at the dedication was delivered by former Confederate officer John W. Daniel, who took the opportunity to explain to the crowed gathered exactly what the monument really meant. During his three hour address, Daniel delivered a recitation of the key events of the life of Robert E. Lee from before, during, and after the Civil War. Maintaining that Lee's example was of great value to Southerners and Northerners alike,

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[48] *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper,* June 23, 1883, (Vol. LVII), 1.
[49] "Local News. General R.E. Lee: Valentine's Great Work of Art-the Recumbent Figure," *(Richmond) Daily Enquire*, March 26 1875.

he repeatedly stressed during his address the overpowering sense of duty, honor and high moral principle with which Lee had conducted his life. His speech that day was highlighted with numerous quotes from Lee and anecdotes centered on his character. The lengthiest of these was taken from a letter written by the general himself to one of his sons on the eve of the Civil War in January 1861. The letter was emphasized in the context of the speech in a way that was intended to demonstrate the general's authentic nobility of character:

> As an American citizen, I take great pride in my country, her prosperity and institutions, and would defend any State if her rights were invaded. But I can anticipate no greater calamity for the country than a dissolution of the Union. It would be an Accumulation of all evils we complain of, and I am willing to sacrifice everything but honor for its preservation…Still, a Union that can be maintained only by swords and bayonets, and in which strife and civil war are to take the place of love and kindness, has no charm for me. I shall mourn for my country and for the welfare and progress of mankind. If the Union is dissolved, and the government is disrupted, I shall return to my native State and share the miseries of my people, and, save in defense, shall draw my sword on none.[50]

This passage expresses sentiments and a type of reasoning that was not new to those in attendance on that day, and as an exercise in Lost Cause ideology, the Lee letter was well familiar to those in attendance. If this was so, then why would the former Confederate officer simply repeat what he could correctly assume was already widely assumed by the crowd? Clearly, it was understood that just as the public memory of the general was a reflection of what the Southern people would remember about the war's

[50] John W. Daniel and Robert Gray Williams, *Robert Edward Lee, an Oration Pronounced at the Unveiling of the Recumbent Figure at Lexington, Virginia, June 28th, 1883* (Strasburg, Va.,: Shenandoah Publishing House, 1931), 29-30.

meaning, it was also apparent that the meaning of this memorial was to "speak" to future generations and inform them as to what the Confederacy had been and help explain why Robert E. Lee was so much an integral part of it. With the anticipated publication of his dedication address, Daniel hoped to remind those who read about the dedication that day, especially Northerners, of the real motivations of Lee and the American South in the Civil War. Lee and his fellow Confederates had fought not for personal glory or for the perpetuation of slavery, but rather they had fought because they were compelled to defend their homeland from violation and invasion.

The monument at Lexington marked Lee as the greatest Confederate, but Daniel's oration extended the reach of the general's stature beyond the geographical and political boundaries of the American South to assert that Lee was rightly among the pantheon of the greatest Americans. Recast in an image that was well suited to the needs of the people of the still recovering South, Lee's image and its representation in the Recumbent Figure created a public remembrance that combined everything the Southern white public needed Lee to be, to represent, and to pass on to the future.

In a letter to the *Richmond Dispatch*, the Executive Committee of the Lee Memorial Association expressed its great satisfaction with the monument while also somewhat surprisingly stating that the sculptor Valentine "had no voice in determining its design." The vision that had been represented through Valentine's finished product was, according to the committee, that which had been determined by the membership themselves. As the sculptor, Valentine himself was simply the means of setting what had been desired by the committee into the appropriate form. What they had knowingly desired and what they were pleased to admit that they had received was a monument that

could both capture and dictate public sentiment. As a notable figure for Southerners, the membership of the association was aware that what was ultimately communicated through Lee's figure in this specific context would serve as a didactic force in instructing those who visited the memorial.[51]

The South's Republican Hero

Within the context of the Lost Cause, Lee was not only an emblem of a mourned past, but also a guiding beacon for the future. His image and story were fixed and grounded while simultaneously made mystical and transmutable to suite the needs of the present. As is argued by John Bodnar, the public memory of the past is frequently constructed to fit the needs of the present. Using this paradigm, the past's remembered narrative is structured to address contemporary needs. In this sense then, Robert E. Lee's remembered legacy was molded to serve the needs of a devastated and downtrodden South. His image had been appropriated by the members of the association to create what in part can be identified directly with his legacy as described by Thomas Connelly as the "Marble Man." By the time of the dedication, Lee's stature as great leader deserving of the kind of admiration that only George Washington had previously received was secure in the South. One newspaper of the day stated it plainly: "He stands next to Washington as the most perfect type of manhood our country has produced." [52]

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[51] "General Lee's Tomb," (Lexington, VA: Lee Memorial Association, 1879).

[52] See "Valentine's Statue of Lee." This phrase is part of the title of Thomas Connelly's work, *The Marble Man: Robert E. Lee and His Image in American Society*. By the end of the nineteenth century and continuing into the mid twentieth century, historians and biographers had slowly removed the human element from Lee's past and presented him as an ideal figure that is almost Christ- like in virtue. Connelly's book attempts to both separate the myth from the "reality" while retaining the view that although Lee was clearly human and did have faults, he none the less, was in fact an extraordinary example of virtue. Others, such as Alan T. Nolan present Lee as being clearly human and perhaps less deserving of the "legitimate" praise that some who questioned his myth . See Alan T. Nolan, *Lee Considered: General Robert E. Lee and Civil War History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991).and John E.

This profound connection between Lee and Washington was one that would seldom be expressed timidly during the late nineteenth century. By the beginning of the twentieth century the story of Robert E. Lee and his mythology had been repeated hundreds of times in books, broadsides, newspapers, and magazines throughout the North and South. Perhaps the most often included detail in the story of Robert E. Lee was that he was married to Mary Custis. She was the only child of George Washington Parke Custis, himself known as the "child of Mt. Vernon," as he was the only adopted son of George Washington. It this manner, Robert E. Lee was often thought of as a type of male "heir" to the legacy of George Washington. This sentiment was expressed by a line of poetry appearing in a Baltimore newspaper on the occasion of the dedication of the Recumbent Lee: "A people carved a hero! Lo! their eyes/Upon the self-same soil…Beheld a second Washington arise."[53]

Artistic comparisons between Washington and Lee had existed as early as 1867 when a Philadelphia print publisher successfully issued, for sale in the South, Anton Hohenstein's lithograph, General Robert E. Lee (**figure 12**). This lithograph is based on some of the more ubiquitous images of Washington from the era. Standing with one hand on his sword and the other resting on the map of the Confederacy, Lee's posture and stance appear similar to Jean-Antoine Houdon's 1788 image of George Washington. Located in the rotunda of the Virginia Statehouse, Houdon's Washington (**figure 13**) is positioned with one hand on a staff and the other on a classically influenced column.

Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991). Quote from "Valentine's Statue of Lee," *(Memphis) Appeal*, June 29, 1883.

[53] Miss Zitella Cocke, "Unveiling of the Lee Monument," *Baltimotean*, June 23, 1883 1883.Quoted in Lawton, "Myth and Monument: The Sculptural Image of Robert E. Lee and the Ideology of the Lost Cause", 36.

Unlike Lee, who has yet to remove his sword and grasps it firmly in his left hand, Washington has voluntarily removed his own. It can be seen hanging from the column to Washington's left. For Washington, the sword is no longer necessary and although it remains within reach if needed, it is suggested that the plow resting at Washington's feet will soon occupy the former general in a more peaceful future. As far as the figure of Lee is concerned, no such implication is evident. Although both figures display a discarded military cloak lying near each indicating perhaps that its function in weathering a storm is no longer a requirement, the figure of Lee suggests both the magnanimity in peace exemplified by the figure of Washington, and the steadfast insistence on the nobility of the efforts of the Confederacy and the correctness of its cause. Defeated in battle only by insurmountable odds and circumstances, the unyielding bravery in and unquestioned dignity of the South in can be discerned by Lee's firm grasp on his battle sword. Produced by a *Northern* firm only two years after the war's end and while Lee was still alive, this portrait may represent imagined apprehensions existing in some quarters about the future conduct of former Confederates as well as representing sentiments associated with the developing ideology of the Lost Cause. [54]

Additionally, Gilbert Stuart's popular 1796 painting of the first president, commonly known as the Lansdowne portrait (**figure14**) served as an inspiration for Hohenstein's portrait of Lee. In this portrait of Washington, Stuart presents him standing before a table which holds documents that record the success of the American Revolution

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[54] Houden's portraits of George Washington and the background on his use of symbol in structuring his iconography is addressed in Garry Wills, *Cincinnatus : George Washington and the Enlightenment*, 1st ed. (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1984), 220-28, 37-40. See also Barry Schwartz, *George Washington: The Making of an American Symbol* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), 125, Worcester Art Museum. and H. H. Arnason, *Sculpture by Houdon; a Loan Exhibition, Worcester Art Museum, January 16 through February 23, 1964* ([Worcester,: 1964), 50-53.

and define the nation that resulted. The documents lying before Lee *could have* been part of creating a new manifestation of the dreams of the founders by establishing a Confederate nation. Allegedly, it was to be securely anchored in the principles underlying the American Revolution and establish as a nation based on the republican virtue of *its* founders, such as Lee himself. Each man stands in a room bearing traditionally idealized symbols of power and authority: the column of order, the drapes of court and the seat of authority.[55]

Stuart created a second version of the Lansdowne portrait in 1800, which is commonly known as the Munro-Lenox portrait (**figure 15**). Very similar to the first portrait of Washington, the second work differs in that Washington's hand is now resting firmly on a tabletop as opposed to being raised in a rhetorical gesture. The Hohenstein representation of Lee was clearly influenced by these highly popular and well known works focusing on Washington, and by the time of the dedication of the Recumbent Lee, this association between Washington and Lee, as well as the assertions concerning the connections between the motives of the founders and the motives of the Confederate leadership, were well established. Interestingly, Valentine's Recumbent Lee presents the general at rest with his hand barely touching the scabbard of his sword much as Washington does in Stuart's Lansdown portrait. In death, Lee is portrayed as ready to use his sword, but restrained in his willingness to do so. The members of the Memorial

[55] Stuart was attempting to conflate the genres of history painting and portraiture into one image that addressed both America's past successes and future potential. Washington himself is located at the literal and figurative center of the work and is the embodiment of *exemplum virtutis,* a perfect model of American morals, action, and governance. See Dorinda Evans and Gilbert Stuart, *The Genius of Gilbert Stuart* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1999), 63-70. See also Wills, *Cincinnatus: George Washington and the Enlightenment*, 171-72.

Association wanted all to know that both Lee and the South were forever brave, yet restrained and anxiously looking towards the future.

Artistic representations were not solely responsible for the exaltation of Lee that took place in the south. Religious leaders frequently embraced the former general's ethos and portrayed him as being Christ like in his character. A popular early biography of Lee from 1871 contains an example of the degree to which Lee's reputation had undergone a type of trans-substantiation almost immediately after his death. A claim was made that Lee had died as "a result of mental depression produced by the sufferings of the Southern people," and not from a physical malady. The message to the South seems to have been that if Christ died for your sins, then Lee died for your suffering.[56]

Promoted as the new Washington, Lee had become a Southern myth and was becoming a national one as well by the time of the dedication of the *Recumbent Figure*. If this monument could teach the next generation to be like Lee, to follow a path of what the white South had applauded in him as "duty…patience, order, labor, justice, and a manly adherence to principle," then perhaps the cause was not lost after all."[57]

Shortly after the unveiling of Lee's monument in Lexington, a new monument dedicated to the general was unveiled in the Confederacy's former capital of Richmond. The grandeur of this public monument and the celebratory nature of its dedication demonstrated to the South and the entire nation that Lee was not the South's alone but was in fact a universal icon of admiration for all.

[56] J. E. Cooke, *Stones of the Old Dominion* ([n.p.]: 1879), 498.

[57] Lee Memorial Association, *General Lee's Tomb* (Lexington: Washington and Lee University, 1879), 2.

Lee's Monument in Richmond

While a campaign had been undertaken to establish a suitable monument to rest atop the grave of Robert E. Lee in Lexington, a similar movement developed in the state capital of Richmond to commission the city's own public monument in honor of the general's memory. While the monument at Lexington served the traditional funerary purposes of mourning the general's passing, commemorating his legacy, and codifying the mythology that had been built around the general's reputation, the monument at Richmond dedicated to Robert E. Lee signaled the acceptance of the general's myth as synonymous with the narrative of the Lost Cause and its widespread acceptance by the nation. As a Southern icon, Lee was now be granted a place of permanence in the public civic space of the former capital of the Confederacy, and was permanently associated with the stature of George Washington. The appearance of his monument was an unselfconscious declaration by the people of the South and the citizens of the city of Richmond in particular emphasizing that their communal pride was without reservation, regret, or self doubt. By the time of the dedication of Lee in May of 1890, the general's image had also become synonymous with an authentic American patriotism and judged as deserving of admiration from both the people of the South and the entire country.

On the day of the monument's public dedication in Richmond on May 29, 1890, over one hundred and fifty thousand people from across the South were on hand to witness the grand unveiling of Antonin Mercie's equestrian statue, Lee (**figure 16**). The vast majority of the Northern press that covered the proceedings happily cheered the monument and the events surrounding its unveiling while downplaying those overtly displayed signs of continued Confederate loyalties appearing throughout the city as being

essentially harmless expressions of sentiment offered in remembrance and admiration for a heroic and valorous past. The African American population of Richmond did not, however, view the proceedings in the same optimistic light. The African –American newspaper, the *Richmond Planet*, confronted an aspect of the celebration that was essentially absent from the coverage provided by the national press:

> Rebel flags were everywhere displayed and the long lines of Confederate veterans who embraced the opportunity to attend the reunion and join again in the 'rebel yell' told in no uncertain terms that they still clung to theories which were presumed to be buried for all eternity.[58]

On the other hand, the editors of *Harpers Weekly* seemed to reassure its readers that they saw in the festivities, "no evidence whatever of any lingering intelligent repugnance to the Union or of a desire for the re-enslavement of blacks." Moreover, *Harpers* demonstrated the extent to which the myth of the Lost Cause had gained national acceptance and prominence when it described the monument and its unveiling as a , "mighty tribute to the central figure of a lost cause," and went on further to state that the Confederate flags that blanked Richmond in honor of the occasion, "no longer meant disunion,…[but] stood rather, for past trials and heroism in adversity looked back upon from the standpoint of changed views and unforeseen prosperity."[59]

Clearly the editors of Harper's understood that what they were writing was intended in large part for a Northern audience. With that in mind, it can be assumed that the way in which the more overt demonstrations of continued Southern "loyalties" were

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[58] "The Lee Monument Unveiling," *The Richmond Planet*, May 31 1890, 1.

[59] Amos W. Wright, "The Lee Monument at Richmond," Harper's *Weekly* 1890.

described were carefully considered. Although the unlikelihood of the reappearance of slavery in the South is mentioned, it was well understood by the white population of the North and South that African Americans throughout the American South and the North as well were subjugated in a system in which their civil and political rights were at best, very limited. Common attitudes regarding race and a natural black inferiority to whites served to bound Northern and Southern whites together in a reconciliation in which major issues of the past were overlooked.[60]

The size of the crowds that day indicated the degree to which the South was united in their acceptance of what Lee had come to symbolize. His statue announced that he "was" the South. Constructing a remembered past that was apparently exemplified by Lee's mythology would now be greatly assisted by his physical presence in the public civic space of Richmond for all to see. Kirk Savage has argued that monuments to the Confederacy were built to honor a revised narrative of the South that honored a "slave society without the moral impediment of slavery." Lee was the central character in this narrative that told the story of the South. His image was a rallying point for the South, and the legitimacy of that image would now be strengthened by his presence in a place of honor in Richmond.[61]

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[60] According to Nina Silber, by the 1890's many Northerners had begun to think nostalgically about the South and began to embrace its racial policies as how to maintain white dominance and control over a growing African American and immigrant population. See Nina Silber, *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865-1900*, *Civil War America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 471-72, 504-05. Racial attitudes during the Jim Crow era are discussed in Sean Dennis Cashman, *America in the Gilded Age: From the Death of Lincoln to the Rise of Theodore Roosevelt* (New York: New York University Press, 1984), 4-12, and Thomas J. Schlereth, *Victorian America : Transformations in Everyday Life, 1876-1915*, *The Everyday Life in America Series* (New York, NY: HarperCollins Publishers, 1991).

[61] Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth-Century America*, 130. For an estimate on the size of the crowd that gathered in Richmond to witness the monument's dedication see Brock Southern Historical Society., Brock, and Virginia Historical Society., "Southern Historical Society Papers," 262. Kathy Edwards et al., *Monument Avenue: History and Architecture*

Like the South's efforts at mourning their dead from the Civil War, the movement to establish a monument dedicated to Lee had initially been centered on honoring the deceased Confederate hero in the commemorative space associated with his tomb. His tomb and the Recumbent Lee created to permanently mark the site and honor his heroic memory, like those memorial structures that first appeared in the sacred spaces of Southern burial grounds and cemeteries, served as a solemn space of remembrance and commemoration. The establishment of a grand monument to Lee's memory in the public space of the former Confederate capital mirrored the same dynamic that had occurred in process of honoring the memory of the ordinary Confederate soldier. Just as those public monuments that were to soon appear in the public spaces of Southern towns and cities reflected a shift away from mourning and remembrance confined to the solemn space of cemeteries, the Lee Monument in Richmond demonstrated how the commemorative activities associated with the general's memory were now moving out of the realm of mourning and into the realm of permanent remembrance. No longer self conscious of their past and more overtly asserting the justice and patriotism of their cause, Southerners reveled in the public acclaim surrounding Lee's memory. As the undisputed hero of the Southern cause, his acceptance as such by Northerners during the late nineteenth century signaled that the former Confederacy was finding deliverance in the patriotic honors that were now directed towards the general's memory.

In the weeks immediately following Lee's death in 1870, two separate groups were formed in Richmond, each organized with the goal of establishing a grand equestrian monument dedicated to Robert E. Lee in the Confederate capital. The contest

(Washington, D.C.: U.S. Dept. of the Interior, National Park Service, Cultural Resources, HABS/HAER, 1992), 16.

to control the form and content of this commemorative project would be monopolized by these two distinct groups of interested constituencies. The Ladies Lee Monument Association (LLMA) was made up of ladies of Richmond society. Confederate veterans formed their own separate group named the Lee Monument Association (LMA). After a number of false starts, these two separate organizations would eventually merge and become known as the Lee Monument Association (1884) and open up their membership to anyone who had an interest in joining. This final "reconciliation" between these groups and their interests would take years to be realized. During this period, these two groups sometimes worked at direct cross purposes.

In October, 1870, both groups sent out public notices announcing their intentions to create a permanent memorial to Lee in Richmond. In response to the appeal of the veterans through the LMA, a large gathering of former Confederate soldiers met at Richmond's First Presbyterian Church on the evening of November 3rd. Before introducing former President of the Confederacy Jefferson Davis, General Jubal A. Early, the head of the veterans group, reminded those gathered that General Lee's citizenship which had been forfeited during the war, had never been restored to him. Citing this factor as an unwarranted and insulting affront to the general, his family, and the people of the South, Early explained why the proposed monument was needed:

> Monuments of marble or bronze can add nothing to the fame of General Lee, and to perpetuate it is not necessary that such should be erected. But the student of history in future ages, who shall read of the deeds and virtue of our immortal hero, will be lost in amazement at the fact that such a man went down to his grave a disenfranchised citizen by the edict of his contemporaries-which infamous edict, by the fiat of an inexorable despotism, has been forced to be recorded upon the statue book of his native State. We, my comrades, owe

> it to our own characters, at least, to vindicate our manhood and purge ourselves of the foul stain by erecting a monument to him that will be a standing protest, for all time to come, against the judgment pronounced against him.[62]

Asserting that the withholding of the restored right of citizenship was an insult to Lee and an "affront" to the masculinity of the Southern white veteran, Early presented a somewhat confrontational and defiant tone in his appeal to veterans. Perhaps realizing that although the war was over and that the contest of remembering the war was just beginning, Early was leading an early campaign for a victory in the new "war" of memory.

The association between Robert E. Lee and the memory of his fellow Virginian George Washington also found expression in this campaign to establish a monument in Richmond as it had in the movement to suitably mark the general's tomb in Lexington. During an address delivered 1n 1875, invoking a theme that was certainly welcomed by the audience, the Secretary of the Lee Monument Association appealed to the faculty of Washington and Lee University in which he sought their support for a public monument to honor the memory of one who, "by precept and in life emulated the virtues and heroism of Virginia's other illustrious son, her Washington." In a campaign marked by both a combative tone that refused to be humbled and evocative language that alluded to

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[62] Jubal Early, "The Monument to General Robert E Lee," *Southern Historical Society Papers, R.A. Brock, ed.* XVII (1890).The vast majority of former Confederates were granted the full right of citizenship after signing an Amnesty Oath . Lee had requested that his citizenship be restore in a letter addressed to President Andrew Johnson dated June 13, 1865. Lee was required by Johnson to sign such an oath. Although he apparently did so, no record of the general's request was found, and Lee's citizenship was not restored until August 5, 1975 when an act passed by the U.S. Congress was signed into law by President Gerald R. Ford. See Thomas, *The Confederate Nation, 1861-1865*, 190.

the most sacred heroic icon of the revolutionary era, the movement to establish an equestrian monument to the memory of Robert E. Lee in Richmond took shape. [63]

For the post war residents of Richmond, associating a proposed equestrian monument of Robert E. Lee with the nation's first president was not simply an exercise in structuring a narrative within the ideological confines of the quickly materializing myth of the Lost Cause. In 1858, on the grounds of the Virginia State Capital which been designed by Thomas Jefferson, the nation's first equestrian monument of George Washington had been unveiled (**figure 17**). Entitled, Washington, Thomas Crawford's work was the first equestrian monument featuring Washington as a Revolutionary general and only the second public sculpture of that genre in the United States. Appearing at a time when the controversies surrounding the content, form, and location within the nation's capital of a *national* monument to the memory of the nation's first president had delayed the project continuously since its authorization by the U.S. Congress in 1783, (see Chapter One), the equestrian monument created by Crawford for the grounds of the state capital in Virginia became nationally recognized as the "Washington Monument." In fact, Crawford's sculptural image of the first president was appropriated by the *Richmond Dispatch* and the *Southern Illustrated News* for use as a permanent design feature of its front page banner line. [64]

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[63] Samuel Bassett French, Secretary , Lee Monument Association, " Letter to the faculty of Washington and Lee University, October 1 1875," "Samuel Bassett French letterpress book," Eleanor S. Brockenbrough Library, The Museum of the Confederacy, Richmond, Virginia.

[64] Thomas Crawford's monument was completed shortly after Clark Mill's equestrian monument to Andrew Jackson was unveiled within sight of the White House in 1853. See Wayne Craven, *Sculpture in America*, New and rev. ed., *An American Art Journal/Kennedy Galleries Book* (Newark New York: University of Delaware Press; Cornwall Books, 1984), 133. The controversies surrounding the completion of the monument authorized by the U.S Congress to serve as a national memorial were protracted and serve as a prime example of how various constituencies compete for control of commemorative activities. Ideological difference concerning the ultimate meaning of the commemorative vision and its connection to

Therefore, by the time that there was active interest in constructing an equestrian statue of Lee, there was an unavoidable tendency for it to be associated with the image, likeness, and stature of the nation's first president and fellow Virginian, George Washington. Stylistically, because of the intense association that had developed in the public mind of the South, it was probably not possible for the proposed monument of Lee to be drawn towards any design that was not based on an equestrian model.

The joint efforts of the two separate monument associations resulted in an unwieldy campaign during which design proposals were sought for consideration. Those original design models submitted after the first solicitations were far more acceptable to the members of the Lee Monument Association, made up of veterans, than they were to the members of the Ladies' Association. Believing that Lee was clearly the foremost icon of the South and consequently deserving of a design that meet the highest professional and artistic standards, the designs submitted were all judged to be unacceptable to the Ladies Association, whose jury was composed of professionals from the artistic community. The organizational disarray that surrounded this first effort to create a monument for Lee in Richmond led to the cancellation of this initial campaign managed jointly by both organizations. Former Confederate general and now governor of Virginia James Kemper was to intervene, and after having the state Assembly pass a resolution appointing him head of the LMA, Kemper called for a second open solicitation for design proposals. [65]

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various interests abounded. See Kirk Savage, "The Self made Monument: George Washington and the Fight to Erect a National Memorial," in Harriet Senie and Sally Webster, *Critical Issues in Public Art: Content, Context, and Controversy*, 1st ed. (New York: Icon Editions, 1992), 5-32.

[65] Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth-Century America*, 140. The process through which a Lee Monument was finally established is a good example of how constituencies vie for control of the commemorative vision associated with public monuments.

This second attempt at gathering design proposals in 1878 was no more successful than the first. After receiving only four proposals the Lee Monument Association and the Ladies' Lee Monument Association could not even agree on the composition of the members of the design jury and again the competition was canceled. Although the process of obtaining a design had faltered, the process of fund raising for the project had not.

Both associations had early success in raising funds for the project that far outpaced the corresponding efforts being undertaken at the same time by the Lee Monument Association of Lexington. Bowing to the wishes of the general's widow, the two Richmond based groups held back in their appeals for funds to allow for the quick completion of the Recumbent Lee and the structural alterations necessary for the Lee chapel at Washington and Lee University. When Valentine's completed statue was delivered to Lexington in 1877 and it seemed assured that the project to honor Lee's remains was secure, the fundraising in Richmond continued unabatedly despite the fact that several years would pass before there were any efforts to decide on a design for a monument in Richmond.

This seemingly stalled effort to establish an equestrian statue to Lee was spurred into action by the overwhelming public response to the unveiling of the Recumbent Lee in June, 1883. It was as a result of this that a third and ultimately final attempt at soliciting design proposals for a monument in Richmond took place. In an effort to avoid the problems that had frustrated their previous two efforts, *both* associations agreed on

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Additionally, the appropriation of Lee's image was a high priority. The competition is discussed in the Pamphlet Collection (Library of Congress), *The Three Competitions for a Design for a Monument to Gen. Robert E. Lee, 1877-1887: A Protest and a Review* (Richmond, Va.: Whittet & Shepperson, 1887), 6-10.

the make-up of a panel of judges that would decide on the final design and location of a monument to Lee: it included Edward Clarke, architect to the Capital, as well as the highly renowned sculptors John Quincy Adams Ward, and Augustus Saint-Gaudens, who served as chief advisor to both committees. Saint-Gaudens had already become well known for his commemorative public sculpture in honor of the Union cause, and his choice indicates that the committee members were interested in having a project which was seen as possessing the highest artistic credibility and legitimacy.[66]

After this triumvirate of professionals initially awarded the commission for the project to a relatively unknown sculptor named Charles H. Niehaus of Cincinnati, the *Richmond Dispatch* reported great dissention among the prominent citizens of Richmond over the proposed location for Niehaus's statue and noted that both the location and the design of the monument were possibly subject to yet another change. In the midst of the hesitation on the part of the associations and the reluctance of certain segments of the general public to support the artist's proposal, the associations once again decided to continue its search for a suitable design and a new sculptor. Simultaneously, Augustus Saint-Gaudens discovered the identities of the "anonymous" individuals who had initially submitted design proposals for consideration and wrote the Ladies Lee Monument Association asking them to reconsider what had been his original recommendation.[67]

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[66] By 1886, Saint-Gaudens had completed his highly acclaimed standing bronze statue of *Admiral David Glasgow Farragut* (Madison Square Parke, New York, 1881) and was in the process of completing his *Standing Lincoln* monument (Lincoln Park, Chicago, 1887) See Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth-Century America*, 193.

[67] "The Lee Monument," *Richmond Dispatch*, March 28 1886, YA Pamphlet Collection (Library of Congress), *The Three Competitions for a Design for a Monument to Gen. Robert E. Lee, 1877-1887: A Protest and a Review*, 20.

Saint-Gaudens then recommended someone with whom he was well acquainted from the time that they had spent together studying in Paris in the late 1860s. Saint-Gaudens had been drawn to Paris in part by his knowledge that Marius Jean Antonin Mercie was there studying under Jouffroy. Widely acclaimed and decorated with prizes and honors in recognition of his work in Europe, Mercie was perhaps best known for his Gloria Victis (**figure 18**) of 1874. Created as a response to France's defeat by the Germans in the Franco Prussian War, the bronze grouping presented a bent and vanquished hero being borne to glory by the winged figure of Fame. It has been asserted that this one work of sculpture is greatly responsible for helping France regain its national pride while simultaneously coming to terms with a shattering military defeat. Art historian June Hargrove sees Mercie's piece and those like it as not only honoring the sacrifice and the memory of the dead, but also serving to remind the French nation of its humiliation in defeat and thereby, "perpetuate the thirst for revenge." Sentiment such as this would have no doubt presented some appeal to the people of a defeated and slowly recovering former Confederacy. Mercie's ability to create such highly emotive imagery centered on the vanquished must have been of great interest to the membership of the associations attempting to establish a monument to Lee in Richmond. Although Mercie was neither an American nor even a former Confederate, he clearly seemed to understand the plight of the defeated South. [68]

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[68] Augustus Saint-Gaudens, Homer Saint-Gaudens, and John Davis Batchelder Collection (Library of Congress), *The Reminiscences of Augustus Saint-Gaudens* (New York,: The Century co., 1913), 66. See also YA Pamphlet Collection (Library of Congress), *The Three Competitions for a Design for a Monument to Gen. Robert E. Lee, 1877-1887: A Protest and a Review*, 20. The French government encouraged a national sense of healing by placing castings of Mercie's creation throughout Paris and other French cities. H. W. Janson, Phyllis Freeman, and Bob McKee, *19th-Century Sculpture* (New York: Abrams, 1985), 190-91.June E. Hargrove, "The Public Monument," in Peter Fusco, H. W. Janson, and Los Angeles County Museum of Art., *The Romantics to Rodin : French Nineteenth-Century Sculpture from North American Collections* (Los Angeles, Calif.,New York: Los Angeles County Museum of Art ;G. Braziller, 1980), 27.

Mercie submitted an initial proposal for a Lee Monument in 1886 and it was roundly criticized by both monument committees. His design was apparently inspired by a second century equestrian monument to Marcus Aurelius (**figure 19**). The monument itself was the only bronze equestrian statue to survive from antiquity and was the centerpiece of Michelango's sixteenth-century Campidoglio in Rome. The Roman emperor is shown entering into a defeated territory surrounded by admiring troops and vanquished and conquered foes. The emperor is shown reining in his horse while raising his right arm in a gesture of pardon towards the conquered.[69]

Although no visual record of Mercie's proposal survives, the artist revealed to the *Richmond Dispatch* what he had intended:

> General Lee as he passed among his troops on the field of Gettysburg-the horse rearing, the dying stretching out for a last affectionate glance to their leader. I do not recall in history an incident in which a defeated general was greeted with such affection and confidence in the very hour of defeat.[70]

Mercie seems to have been attempting to formally position Lee in a pose similar to that of Marcus Aurelius and to portray him in the guise of a conquering hero. Minimally, if he did not base his design proposal directly on the example of Marcus Aurelius from Rome, it is clear that his design was influenced by the iconic tradition that had developed based on its model.[71]

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[69] Museum of Fine Arts (Springfield Mass.) and J.B. Speed Art Museum., *Glorious Horsemen : Equestrian Art in Europe, 1500-1800 : Museum of Fine Arts, Springfield, Massachusetts, September 27 - November 29, 1981, the J.B. Speed Art Museum, Louisville, Kentucky, January 11-February 28, 1982* (Springfield, Mass.: The Museum, 1981), 11-15.

[70] "Mercie Talks About Lee," *Richmond Dispatch*, April 27 1890.

[71] There was some precedent in the South for an association between Robert E. Lee and Marcus Aurelius. Several years before Mercie's proposal, Professor George Long had dedicated his English translation of the

Also, relying on the imagery of Lee after the defeat at Gettysburg more than likely solicited a sense of uneasiness in many of the committee members. Although no reaction can be ascertained regarding the artist's proposed historical context for the permanent memorialization of the former general in the Confederacy's former capital city, it is safe to assume that many who understood the artist's intention were reluctant to applaud a design that would forever freeze the image of the general at a moment of what was considered the most crucial defeat for the South. Despite the widely understood and reported magnanimity displayed by the general at a moment of high tension, stress, and perhaps regret, the defeat at Gettysburg and Lee's potential culpability was still at issue in the minds of some Southerners.[72]

At the same time that Mercie was submitting his initial proposal, the general's nephew, and governor of the state of Virginia, Fitzhugh Lee intervened. He undertook an effort to reorganize and streamline the effort to establish a fitting monument dedicated to the memory of his iconic uncle. His efforts resulted in an agreement in which a new organization comprised of government officials from the state of Virginia and members

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writings of Marcus Aurelius to Lee by describing him as a "noble Virginia soldier whose talents place him by the side of the best and wisest man, who sat on the throne of the imperial Caesars." See Lee Monument Association, "Souvenir of the Dedication of the Monument to Gen. Robert E. Lee at Richmond." Mercie probably did not know of the work of Professor Long, but would have been aware of the tendency of Southerners and their traditions to link the two men together. See Heinz Kèahler, *The Art of Rome and Her Empire* (New York,: Crown Publishers, 1963), 167.

[72] The reality of the defeat at Gettysburg was still fresh in the public memory of the South. Both a reunion of soldiers from both sides who had participated in Picket's Charge on July 3, 1863 which took place in 1887, and the silver anniversary celebration sponsored by the Grand Army of the Republic that took place in 1888 left some Northern veterans and the citizens of their home states with a sense of restrained bitterness towards the South. Many Union veterans who attended the 1888 festivities on the grounds of the battlefield still felt resentment towards the South and were, in some cases resentful that approximately 300 of invited former Confederates had the poor judgment to accept the invitation and attend. Undoubtedly, by the time of Mercie's submission there was sensitivity to the latent animosity that still remained in the 1880's. See Carol Reardon, *Pickett's Charge in History and Memory*, *Civil War America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 108-16.

of the original Ladies Lee Monument Commission (LLMC) would sit on a board given the responsibility for the project's completion. From the out set, the membership of this board demonstrated a preference for Mercie as the sculptor who would in fact complete the project, regardless of the problems encountered concerning his initial design proposal. The reputation of the artist contributed to the legitimacy of the entire venture. This was a significant factor for the members of the committee because the monument was to serve a didactic purpose in that the stature of the general and what he stood for was being presented as an example to the public that was to have universal value to the nation and the world.[73]

After the intervention of Fitzhugh Lee, veterans became less of a force in thees organizational efforts. Seeking to underscore the widespread support of the people of Richmond and the entire South, Lee sought to lend credibility to this effort at public commemoration that would elevate it to a level that clearly exceeded that usually associated with monuments established by Southern veterans in honor of their own service. The monument in Richmond would speak to a national and perhaps international audience. Accordingly, the organizers sought to present a finished work of public commemorative art that adhered to the highest standards of artistic and professional taste while representing the most universal positive values associated with the Lost Cause. Additionally, this commemorative effort, like all others, was the subject of a variety of constituent interests. In that sense, the interest of the municipal authorities of the city of Richmond as well as the interests of the business community combined with others in shaping the process associated with the establishment of this public monument.

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[73] Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865 to 1913*, 98.

According to the *Southern Historical Society Papers* of 1890, the artist was "told how he had misconceived the subject, and was asked to send another horse [model] in a less fiery attitude, and if it were not too great a sacrifice of artistic requirements, to have all four feet on the ground." The model was quickly revised and resubmitted by Mercie who was eventually notified by the recently reorganized committee to begin work on the statue immediately.[74]

The consolidation of the two original organizations under the direction of Governor Fitzhugh Lee also resulted in a final decision regarding the ultimate location for the monument. The earlier proposals had considered locating the monument on the grounds of the state capital or at a high point within the city limits of Richmond identified as Libby Hill. In June, 1887, the LMA passed a resolution which chose the final site for the location of the monument. The site was just outside of what was then the extreme western boundary of the Richmond city limits. This area chosen for the location of the monument was on a fifty-eight acre tract of land that would, along with another 292 acres that were annexed by the city itself due to the actions of the Virginia State legislature in 1892, constitute what was to become the long and wide expanse known as Monument Avenue. Designed along the model of other already existing grand boulevards, it was to be built with a fifty foot wide median and an expansive and unobstructed circular area, perhaps one of several, with a diameter of two hundred feet. It was in the center of this area that the Lee Monument was to be built.[75]

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[74] R. A. Brock, *Southern Historical Society Papers, R.A. Brock, ed.* (1890).

[75] Although it was to take many years before Monument Avenue itself to be built, the concept of having a grand boulevard stretching to the west in a straight line from the state capital building square in the center of the city was intended from the start of the venture. Built as an extension of Franklin Street, Monument Avenue was laid out and designed by Pierpoint Edwards Burgwyn who was a local Richmond based civil engineer who had been trained at Harvard. He consciously used well known European and American

The governor publicly stated that the decision to establish the monument at this location was a matter of "plain business," as the annexation of the area and its ultimate development as a prime residential area would result in the collection of several thousand dollars per year in tax revenue. Public subscriptions would build the monument and the city would pay for the construction of the grand boulevard that was to have the monument to Lee majestically located as the focal point of a new and exclusive neighborhood that hopefully would be inhabited by some of Richmond's most prosperous and respected citizens. [76]

Locating this highly anticipated monument in a completely "new" section of the city points out how the organizers realized that the monument could serve a multiplicity of interests. While other areas of Richmond had been considered, the opportunity to completely re-make the city of Richmond around a grand monument to the heroic leader of the Confederacy indicates that the grandeur of this neighborhood would take its direction from the general's image which was being honored and commemorated. The monument would serve as an inspiration model and proof that what Lee represented possessed a profound meaning and purpose that had applications for the future. As the dominant figure of the ideology of the Lost Cause, Lee's celebration in the grand surroundings of this elite neighborhood exemplified the relevance of the Lost Cause for

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boulevards as an inspiration for his plans for Monument Boulevard. Mills and Simpson, *Monuments to the Lost Cause: Women, Art, and the Landscapes of Southern Memory*, 104.

[76] The sale of individual lots along what was to become known as Monument Avenue as soon as the city of Richmond officially annexed the property on July 14, 1887. Construction on the homes in the area immediately surrounding the monument began in the mid 1890s and the entire length of the Avenue was filled by 1910. The city imposed a building code on the area that determined the exact designs and locations of private homes and apartment structures to ensure that the neighborhood that developed around the monument had a specific character that the city authorities felt was appropriate. See Sarah Shields Driggs et al., *Richmond's Monument Avenue* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), Edwards et al., *Monument Avenue: History and Architecture*, 13-19.andSavage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth-Century America*, 148-50.

the next generation of Southerners. Not only was the monument itself established to remind future generations of the importance in adhering to the Lost Cause ideology, but the homes surrounding it were evidence of what could be gained by doing so.[77]

Once the final location for the monument had been agreed upon, the Lee Monument Association faced a new dilemma. From the outset, the effort to establish a monument to Lee in Richmond had always intended that the monument was to present a clear connection between Lee and Washington. Had the monument to Lee been located on the grounds of the state capitol, there would have been no question as to the parallel between Washington and Lee. As indicated in the final plans for the location of the Lee Monument on land that was far removed from the city center and the state capitol grounds, the two sculptures were to be separated by a distance of over one mile. Even though Capital Square and the monument would be connected by the long and straight expanse of Franklin Street (which was to be named Monument Avenue at its westernmost end) the committee feared that the visual, and thus ideological, connection between the two might no longer be clearly established.

As a means of overcoming this obstacle, it was decided that, absent an obvious connection to the equestrian statue of Washington, the Lee Monument would have to have its own claim to legitimacy. As a result, Mercie was instructed by the committee to ensure that the size of his equestrian statue and that of its pedestal would have to be

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[77] The prosperity of the city of Richmond and indeed any prosperity realized in the states of the former Confederacy were associated with a forward looking ethos that was represented by both Southerners and those in the North allied with them as being systematic of a new era of social and economic prosperity that became known as the "New South." As a latter day component of the Lost Cause, this dynamic supposedly demonstrated that Southerners could remain loyal to their social and cultural roots while "modernizing" and prospering in a post slavery world. An important component of this approach was an assertion that "Southern values" could and would remain at the center of this newly enabled society and forward looking society. See Paul M. Gaston, *The New South Creed; a Study in Southern Myth-Making* (New York,: Vintage Books, 1973).

increased beyond those specified in his original proposal to ensure that his finished work stood taller than the equestrian Washington standing on the grounds of the capitol.[78].

At the cornerstone-laying ceremony for the enlarged pedestal for Lee's statue in November, 1887, a lengthy poem was read which was intended to make clear that the monument to Washington and the one to Lee, despite the physical distance between them, were to be considered equal parts of one unified vision. The author of the work was James Barron Hope, who was intentionally chosen by the LMA because he had also spoken at the dedication of Crawford's statue to George Washington nearly thirty years earlier. Unfortunately, and to the great consternation and disappointment of those who were counting on the elder poet's presence to bridge the time and space between the two events, the aging poet died shortly before the scheduled day of the dedication ceremonies. His work was read by a member of the association, and the closing lines of his poem summarize the intentions of many of those responsible for the project and in attendance that day:

> When the effigy of Washington / In its bronze was reared on high,
> 'Twas mine, with others, now long gone / Beneath a stormy sky,
> To utter to the multitude / His name that cannot die.
>
> And here to-day, my Countrymen, / I tell you Lee shall ride
> With the great "rebel" down the years- / Twin "rebels" side by side
> And confronting such a vision / All our grief gives place to pride.
>
> These two shall ride immortal / And shall ride abreast of Time
> Shall light up stately history / And blaze in Epic Rhyme-
> Both patriots, both Virginians true, / Both "rebels," both sublime.
>
> Our past is full of glory, / It is a shut in sea,

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[78] The editors of The American Architect and Building News apparently found the concerns of the Lee Monument Association and their directive to Mercie regarding the height of his finished product, reflective of that unfortunate notion of "greatness measured with a foot rule" that was "eminently American." See "Equestrian Monuments," *The American Architect and Building News* XLIV, 321.

The pillars overlooking it / Are Washington and Lee.[79]

Clearly, the intentions of the LMA were directed at presenting a setting which appropriately honored the memory of Lee while clearly associating it with the legacy and reputation of George Washington. By comparing the struggle of the South with the Revolutionary heritage of the entire nation and its universal admiration for Washington, partisan supporters of the Lost Cause were claiming that their vision of a nation was as valid and as noble as was the struggle of the American nation for its existence. The republican heritage lived on, not simply in the memory of the nation's first president, but in the remembrance of another of Virginia's sons memorialized now in the former capital of the South.

Mercie's completed statue arrived in Richmond packed in four enormous crates on May 7, 1890. Once the various pieces of the massive sculpture reached their final location and were finally unpacked, Mercie and his assistants labored for the next three weeks to assemble them while working under two large shrouds positioned to hide as much of the sculpture as possible from public view. The pedestal of the monument stood forty feet high and the final assembled sculpture stood sixty-one feet tall and surpassed Crawford's Washington by twelve inches. Lee is presented sitting on his horse, and as an equestrian representation equestrian Lee is linked to the equestrian Washington and the stylistic tradition of equestrian monuments through numerous historical examples dating back to the sculpted Marcus Aurelius. Physically, Lee is portrayed as somewhat restrained, neither leaning forward in his saddle nor gesticulating in any way. His hat is

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[79] Brock., 121.

removed, and his facial expression discernable by the viewer is one of somber restraint. All four of the horse's hooves touch the edge of the plinth upon which the mounted figure rests, and this presentation breaks with the traditional raised hoof pose of many of the equestrian Lee's sculptural predecessors. His horse appears to be moving at a slow but steady gait, carrying Lee southward and perhaps home. Far from appearing as a conquering hero, Lee is modeled as a restrained yet fiercely dedicated Christian knight who has maintained his honor while carrying out his duty in service to a defeated, yet worthwhile cause. Mercie's mounted Lee is attired in the same uniform that can be seen in Valentine's work and the scabbard and the sword that hang at the general's side are identical to those that are included in the Recumbent Lee in Lexington. Lee's shoes, spurs, sword, bridle, and hat were meticulously copied from originals delivered to Mercie's studio in Paris. Perhaps in a concession to heroic imagery, the mount upon which Lee rides is clearly not modeled after the actual horse that Lee rode for most of his service to the Confederacy, *Traveler*. A larger, more classically modeled horse is presented carrying the noble hero.[80]

As completed, Mercie's creation did not include numerous bronze figures that were intended to surround the base of the pedestal. The LMA had originally requested the addition of these figures to Lee's monument, echoing a direct stylistic similarity with Crawford's Washington which was surrounded by small bronze figures of some of Washington's Revolutionary colleagues. The committee ultimately decided on omitting the additional figures, perhaps sensing that their presence would divert attention from the

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[80] Mercie was personally presented with most of these items on behalf of the Lee Monument Association by Sarah Randolph and Mary Lee. Miss Randolph apparently spent the entire summer of 1887 in Paris in order to advise Mercie on the design stating that "it would be a bitter disappointment to the countrymen of General Lee if the likeness were not successful." See Brock, *Southern Historical Society Papers*, 200-201.

monument's ultimate purpose; honoring Robert E. Lee and the cause he represented while casting the remembrance of the Confederacy in the mold of truly authentic republican virtue and patriotism worthy of praise by *all* Americans. The base was modestly decorated and each of the sides is embellished with a simple bronze plaque bearing Lee's name and flanked by two granite columns. [81]

Dedicating the Monument

A festive and celebratory atmosphere permeated the city of Richmond on May 29, 1890. The public celebration included a crowd estimated at between 1000,000 and 150,000, a figure larger than the entire population of the city of Richmond at the time. Large groups began to gather early in the day in various locations around the capitol buildings, and by noon a huge procession of veterans and dignitaries had gathered on the grounds of the state capitol to begin their march through the city. Passing down Franklin Street in front of the wartime residence of Lee's family, the procession made its way on to Monument Avenue and finally arrived at the site of Lee's statue. The line of march was led by former Governor and General Fitzhugh Lee, and included more than forty other generals from Confederate service and over 15,000 veterans. The widows of Stonewall Jackson and George Pickett were also present and were themselves honored during the dedication ceremonies as well.[82]

Throngs of onlookers cheered and applauded as the procession moved slowly and deliberately paste the public buildings and residences of Richmond. The *New York Times*

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[81] The pedestal was originally intended to be surrounded by allegorical figures including the Angel of Peace, the Goddess of War as well as a figure of Liberty holding a laurel wreath over the head of a Confederate soldier seated at her feet. In part, financial considerations may have also played a role in the decision to omit these additional figures. See Brock, *Southern Historical Society Papers*, 201.

[82] Mills and Simpson, *Monuments to the Lost Cause: Women, Art, and the Landscapes of Southern Memory*, 104.

marveled at the size of both the crowd and the parade and estimated that it took all of those in the line of march over four hours to pass any given spot. By four o'clock, although not all of the marchers had reached the site of the monument, the unveiling ceremonies began.[83]

The keynote address was delivered by former Confederate officer and industrialist, Archer Anderson. He repeatedly reminded the crowd that the monument being dedicated was the only true companion to Richmond's other equestrian statue, Crawford's Washington. He referred to George Washington as that other "rebel" general during his address, and went on to speak of the now familiar connection between Lee and Washington. Anderson instructed the crowd that through his marriage, Lee had become, "Washington's direct personal representative… [who] in every important conjecture of his life…effectively asked himself the question, 'How would Washington have acted?'" At the conclusion of his remarks which took two hours, Anderson implored his audience to remain loyal to the principles of the Lost Cause by reflecting on its values and considering who they were, where they had came from, and where they were going. Demonstrating a didacticism that was at the core of what much of the day was really about, he finally concluded his remarks by reminding his audience that all of the wealth, power, and rank of the United States at the end of the century was, "less a subject for pride than this one heroic man-this human product of our country and institutions….Let this monument, then, teach to generations yet unborn these lessons of his life!"[84]

[83] "The Lee Statue Unveiled," *New York Times*, May 30 1890.

[84] Archer Anderson was a Lieutenant Colonel in the Army of the Tennessee and had been wounded during the war. At the war's conclusion, he returned to Richmond to help his father run the family business, the

The chorus of seemingly universal praise and celebration that accompanied the occasion was not, however, without its discordant voices. Indicating what must have been a widespread sentiment within the black community of Richmond, the African American city councilman and owner of the *Planet* newspaper openly objected to spending public funds on the dedication of the Lee Memorial. Arguing against the prevailing sentiment of profound approval and praise among the white residents of Richmond accompanying the dedication of the Lee monument; the *Planet* asserted that the entire project to permanently honor the former Confederate general did little more than ensure that future generations would be gifted with a "legacy of treason and blood." It should be noted that the monument's dedication took place during a time in which the lynching of blacks was increasing and the unquestioned legitimacy of Jim Crow laws was materializing throughout the American South. To some, then as now, the celebration of iconic heroes of the former Confederacy was an abomination; it was viewed as a celebration by some in which the white population viewed the permanent enslavement of others as the guarantor of their social, economic, and civil rights.[85]

Some protest was heard from the North also. A Philadelphia newspaper compared Lee to Benedict Arnold, and the *New York Mail and Express* proposed a federal law that would ban monuments of Confederate heroes and the display of Confederate flags. Most Northerners, however, viewed it all quite differently. For them, this new monument to Robert E. Lee did not represent the celebration of what had been a rebellious and

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Tredegar Iron Works. He became president of the company in 1892 and was known as one of the South's leading industrialists. See Archer Anderson and Lee Monument Association, *Robert Edward Lee. An Address Delivered at the Dedication of the Monument to General Robert Edward Lee at Richmond, Virginia, May 29, 1890* (Richmond,: W.E. Jones, printer, 1890), 13, 45.

[85] *Richmond Planet*, May 31, 1890

traitorous act. As was editorialized by the *New York Times*, Lee was truly brave and honorable, and it was noted that: "His memory is, therefore, a possession of the American people."[86]

The day of the monument's dedication provided a public occasion in which the Lost Cause and its increasingly overt positioning of the memory of Robert E. Lee at the nexus of its rising narrative of the past could come to full bloom in the Richmond spring. As the dominant icon of southern patriotism cast in the image and likeness of republican virtue, the equestrian Lee was by the last decade of the nineteenth century a work portraying a national figure that embodied the highest ideals that resided on the same moral plane as the noblest expressions of American patriotism. Neither Lee nor the cause of the Confederacy was by now exclusively associated with traitorous disloyalty as had been commonly asserted in the immediate aftermath of the war. A process of self-vindication for the former Confederacy, and its various commemorative representations cast in stone and bronze appearing in the civic space of southern cemeteries, town squares, and court house steps, had reached full maturity through the dedication of Lee's monument in Richmond.[87]

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[86] *New York Times*, May 30, 1890

[87] On a national level, a number of grand public monuments were becoming more frequently dedicated especially in major Northern cities. August Saint-Gauden's Admiral Farragut Memorial was unveiled at Madison Square in New York City on 1881: the arch at the Grand Army of the Republic Plaza in Brooklyn which had first been proposed in 1885 was completed in 1892; and the Grant Tomb in New York City was announced in 1885 but not completed until 1897. These efforts at establishing grand public monuments matched with a wide spread effort within American culture to immortalize the American past while creating what was commonly referred to as an American Renaissance. The movement to establish public art within the confines of American cities is addressed in Michele Helene Bogart, *Public Sculpture and the Civic Ideal in New York City, 1890-1930*, 1st Smithsonian ed. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997).The mythology surrounding Robert E. Lee is investigated in Connelly, *The Marble Man: Robert E. Lee and His Image in American Society*.

The Confederate celebration of the beloved patriots of their cause would, by the early years of the twentieth century, come to a full maturity and stature that both reassured Southerners that their cause had been truly American and encouraged the rest of the country to embrace the memory of the Lost Cause. Reunited in the rising spirit of nationalism and a still unspoiled faith in the potential of the unbridled power of industrial capitalism, many Americans at the start of the twentieth century had identified their nation as one of progress, optimism, and above all else, Anglo-Saxon Christian civilization at its best. Bound into one coherent cultural mold, Anglo-American society embraced the great truth that the nation was of, by, and for the white race. North and South, now united in racial harmony, was to stand watch over the American nation that they themselves had shaped and molded in their own image and likeness. At the center of this national identity was the belief that the nation should remain the unquestioned tabernacle of white dominance and authority. [88]

Honoring the Confederate cause throughout the South was a self acknowledgement on the part of Southerners of the honor that they believed was truly deserved by those who had fought in their name. Honoring the Confederate cause on the battlefields of the war had, by the turn of the century, been carried out by veterans themselves in an effort to honor their mutual masculine virtue and marshal bravery. As an acknowledgement of the sacrifices made by *all* of those who fought, the appearance of

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[88] For ideas concerning the issues underlying the construction of race as an intellectual category, see George M. Fredrickson, *The Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny, 1817-1914* (Middletown, Conn., Scranton, Pa.: Wesleyan University Press; Distributed by Harper & Row, 1987).

Confederate and Union monuments on the war's former battlefields invoked a memory of the marshal struggle that had taken place between the two adversaries.[89]

By the time that a statue dedicated to the memory of Lee and those Virginians who fought was to appear on the actual battlefield at Gettysburg the general's image and reputation was virtually universally admired and thought of as being a highly credible example of an authentic American patriotism that would have, by the time of its proposal in 1912, a universal appeal. Having conquered the physical space of the South and after being hailed as an authentic American hero by all sections of the nation, Lee's memory was ready to be honored on the former battlefields of the war. Reclaiming the space of a long ago lost battlefield would signal a victory of memory for the reconstructed Southern cause. When Lee's monumented physical presence finally made its way to what Lincoln had described as "hallowed ground" of the battlefield at Gettysburg, the final triumph of the Lost Cause would be realized.[90]

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[89] See "The Divided Legacy of the Civil War," in G. Kurt Piehler, *Remembering War the American Way* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995), 47-91.

[90] For an interesting analysis of the significance of Lincoln's "Gettysburg Address" see Wills, *Lincoln at Gettysburg: The Words That Remade America*.

Chapter Five:

The Lee Image and the Construction of Public Memory

In the July 7, 1883 edition of *Harper's Weekly*, Valentine's Recumbent Lee at Lexington was described as truly an "admirable work" that had been unveiled and dedicated with "appropriate ceremonies." The *Boston Post* commented further on its artistic merits as having "a great deal of the pure Greek," and therefore a "high position among the best of our national works of sculpture."[1]

By the time of the unveiling seven years later of Mercie's Lee, many of the smaller and medium size newspapers of the South had little or no coverage of the dedication in Richmond. Larger publications with a national circulation did, however, provide major coverage of the events in Richmond which were widely thought to be of major significance and interest to the entire nation and not only in the states of the former Confederacy.[2]

The major publications of the North provided coverage of the Richmond dedication that was even more effusive and laudatory than the generally positive stories appearing in response to the dedication in Lexington more than a half dozen years before.

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[1] "The Lee Monument Unveiling," *Boston Post*, May 29 1883, "The Statue of General Lee," *Harper's Weekly*, July 7 1883.

[2] Christopher Roland Lawton, "Myth and Monument: The Sculptural Image of Robert E. Lee and the Ideology of the Lost Cause" (2000), 72.

The *American Architect and Building News,* based in Boston, devoted four pages to Mercie's equestrian monument featuring the "hero paramount of the Southern cause." While openly acknowledging the heroic stature of the Confederate leader they were equally complimentary towards the region's efforts at commemoration while at the same time criticizing comparative efforts in the North to establish public monuments to the memory of the Civil War as being "out of hand, [and done] in a hit or miss manner." The *New York Times* celebrated both the "superb work of art" and its location within a city of "modern and beautiful dwellings; a city looking lovely indeed." The *New York World*, in a foreshadowing of the type of sentiment that was to become widespread by the beginning of the twentieth century, described the celebration at Richmond and the celebration of Lee and the South's cause as being truly "patriotic."[3]

The North's admiration for the memory of Robert E. Lee was real by the time of the dedication of his equestrian statue in Richmond. Considering this, it is no surprise to note the sentiment expressed in *Harper's Weekly* when it pronounced that the celebration at Richmond demonstrated that "the final obsequies of the war of secession have taken place, and the circumstances attending it show how completely the wounds of the conflict have been healed, and a most important chapter of American history closed."[4]

The future would soon demonstrate that this pronouncement in the pages of *Harper's* was incorrect. Never to be abandoned by the Southern people in their need to construct a malleable and useful narrative of their past, both Lee and the myth of the Lost Cause that he exemplified were yet to be embraced and unequivocally codified by the

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[3] "A Beloved Warrior," *New York World*, May 8 1890, "Equestrian Monuments," *American Architecture and Building News* XLIV (1890), "The Lee Statuie Unveiled," *New York Times*, May 8 1890.

[4] Amos Wright, "The Lee Monument at Richmond," *Harpers Weekly*, vol.4, no.10, 1890.

white population of the North as well. The construction of the war's public memory and the legacy of the Confederacy centered on the heroic mythology associated with Lee was to find a further commemorative expression in the countryside of Southern Pennsylvania on a highly significant battlefield of the war.

From Icon of the South to Icon of the Nation

Lee's image as the embodiment of heterosexual Anglo-Saxon Christian warrior provided an accessible representative icon that was readily embraced in the popular mind of the nation. By the start of the twentieth century, the rush towards embracing the promised benefits of the industrial age had begun to falter as deep rooted cultural concerns about the form and content of the American society organizing itself around the hoped for benefits of industrial capitalisms began to increase. This concern had been voiced by some including the novelist Henry James, who wrote in the late 1890s that, "the masculine tone is passing out of the world; it's a feminine, a nervous, hysterical, chattering, canting age."[5]

The rhetoric that accompanied the involvement of the United States in the Spanish American war was a reflection of what was perceived by some to be a "softening" of the masculine spirit slowly fading from its influence on American values. Even before the war had been concluded it was hoped that the "masculine tone" that had been clearly demonstrated by both sides during the Civil War would undergo a revival. The model of American manhood exemplified by the conduct of the brave fighting men on both sides

[5] The end of the nineteenth century was time during which the benefits of large scale industrialization were being questioned. See Alan Trachtenberg and Eric Foner, *The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age*, 1st ed., *American Century Series* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982), 38-69.and Henry James, *The Bostonians* (New York: A. Knopf: Distributed by Random House, 1992).Henry James quoted in Lawton, "Myth and Monument: The Sculptural Image of Robert E. Lee and the Ideology of the Lost Cause", 74.

during the Civil War was lauded as an inspiration for those seeking a paradigm of appropriate behavior for the future. [6]

The apparent revival of interest in masculinity was spurned on by individuals such as Teddy Roosevelt. At the end of the nineteenth century, it was he who called for a "strenuous" manhood, finding its model of bravery, morality, and belief in a higher purpose in the figure of none other than Robert E. Lee. During his "Strenuous Life" speech delivered at the Hamilton Club in Chicago on April 10, 1899 Roosevelt spoke of the values of duty, honor, and service to the government in a manner which evoked both Lee's memory as well as Lee's Farwell Address:

> If we stand idly by,… If we shrink from the hard contest where Men must win at the hazard of their lives and at the risk of all they Hold dear, than the stronger and bolder peoples will pass us by….Let us therefore boldly face the life of strife, resolute to do our duty Well and manfully.[7]

Even before this pronouncement by Roosevelt, some in the North, such as the writer Henry Field, had embraced Lee's image as the antidote to the supposed disease of feminization that was weakening the nation's masculine ethos throughout industrializing Northern society. Setting a direction for Northern opinion regarding the suitability of Lee

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[6] T. J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace : Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920*, 1st ed. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981), 26-32, E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood : Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: BasicBooks, 1993), 232-46.

[7] Theodore Roosevelt, *The Strenuous Life* (New York,: The Review of Reviews Company, 1904), 268. Quoted in Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era*, 265.

as a truly authentic and patriotic icon, he argued that through the emulation of Lee's virtues, northern men could receive "an education in manliness."[8]

The degree to which Robert E. Lee was to eventually be accepted as a worthy American hero was to find a unique form of expression when his image was finally memorialized on what remains today as the most significant battleground of the Civil War. The preserved battlefield at Gettysburg was to be the context in which the nation demonstrated its profound admiration for this patriotic republican hero. Before this occurred, however, a process of commemoration took place at the site of this pivotal battle aimed at freezing the battlefield as a permanent commemorative space which would result in the creation of what was described by some as "fitting and expressive memorial."[9]

How would appropriate commemoration be achieved by a rebel chieftain at the site of his greatest defeat located in what had been the territory of the enemy? To understand and appreciate the significance of the appearance of the sculpted image of Lee on the field at Gettysburg, it is necessary to understand how the commemorative efforts that had transformed the former site of battle into an open air museum of public remembrance, commemoration and reconciliation, and hallowed burial ground for the dead had created a highly significant site of the construction of the public memory of the Civil War.

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[8] Henry M. Field, *Bright Skies and Dark Shadows* (New York,: C. Scribner's Sons, 1890).Quoted in Nina Silber, *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865-1900*, *Civil War America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 174.

[9] Kathie George Harrison, "A Fitting and Expressive Memorial" the Development of Gettysburg National Military Park," in *GNMPL* (1988).

Dead Soldiers and Public Mourning

In the decades following the battle, the battlefield itself and the burial ground established on a small part of it had undergone a process of veneration, defilement, and redefinition as the process of commemoration and remembrance evolved and the landscape of the former battlefield was been permanently altered. Identified by some as the symbolic center of American History, the battlefield has become a "preservation of a preservation" in that it remains today a rich cultural archive of various modes of remembrance.[10]

Almost immediately after the fighting ended on July 3, 1863 the battle itself was recognized as not merely a crucial Union victory, but as an event with wider historical and cultural significance. Many newspapers immediately compared the battle to Thermopylae and Waterloo. In 1863, Gettysburg was a town of about 2,400 people situated amid the gently rolling farmland of southern Pennsylvania.

The battle had brought together roughly 170,000 soldiers to the serene countryside and left some 50,000 casualties in its aftermath. Those Union and Confederate soldiers who marched away from the battlefield at Gettysburg left behind thousands of buried, half buried, and unburied dead soldiers, a devastated Pennsylvania landscape, and the basis for the creation of ripe environment for commemoration and patriotic public remembrance. [11]

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[10] Reuben M. Rainey, "The Memory of War: Reflections on Battlefield Preservation," Richard L. Austin, "The Yearbook of Landscape Architecture," (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1983).

[11] John S. Patterson, "A Patriotic Landscape: Gettysburg, 1863-1913," in *The Annual of American Cultural Studies Prospects*, edited by Jack Salzman (New York 1982), Vii, 315.

In addition to providing medical care for the tens of thousands of wounded left behind by both armies, the immediate concern for those remaining focused on the carnage that had been left on the battlefield. Since the Confederate force had been the first to retire, the task of burying the dead of both sides was left to those Union forces left behind at Gettysburg after the vast majority of the army had begun its southerly pursuit of Lee's retreating force. As Union general George Mead led his army South in a somewhat tardy effort to pursue his wounded foe, he communicated to Washington that "I cannot delay to pick up the debris of the battlefield." [12]

The carnage was made up in part of over five thousand dead and slowly decaying horses and mules lying in the open air of the countryside along with over eight thousand dead bodies from both sides scattered over or barely under the ground. Teams of Union soldiers, Confederate prisoners, and conscripted town residents moved over this frightening landscape quickly burying and covering the decaying remains as quickly as was practically possible, occasionally attempting to mark the locations of the graves of those corpses, both Union and Confederate, that could be easily identified by uniform and/or insignia. [13]

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[12] United States. War Dept. et al., *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington,: Govt. Print. Off., 1880). ser.1, vol. 27, 79.

[13]Gregory A. Coco, *Gettysburg: The Aftermath of a Battle* (Gettysburg, PA: Thomas Publications, 1994), 49. 101, Clifton Johnson, Battleground *Adventures, the Stories of Dwellers on the Scenes of Conflict in Some of the Most Notable Battles of the Civil War* (Boston, New York,: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1915), 195-96. During efforts at reburial that took place in 1863 and 1864, 3,512 Union bodies were recovered. In the 1880s, Southerners would discover 3,320 Confederate dead for reburial in the South. See Gregory A. Coco, *Confederates Killed in Action at Gettysburg* (Gettysburg, PA: Thomas Publications, 2001).The total number of wounded Confederates left behind at Gettysbirg is 6,802. SeeEdwin B. Coddington, *The Gettysburg Campaign: A Study in Command*, Collector's ed., 2 vols. (Norwalk, Conn.: Easton Press, 1989), 537.The horse carcasses were burned by the town residents at the south end of the field.

Eyewitness accounts of the battle and its aftermath detailed the gruesome scene. A Gettysburg resident, Mrs. Tillie Alleman, noted that immediately after the battle "the stench arising from the fields of carnage was most sickening. Dead horses, swollen to twice their natural size, lay in all directions, stains of blood frequently met our gaze, and all kinds of army accoutrements covered the ground. Fences had disappeared, some buildings were gone, others ruined. The whole landscape had been changed and I felt as though we were in a strange and blighted land."[14]

In a journal entry dated July 7, 1863, only four days after the battle had ended, John B. Linn remarked that the "smell of putrefied blood" coming from the field where members of the Twelfth South Carolina Volunteers had fought and fell "was very disagreeable to me." The dead "were only lightly covered with earth and you could feel the body by pressing the earth with your foot." A visitor from Philadelphia who arrived on July 10 also described the environment as a horrific new world that "no words can depict." "In some places," she stated, "bodies, caught in the thickets as they fell, were still hanging midway between the summit [of Little Round Top] and the hill's foot, dense clouds of insects hovering over them." Yet another eyewitness to the battle's aftermath watched as exhausted surgeons operated on the wounded in makeshift hospitals and later recalled seeing "legs and arms falling from the table to the floor beneath [which] were raked out…and carried away for burial."[15]

The locations of the make shift graves were often determined by the places in which the dead had fallen during the battle, and as a result many graves were widely

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[14] Tillie Alleman, *At Gettysburg* (New York,: W. L. Borland, 1889), 82-82.

[15] Linn diary in "Early Visitation," Gettysburg National Military Park Library (henceforth, GNMPL) files, 11-50; "Four Days at Gettysburg," *Harper's Weekly*, Feb 1864.

scattered while tending to be highly concentrated in the areas which had been the scene of the heaviest fighting. Since many of the graves were unmarked, it became common for individual residents to come across the locations of these post battle internments accidentally and often times accompanied with a profound revulsion. In the days and weeks immediately following the battle, the disturbing scene was exacerbated when distressed relatives and friends of Northern soldiers began to arrive at Gettysburg to undertake the gruesome task of rifling through the hastily dug graves of rotting corpses searching for sons, husbands, fathers and brothers. Hastily reburying the bodies they had disturbed in a manner that was even more haphazard and inadequate than had been carried out by the original burial parties, the actions of those searching for their dead added to the overall distress of the situation. David Wills, a prominent Gettysburg attorney who had been delegated by Governor Curtin as the state's agent charged with overseeing the removal of Pennsylvania soldiers from the battlefield for proper reburial elsewhere wrote the governor on July 24, only weeks after the battle, conveying the details of the horrid scene that was taking place and reporting to him that concerning the current burial sites, "In many instances arms and legs and sometimes heads protrude and my attention has been directed to several places where the hogs were actually rooting out the bodies and devouring them." Governor Curtin had visited the battlefield two weeks earlier, on July 10, to lend assistance in the process of caring for the wounded and burying the dead, and it was then that he had delegated Wills to assist in caring for Pennsylvania's dead from the battle. [16]

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[16] "David Wills to Governor Curtin," July 24, 1863, *Executive Correspondence*, Pennsylvania State Archives.

David Wills was a well known Republican ally of the governor and had formerly studied law with Gettysburg's most prominent former citizen and staunch congressional Republican, Thaddeus Stevens. As a civic leader and a strong supporter of the state's Republican governor who was soon to face a tough reelection campaign, David Wills was in an ideal position to assist the governor and perhaps act as his surrogate.

Despite Wills' efforts at coordinating the efforts of the state of Pennsylvania in caring for the remains of soldiers from his home state, the scene of a great Union victory quickly descended into one of chaos and distress as relatives, souvenir hunters, and the curious all descended on the field of battle and rummaged through both its material and human remains. Somehow, order needed to be restored to the environment and procedures needed to be developed to organize and coordinate the probable exhumations, reburials, removals and identifications of the fallen combatants from all the Northern states that had had troops on the field.

It was out of this scene of death, destruction, and chaos that a profoundly significant commemorative effort aimed at honoring those from all the states of the Union that had served at Gettysburg eventually resulted in the creation of the Gettysburg National Cemetery and the Gettysburg National Military Park. Identified as "hallowed" ground by Abraham Lincoln during his address at the dedication of the cemetery on November 19, 1863 the former battlefield was to become a site for over fourteen hundred monuments and markers, each proclaiming a commemorative vision and coveted ownership of both the commemorative "text" that was expressed in form of public monuments and the physical space of the battlefield itself. It is in this space that the iconic image of Lee will appear in 1917 along with his soldiers, proclaiming a

vindication of the Southern cause and the acceptance of its vision and beliefs by the entire nation. [17]

Initially, Wills spent most of his time helping families from Pennsylvania who wanted to locate the bodies of their loved ones so they could be removed and brought home. On July 20th, the *Harrisburg Daily Telegraph* reported that "every arrangement has been made at Gettysburg, by Governor Curtin, for the removal, on application to David Wills, residing there, of the bodies of Pennsylvanians killed in the late battle….Transportation will be furnished at the State expense for the body and one person to accompany it." *The Adams Sentinel* reported on July 21st that between 600 and 700 coffins had been made by town carpenters by the end of July for those requesting the transport home of the remains of loved ones. [18]

Families from states other than Pennsylvania who were concerned about the remains of dead family members were in a precarious position. Many could afford to neither travel to Gettysburg nor pay for the cost associated with any possible retrieval and/or re internment. Absent some quickly mobilized coordinated effort that could address the direr situation at Gettysburg, it was apparent that it could quickly escalate towards total chaos.

By the third week of July it became clear that large scale removal of bodies could not continue much longer in any case. The uncoordinated influx of grieving relatives frantically searching the field for the remains of their loved ones placed an unmanageable

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[17] A number of publications contain the listing and the backgrounds of the monuments that appear on the former battlefield at Gettysburg. Frederick W. Hawthorn, *Gettysburg: Stories of Men and Monuments as Told by Battlefield Guides* (Hannover, PA: Association of Licensed Battlefield Guides, 1988), David G. Martin, *Confederate Monuments at Gettysburg* (Conshohocken, PA: Combined Books, 1995), David G. Martin, *The Gettysburg Battle Monuments*, 1st ed. (Hightstown, N.J.: Longstreet House, 1986).

[18] *Harrisburg Daily Telegraph*, July 20 1863, *Adams Sentinel*, July 21 1863.

burden on the already intolerably strained facilities and compounded the growing health problems of the community. The macabre nature of this process is demonstrated by the story of a Massachusetts woman who had come to the battlefield in mid July to locate the remains of her husband, only to find that the area in which his regiment had fought was covered with shallow unmarked graves. The *Gettysburg Compiler* reported that "after opening about 20 graves, and failing to find the object of her search, her heart almost failed." Shortly thereafter, she finally recognized the body of her husband "…by a peculiar button on his coat…" The countless repetition of scenes such as this, the overcrowding of every available structure in and around the town by the living and the wounded, the intense heat of summer, and the quickly deteriorating condition of the remains of thousands of dead soldiers all combined to create what must have been a barely tolerable situation.[19]

While the environment in and around Gettysburg was becoming one of distress and anguish, a movement was developing that eventually created a grand commemorative venture intended to memorialize and commemorate both the fallen Union soldiers and the physical space of the battlefield itself. Through this vision, the remains of the dead would be permanently interred on a part of the battlefield that was itself to become what has been described as, "this grand national enterprise" and a preserved icon of America's public memory of the Civil War.[20]

As early as July 18, a correspondent of the *New York Herald* reported that he had encountered some of the residents of Gettysburg that favored the permanent internment

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[19] *Gettysburg Compier*, August 17 1863.

[20] Kathleen R. Georg, "'This Grand National Enterprise,' The Origins of Gettysburg's Soldier's National Cemetery & Gettysburg battlefield Memorial Association," Gettysburg national Military Park, May, 1982.

of the dead somewhere on the battlefield while also indicating that the nature of the battle and the sacrifice of those who had bravely fought on the side of the Union deserved some unique form of permanent commemorative effort which would serve as a fitting act of remembrance:

> It is suggested [by whom is not indicated] that there is doubtful propriety in removing the remains of soldiers who lost their lives in the glorious battle of Gettysburg at all. The ground is to become historic. It will, in the future, be one of the nation's altars, and who would not rather expend the same sum which a removal will cost in a proper general monument, upon which the names of the dead heroes from major General Reynolds [the highest ranking Union soldier to be mortally wounded] down to the humblest private should be inscribed, or in a single stone, which will always indicate upon the battle field the spot where the loved one fell, than to bestow it upon the removal of those remains to some obscure spot.[21]

By the end of July, it was clear that the large scale removal of bodies would not be allowed to continue, and Colonel H.C. Allerman, the commander of a Pennsylvania regiment stationed at Gettysburg after the battle, issued an order prohibiting the disinterment of bodies during the months of August and September due to the haphazard and dangerous manner in which the individual removals had been taking place. Alleman received the enthusiastic thanks of a number of the community's leading citizens. "The extensive and careless disinterment of the dead from our battlefields had become a great nuisance, and grave fears were entertained universally, for the health of our people, and

[21] Quoted in John W. Busey and David G. Martin, *The Last Full Measure: Burials in the Soldiers' National Cemetery at Gettysburg*, 1st ed. (Hightstown, NJ: Longstreet House, 1988), xxxviii. The dispatch from Gettysburg dated July 18 appeared in the *New York Herald* on July 24, 11863. Major General John Reynolds was killed by a sharp-shooters bullet on July 1st. He was the highest ranking officer to be killed on either side during the battle and was also considered one of the heroes of the Union victory because of his decisive actions during the battle's first day of fighting at McPherson's Ridge. A small granite marker locates the spot of his death

by many, strong apprehensions of pestilence," noted a letter published in the *Adams Sentinel*.[22]

Also by the end of July, David Wills had been appointed by Governor Curtin to act as his general agent in charge of the reburial and/or removal of the dead from *all* northern states who had suffered fatalities during the battle. Significantly, it was during this same time in late July that the idea was presented to the Governor for the creation of a permanent burial ground on a part of the battlefield for all Union soldiers who had died. Traditionally regarded as the originator of the idea for the creation of the national cemetery, David Wills on July 24, 1863 suggested that propriety and practicality necessitated the creation of a common burial ground on the former battlefield:

> Mr. Seymour [the agent appointed by the governor of New York to tend to the state's dead at Gettysburg] is here on behalf of his Brother the Governor of New York to look after the wounded &c. on the battlefield and I have suggested to him and also the Rev. Cross of Baltimore and others the propriety and actual necessity of the purchase of a common burial ground for the dead, now only partially buried over miles of country around Gettysburg."[23]

Wills had previously investigated the landscape of the battle and had already consulted with eyewitnesses in ascertaining what he considered to be a prime location for a common burial ground. In his letter, he continued:

> My idea is for Pennsylvania to purchase the ground at once, so as to furnish a place for the friends of those who are here seeking places for the permanent burial of their fallen ones, to inter them at once, and also be a place

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[22] Allemans order appears in the *Adams Sentinel*, August 11, 1863; the letter of thanks was published in the *Adams Sentinel*, August 25, 1863.

[23] David Wills to Andrew Curtin, July 24, 1863; copy in the GNMPL files.

> for the burial of the hundreds who are dying here in the hospitals. The other States would certainly, through their Legislatures, in co-operation with our own legislature, contribute towards defraying the expenses of appropriately arranging and decorating the grounds. The graves that are marked on the field would, of course, be properly marked when removed to the Cemetery, and the bodies should be arranged, as far as practicable, in order of Companies, Regiments, Divisions and Corps….[24]

Choosing land located at the apex of the fighting that took place on Cemetery Hill as the most appropriate "to bury the victims of that battle in its contested and hallowed soil already stained with the blood of the fallen," Wills now invited the representatives of other states to take part in the process of re-burial and permanent commemoration.[25]

The "contested and hallowed soil" of Gettysburg that had cost the lives of so many Union soldiers was now destined to become, in part, a permanent site of commemoration and memorialization. The form and content of this commemorative venture at Gettysburg was also "contested" in that, as with all commemorative ventures, a variety of individuals and interests interacted and sometimes clashed during the process. In his 1864 annual message to the Pennsylvania Legislature, Governor Curtin directly linked the appointment of his agent, David Wills, as his representative at the site with the founding of the Soldiers' National Cemetery at Gettysburg. Indeed, Wills did play a significant role in the establishment of the cemetery and has most often been credited with conceiving the idea. Theodore S. Dimon, working with John F. Seymour, New York's general agent, had also come to Gettysburg soon after the battle to look after the

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[24] Wills to Curtin, July 24, 1863, copy in GNMPL

[25] Wills to Curtin, July 24, 1863; copy in the GNMPL files.

needs of the state's wounded and dead. Dimon also promoted the national cemetery concept, and, according to park historian Kathleen R. Georg, probably was the actual "founder" of the idea.[26]

After acquiring for the state of Pennsylvania the title to approximately seventeen acres of land on Cemetery Hill that would comprise the cemetery itself, David Wills organized an interstate commission in which each participating Northern state would be assed a fee to cover some of the burial costs based on their representation in Congress. After establishing a process of competitive bidding for the task of reentering the Union dead, the winning bidder, Samuel Weaver, was authorized to begin work. The thousands of caskets that would be needed were provided by the War Department.[27]

The laborious and gruesome process of exhumation began in mid-October 1863 and was finally completed on March 19, 1864. Identification of the remains of Union soldiers was at best difficult. Some bodies had been stripped of all belongings before the first hasty burial. The Confederate bodies that were discovered had to be identified as such and reburied where they had been discovered deeper down. It was not always easy to make this identification since some needy Confederate troops were wearing lost or captured Union pants, shoes, or other equipment when they died. Although the records of this process indicate that those charged with these identifications swore that no enemy body tainted the grounds of the cemetery where the martyrs to the Union's cause lay, it is

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[26] Frank L. Klement, *The Gettysburg Soldiers' Cemetery and Lincoln's Address: Aspects and Angles* (Shippensburg, PA, USA: White Mane Pub. Co., 1993), 139. About the same time that Wills was communicating with Governor Curtin, the future battlefield historian John B. Bachelder addressed proposals to the governor that were very similar to those of Wills and Curtin regarding a cemetery.. See Kathleen George (Harrison), "This Grand National Enterprise," (Gettysburg: 1982), 3-9 and 9-15.

[27] *Report of the Select Committee Relative to the Soldiers' National Cemetery*, 1988, Thomas Publications. Cited in Garry Wills, *Lincoln at Gettysburg: The Words That Remade America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1992), 22.

now known that some Southern bodies were in fact included with those originally buried in the Soldier's National Cemetery.[28]

The *Adams Sentinel* reported that Southerners, not content to let their fallen relatives and friends lie in shallow Northern graves for eternity, visited the battlefield almost every day "for the purpose of recovering the bodies of the slain, with a view to having them removed and taken to their homes…for reinternment." This process was to continue until late in the nineteenth century as it was occasionally reported in the local press of Adams County that sundry relatives of former Confederates were "visiting" Pennsylvania hoping to recover the remains of brave long lost relatives so they could finally be returned to their homes. [29]

"Eloquent Memorials of Their Glorious Struggles and Triumphs"

Ironically, over a year before the battle in June 1862, a well known Gettysburg resident issued public plea which appeared in a local Republican Newspaper. In it, a call was made for the setting aside of "an eligible site and commodious ground" in the local cemetery devoted exclusively to the burial of any Gettysburg residents who died while in service with the Union army. Also, it called for the construction of a central monument upon which there "…should be inscribed the names alike of privates and officers… [which will serve as] the simple yet eloquent record of the names and battlefields of our martyred dead."[30]

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[28] Ibid., 23.

[29] *Adams Sentinel*, December 5 1865. See also Klement, *The Gettysburg Soldiers' Cemetery and Lincoln's Address: Aspects and Angles*, 132.

[30] *Adams Sentinel*, June 24, 1862, Pennsylvania State Library.

Like David Wills, the author of this appeal, David McConaughy, was also a prominent Gettysburg lawyer and noted Republican. At the time of the battle, he was the President of the Evergreen Cemetery Association. The cemetery was located south of the town on the highest ground directly adjoining the town itself, and was known as Cemetery Hill. Since its establishment in the mid 1850s, McConaughy had been among the cemetery's most enthusiastic supporters. Now, in great part because of the commanding position that the elevated terrain provided, the grounds of the Evergreen Cemetery had become a strategic position on the field during the battle and the location of important Union artillery positions. As reported in the *Adams Sentinel* on July 21st, the effects of the fighting had left their mark on the cemetery grounds: "The ground about our guns was literally strewed with shot and shell; a few tombstones erected over the remains of beloved relations were thrown from their positions or broken into fragments; graves were turned up by ploughing shot, and tasteful railings and other ornamented work around the lots were somewhat shattered."[31]

Because the caretaker of the cemetery was himself stationed at Harpers Ferry as a member of the 138th Pennsylvania Regiment, the task of dealing with the destruction and chaos of the post battle environment would fall largely to his wife Catherine Thorn, even though she was six months pregnant at the time. When the battle began, Mrs. Thorn was residing in the gatehouse of the cemetery with her parent and three young sons.

Leaving when the fighting began and returning on July 4th, she soon received a note from David McConaughy that reveals that Governor Curtin and David Wills would not be alone in their aspirations to permanently inter the Union dead on a portion of the

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[31] *Adams Sentinel*, July 21, 1863, Pennsylvania State Library

field. McConaughy wrote to Mrs. Thorn that, "… it is made out that we will bury soldiers in our cemetery for awhile, so you go for that piece of ground and commence staking off lots and graves as fast as you can make them." Almost as soon as the battle was over, McConaughy had begun to sell fractional lots located in the cemetery to the families of deceased soldiers at the price of $2.50 for a one-fifth share of a lot. Proper burial permits were issued, and the first Union soldiers were interred on part of the battlefield on July 6 in the Evergreen Cemetery on a portion of Cemetery Hill.[32]

A meeting of the manager and board of the Evergreen Cemetery on July 13th, approved McConaughy's actions concerning the burial of the Union dead. Additionally, the board passed a motion to appoint a committee to approach the owner of the land that lay immediately next to the cemetery. Expanding the boundaries of the cemetery was intended to allow additional room for the burial of Union dead. McConaughy and his fellow managers were clearly intending to have their own expanded cemetery serve as a permanent burial ground located on the field of battle. It was understood at a very early stage of the commemorative process that memorial efforts to properly honor the sacrifice of the Union dead of the battle were to take on great significance.

Significantly, McConaughy's conception of "memorialization" from June, 1862 and the idea of a "common burial" from July 6 had established the direction for the still evolving commemorative ethos that was soon to gain wide credibility in the public mind. His connection with the Evergreen Cemetery, his proposal for the establishment of a public monument, and the rising significance of the sacrifices made by the Union dead at Gettysburg had created a context in which McConaughy was uniquely positioned as a

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[32] Busey and Martin, *The Last Full Measure: Burials in the Soldiers' National Cemetery at Gettysburg*, xxv.

significant figure in the process of remembrance and commemoration that was taking place. Indeed, his expanded patriotic conceptualization extended literally and figuratively beyond the boundaries of the Evergreen Cemetery and included the permanent preservation and memorialization of the battlefield itself.

On July 25, McConaughy informed Governor Curtin that the bodies of nearly 100 soldiers had been buried in the Evergreen Cemetery at a cost of $5.00 each. He sought the governor's support for a plan to bury Pennsylvania's dead in the cemetery at state expense, and assured him that : "We are…ready to enter into arrangements…with all other loyal states, to bury the dead in such a manner as shall be agreeable to them and to arrange the grounds accordingly." By the date of this letter, he had entered into an agreement to purchase several parcels of land in order to protect them from possible desecration and land speculation prompted by the intense interest in the battle. [33]

Significantly, this letter also reveals McConaughy's idea that would eventually lead to preserving extensive portions of the battlefield as a permanent site of preservation and commemoration. He went on to inform the governor that he had taken steps "to secure as to be held in perpetuity, the most interesting portions of this illustrious battlefield, that, we may retain them in the actual form & condition they were in, during the battle, the most eloquent memorials of their glorious struggles and triumphs." Also included, was a reassertion of his idea of June, 1862 suggesting that a national monument be erected at Gettysburg in honor of the Union soldiers who had died on the field: "Our

[33] McConaughy to Curtin, July 25, 1863. Pennsylvania State Archives Executive Correspondence, RG 26.

cemetery has also initiated a movement for the creation of a noble National Monument in memory of the battles & the dead." [34]

Although his plan for creating a burial ground for the Union's dead would soon gain the support of other influential individuals such as Governor Curtin and David Wills, the Soldier's National cemetery located on a plot of land on west Cemetery Hill and sharing a common boundary with the already established Evergreen Cemetery would have its own unique identity and have no official association with Gettysburg's own town cemetery.

McConaughgy went on further in his letter to Governor Curtin and recommended allowing the citizens of Pennsylvania to purchase it to allow them "to participate in the tenure of the sacred grounds of the Battlefield, by contributing to its actual cost." By the time of this letter, McConaughy had entered into agreements to purchase portions of the battlefield that were soon to be places of renown and great interest due to the significance of the fighting that had taken place there.[35]

McConaughy's letter is a revelation of his plans for the development of a soldier's cemetery for the dead union soldiers from all the states and the preservation of the battlefield itself as a permanent memorial and place of remembrance that was to include "a noble National Monument." His response to the battle was far-sighted and pivotal and marked a significant moment in the long history of the preservation of America's Civil War battlefields that has continued from July 1863 until today. His vision was ultimately responsible for the creation of the preserved battlefield at Gettysburg.

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[34] McConaughy to Curtin, July 25, 1863.Pennsylvania State Archives Executive Correspondence, RG 26.

[35] Ibid. RG 26.

While the permanent memorialization of the dead found expression in the establishment of the Soldiers' National Cemetery on a prominent portion of the Gettysburg battlefield itself, the simultaneous commemorative effort, originated by McConaughy found official institutional expression in the charter of the *Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association (GBMA).* Founded in September 1863 only two months after the battle and chartered in April 1864, this association's goal was to "hold and preserve the battlegrounds of Gettysburg…with their natural and artificial defenses, such as they were at the time of said battle, and by such memorial structures as a generous and patriotic people may aid to erect, to commemorate the heroic deeds, the struggles, and the triumphs of their brave defenders." From the outset, the significance of this preserved battlefield was to be unique. This was to become especially true in the public mind in the years immediately following the cemetery's dedication during which Abraham Lincoln spoke with what has been described by Gary Wills as "the words that remade America." Most significantly, it should be noted that the commemorative vision finding expression in the creation of a preserved battlefield was conceptualized as one that would honor the bravery and sacrifice of the Union soldiers *exclusively* and by no means was originally associated with reconciliation in any way.[36]

The *GBMA* would eventually provide the institutional impetus for what would become the formative work of physical and artistic commemoration on the battlefield. During the fifteen years following the battle, the *GBMA* had the power to purchase land,

[36] Gary Wills was not the first to write about the significance of Lincoln's "remarks" at the dedication of the Soldiers' National Cemetery and I am certain he was not the last. A number of examinations of been undertaken regarding Lincoln's speech that day, what it has come to mean, and how our public memory of the battle of Gettysburg and our memory of the Civil War has been impacted. See Louis Austin Warren, *Lincoln's Gettysburg Declaration: "a New Birth of Freedom,"* (Fort Wayne,: Lincoln National Life Foundation, 1964), 26-38. See also Wills, *Lincoln at Gettysburg: The Words That Remade America*, 1-40.

and to “repair and preserve the grounds…to construct and maintain roads and avenues, to improve and ornament the grounds and to erect or promote the erection of commemorative markers, monuments and memorials.” As the controlling force in shaping the form and content of public commemoration, it was to guard its grounds assertively while setting the early direction of commemorative content and public memory on the field. [37]

What the *GBMA* did not have was sufficient funds to ensure that the grounds on which the battle was fought would be preserved in any predictably systematic manner. This situation would be remedied in part by the actions of former Major General Daniel Sickles, a Union veteran who had lost a leg at Gettysburg and went on to become a paramount proponent of the permanent preservation of major portions of the former battlefield as well as an interested party attempting to personally control the narrative of public remembrance and commemoration at Gettysburg. As the commander of the III Corps on the second day of the battle, his unauthorized advance of his units at the southern end of the Union lines had been thought of by many as a major tactical blunder which placed the entire Army of the Potomac in jeopardy. His efforts connected to the preservation of the Gettysburg battlefield are also strewn with instances in which he himself had attempted to significantly shape the commemorative planning and design and content of the monuments that began to appear on the battlefield as the end of the nineteenth century approached. His influence can be detected most especially in the text of the interpretive panels that are part of a number of monuments in which the general is credited for his “bold” actions on July 2. As a commemorative venture, the Gettysburg

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[37] *Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association Charter*, GNMPL, Files: 11-30

battlefield contains evidence of an ongoing contest taking place in which the form and the content of the narrative of remembrance is coveted by a number of interests and constituents.[38]

The Gettysburg battlefield was to eventually become the most popular site of veterans' reunions. For a number of years after the war's end, few reunions were held on any Civil War battlefields, given the recollections of bloodshed and suffering, the veteran's need to re-establish their lives, and the expense associated with undertaking what was frequently a logistically challenging journey to often isolated and difficult to reach areas. In the summer of 1869, however, the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association hosted a well-attended reunion for former officers from the Army of the Potomac. Yet, reunions held at the battlefield in the early and mid-1870s, and open to Union veterans of any rank, induced few if any to come back to Gettysburg although a reunion sponsored by the Grand Army of the Republic and held on the fifteenth anniversary of the battle was a success.

Beginning in the late 1870s and continuing until 1894, the Pennsylvania chapter of the Grand Army of the Republic did, however, consistently hold reunions at Gettysburg. In 1880 the GAR gained political control of the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association providing it with a much needed strengthened national base of credibility. By the early 1880s a wide variety of reunions for Union troops, occasionally joined by former Confederates, also regularly occurred. Significantly, a growing camaraderie was developing which allowed Union and Confederate veterans to more

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[38] Hawthorn, *Gettysburg: Stories of Men and Monuments as Told by Battlefield Guides*, 55, 72, 76, 79, 82, 130, 34.See also Edward Tabor Linenthal, *Sacred Ground: Americans and Their Battlefields*, 2nd ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 91.

frequently jointly participate in commemorative occasions and celebrations. The growing sense of reconciliation first associated with Civil War veterans' common identity as brave warriors and eventually associated with a wider reconciliation among all Americans grew and became more influential. This widening sense of national reconciliation was to have a major impact on the form and content of battlefield monuments.

One of the moving forces behind such reunions was Col. John B. Bachelder, who until his death in 1894 was considered the most knowledgeable authority on the battle. Bachelder arrived in Gettysburg shortly after the fighting ended and spent the next eighty-four days on the field, familiarizing himself with every aspect of the conflict that had taken place there. He became one of the original directors of the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association and wrote one of the first battlefield guide books. Throughout the 1880s he worked diligently to bring back both Union and Confederate veterans to the field to help accurately mark the lines of battle. This joint exercises of remembrance and recollection, taking place at Gettysburg and eventually at other battlefields, paved the way for the first steps towards *reunion* that were to find expression in joint veteran's celebrations taking place on the field.[39]

The growing attendance at reunions in the 1880s increased interest in transforming Gettysburg into a fully developed military park, much as had been envisioned in the 1864 charter of the Memorial Association. It was anticipated that commemorative monuments, a connecting road system for ease of access, and a series of interpretive plaques designed to tell the story of the battle, would be located at, or near, key Union positions on the field. By the end of the 1870s little development had taken

[39] See Richard A. Sauers, "John B. Bachelder: His Life and Work," in "Biographical Info.: GNMP Commissioners," GNMPL files 11-34a.

place, however, and the purchase of major battle sites by the Memorial Association had proceeded very slowly. By the mid 1880s, with the 25th anniversary of the battle approaching, and with the Grand Army of the Republic's backing, the Memorial Association was re-energized and revived its original concept of actively encouraging the establishment an extensively monumented battlefield. It encouraged the establishment of new monuments to commemorate the contributions of prominent officers and the many Union units that fought at Gettysburg as well as each of the Northern States whose men had comprised these units.[40]

Modest reunions eventually became elaborate rituals of reconciliation and common remembrance, celebrated during commemorative ceremonies frequently convened on parts of the battlefield. These events offered the opportunity to dramatize what eventually became an ideology of reconciliation, which characterized the causes of the North and the South to be equally just since soldiers on both sides were perceived to have demonstrated laudable martial valor inspired by a deep commitment to their respective cause. [41]

This construction of an ideology of reconciliation began as the nation moved from sectional animosities and mistrust to a union of sentiment based on what has been characterized as "integrated interests." Prominent among these was the previously mentioned influence of the rising tide of late nineteenth century nationalistic fervor which emphasized the mystical value of the "nation" as the highest form of human expression,

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[40] Richard West Sellers, "Pilgrim Places: Civil War Battlefields, Historic Preservation, and America's First National Military Parks, 1863-1900," *CRM Journal: The Journal of Heritage Stewardship*, no. Winter (2005): 37.

[41] Wallace Evan Davies, Patriotism *on Parade; the Story of Veterans' and Hereditary Organizations in America, 1783-1900*, *Harvard Historical Studies, V. 66,* (Cambridge,: Harvard University Press, 1955), 267.

while emphasizing the joint heritage of Anglo-Saxon bravery that, despite the conflict and bloodshed of the Civil War, now unified former enemies into one truly "national" people.[42]

Joint veterans' reunions at Gettysburg reflected this national movement toward reconciliation and revealed that the celebration of Northern and Southern martial valor had become more important than reflections on the causes of the war. It became all too easy for Northern veterans to accept Southern claims that the war was really about arcane constitutional issues such as states rights, rather than about issues of morality connected to the institution of slavery. Bound together by commonly shared attitudes regarding race, veterans were able to bask in the glow of remembered bravery demonstrated equally by both sides now rejoined in a common brotherhood of Anglo Saxon bravery. Consequently, by the 1890s these rituals of reconciliation became rituals of exclusion that ignored the contributions of black Americans during the Civil War. In 1899 the United Confederate Veterans cited the Spanish-American War and the recent Philippine insurrection, both categorized as conflicts pitting white Americans against people of color, as reasons why Northerners should meet with Confederate veterans experienced in the ways of such people, in a "spirit of inquiry" and not "rebuke."[43]

Critics of national reconciliation monopolized by veterans and based solely on heroic recollections of battle believed that commemoration at Gettysburg, or any other

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[42] Often identified as "organic nationalism" this theory located the origins of the American nation as being antecedent to the beginnings of Constitutional government. Accordingly, the apparent disloyalty on the part of the former Confederacy was subsumed in the notion of perfection attainable through moral conflict that would elevate the "nation" to its rightful place. See Merle Curti, "The Reconstruction of Loyality," in Merle Eugene Curti, *The Roots of American Loyalty* (New York,: Russell & Russell, 1967).68-91.

[43] Davies, Patriotism *on Parade; the Story of Veterans' and Hereditary Organizations in America, 1783-1900*, (Harvard University press, 1955),267.

Civil War battlefield, would never be authentic until commemorative events included serious reflection on the significance of slavery and its legacy. Such critics reminded Americans that "polite" memories, those that honored both sides, were dangerously flawed. Frederick Douglass offered his opinion on the subject in 1894 when he noted he was, "…not indifferent to the claims of generous forgetfulness, but whatever else I may forget, I shall never forget the difference between those who fought to save the Republic and those who fought to destroy it."[44]

Reunions were not the only form of commemoration at Gettysburg. Although initially conceived as an organization entrusted with "preservation" of the battlefield, the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association was also charted to" [have] powers similar to those of a Monument Association." In that sense, establishing commemorative public monuments on the battlefield increasingly, by the end of the nineteenth century, occupied its interest and attention as a variety of veterans', state, and local organizations undertook efforts to honor the memory of the Union soldiers who died.[45]

Until 1878 monuments commemorating the Union dead at Gettysburg appeared exclusively within the confines of the Soldiers' National Cemetery situated on a part of the battlefield. As would occur with the first public monuments established in Southern states, the first monuments honoring the memory of Union soldiers were confined to the grounds of the solemn space of the cemetery and were expressions of remembrance centered on mourning. They include the Soldiers' National Monument, a marble urn

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[44] David W. Blight, "For Something Beyond the Battlefield: Frederick Douglas and the Struggle for the Memory of the Civil War," *Journal Of American History*, vol. 75, no. 4, (March 1989), quoted in Linenthal, *Sacred Ground: Americans and Their Battlefields*, 91.

[45] Harrison, "This Grand National Enterprise," 36. Quoted in Michael Wilson Panhorst, "Lest We Forget: Monuments and Memorial Sculpture in National Military Parks on Civil War Battlefields, 1861-1917 (Pennsylvania, Maryland, Tennessee, Mississippi, Georgia)," *DAI* 49, no. 08A (1988).

dedicated to Minnesota veterans, and the statue of Maj. Gen. John Fulton Reynolds, sculpted by John Quincy Adams Ward. Eventually, Union monuments on the field would move beyond the confines of the cemetery and appear at significant sites of public memory and commemoration all over the battlefield. As the GAR gained prominence and veterans of military units that had participated in the battle were invited by the Memorial Association to erect memorials and monuments, a new era in monument activity began. In 1878 and 1879 Pennsylvania posts of the GAR erected memorials to Col. Strong Vincent and Col. Charles Taylor. The monument of the Second Massachusetts Regiment, dedicated in 1879, was the first regimental monument on the field and the first to honor living veterans in addition to serving the traditional funerary function. By the time of the twenty-fifth reunion in 1888 the landscape of the battlefield had been transformed by the presence of more than three hundred monuments. According to the *Gettysburg Compiler*, the field was a “forest of marble and granite, iron and bronze.” Clearly, the activity directed towards commemorating the deeds and the sacrifice of the Union soldiers indicated an active desire on the part of interested parties to both claim a the physical space on the “sacred ground” of the field as a proper venue of remembrance while also acting to shape the evolving narrative of commemoration that was created by the built sculptural environment of remembrance. In essence, a public memory of the war was being metaphorically and physically reconstructed on the battlefield.[46]

[46] Gettysburg Compiler, April 14, 1885. For a general description of the scope of early monumentation at Gettysburg and other Civil War battlefields see Panhorst, "Lest We Forget: Monuments and Memorial Sculpture in National Military Parks on Civil War Battlefields, 1861-1917 (Pennsylvania, Maryland, Tennessee, Mississippi, Georgia)." See also Wayne Craven and Milo Stewart, *The Sculptures at Gettysburg* (New York: Eastern Acorn Press, 1982).

From 1884 until 1894 monument dedications almost always took place in conjunction with those activities commemorating the anniversary of the battle, and like the frequent reunions held at Gettysburg and other battle sites, these dedication ceremonies often unfolded against a background dominated by the overtly expressed theme of reconciliation. Because it was believed that the bravery and heroism shown by the contending Union and Confederate forces revealed a uniquely American form of masculine bravery and commitment to heartfelt principle, Northerners and Southerners came to celebrate Gettysburg as an *American* victory. By the twenty-fifth anniversary, many northern states had passed or were in the process of passing legislation authorizing state funds to erect monuments at Gettysburg.

In 1887 the battlefield commission developed a number of guidelines under which the establishment of commemorative structures were required to comply: that monuments needed to be of granite or bronze and had to provide information about the unit, such as its position, strength, and causalities; that statues had to face enemy lines; and that careful attention be given to the monument's foundations and the natural setting. The membership of the commission, mostly veterans and minor elected and appointed officials from state and local government as well as representatives of the GAR, typically attempted to articulate policies and procedures that insured a predictable uniformity of monument types, maintained traditional classical features in monument design, and very significantly, required that the location of monuments were consistent with the lines of battle as they were at the time of the specific engagement during the battle itself. The conflict at Gettysburg was waged by armies involved in a military campaign;

monuments, markers, and memorials established on that field would always reflect that significant factor in their form, content, and location. [47]

Commemoration through monumentation took place on other battlefields of the Civil War as well, but the greatest variety of monument forms and materials appears at Gettysburg, where the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association, acting as patron, raised monuments for over two decades before other battlefield sites were memorialized. Due to stylistic and technological innovations occurring during the intervening years, the early monuments at Gettysburg are quite different from monuments on battlefields that were developed later. In terms of material composition, the collection at Gettysburg is broader and more varied than that at other parks because early monuments made of marble and zinc were dedicated in the 1880s before regulations limited the type of monument materials that could be used in all parks to bronze, granite, and the more durable types of limestone. Today, approximately fourteen hundred markers, monuments, and memorial structures of various types stand on the field making the former battlefield at Gettysburg one of the most densely monumented sites in the world.[48]

The earliest monuments established on the battlefield represented efforts by veterans to memorialize their own heroism and to honor the sacrifice of their fallen comrades. At dedication ceremonies, speakers assured those gathered that the monuments of bronze and granite would serve as permanent reminders for future generations of the power of heroism and unyielding principles on the battlefield. A heroic past exemplified

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[47] "Minutes of the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Commission, 1872-1895," and "Regulations: Gettysburg National Military Park, 1914," GNMP library files. Quoted in Linenthal, *Sacred Ground : Americans and Their Battlefields*, 105.

[48] Panhorst, "Lest We Forget: Monuments and Memorial Sculpture in National Military Parks on Civil War Battlefields, 1861-1917 (Pennsylvania, Maryland, Tennessee, Mississippi, Georgia)," 33.

by memorial structures would be recreated on the field in a construction of public memory that would forever have meaning. During the dedication of the First Maine Infantry Monument on October 3, 1889, Maj. General Charles H. Smith, who had commanded the unit, assured listeners that future visitors to Gettysburg would rely on these monuments to tell the story of the battle: “These monuments, their emblems and legends that mournfully decorate this great battlefield…will become [future visitors’] interpreters and assistants.” [49]

Confederates on the Field

By the end of the nineteenth century, the rising tide of reconciliation fostered a movement to mark the Confederate lines of battle on the field as well as offering those remaining Southern veterans and their supporters an opportunity to erect their own monuments. Not all members of the Grand Army of the Republic were pleased by the growing sentiment favoring the acknowledgement of Confederate sacrifice and bravery at Gettysburg. In 1885 the commander of the Colorado GAR angrily declared that there should be “no monuments over the grave of a dead Confederacy.” He wanted the Confederacy to be left in its own grave “unwept, unhonored, and unsung.” [50]

Prior to 1888, only two Confederate monuments were established. One marked the spot where Brig. Gen Lewis Armisted fell mortally wounded within the Union lines on Cemetery Ridge. The other, and the first Confederate regimental marker to be erected anywhere on the field, was the monument to the First Maryland Confederate Infantry. In his dedication address of November 19, 1886 in honor of this monument, Captain George

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[49] Hawthorn, *Gettysburg: Stories of Men and Monuments as Told by Battlefield Guides*, 8.

[50] Quoted in Davies, *Patriotism on Parade; the Story of Veterans' and Hereditary Organizations in America, 1783-1900*, 256.

Thomas celebrated the fact that the Gettysburg story was no longer “half told.” The new era of good feeling, he said, had “thrown wide the door to the survivors of the Confederate commands to complete the record.” Coming generations, he cautioned, must guard the field as a “joint heritage of North and South.” Reconciliation was now allowing the commemoration of the Confederacy to make its way out of the cemeteries and burial grounds of the South, into the public spaces of Southern towns and cities, and onto the territory of the Union and the very ground of Pennsylvania that had been the site of perhaps its greatest defeat.[51]

This physical movement of public commemoration out of the confines of the former Confederacy and into the public space of the North, and especially to Northern battlefields, can also be seen as a metaphorical movement reflecting the rising credibility of the Confederacy and its cause. In this way, the physical appearance of Lee and the Virginia Memorial on the field at Gettysburg marked an important point in the evolution of the nation’s public memory of the causes, conduct and meaning of the Civil War. The Lost Cause of the South was to become the *cause* of the nation.

For many, the modest Confederate monumentation that first appeared at Gettysburg still left the story half told. In 1893 the battlefield commissioners began an ambitious program designed to mark the Confederate lines of battle on the field rather than the lines of furthest advance, as had been advocated by many Confederate veterans. Still, other Confederate veterans remained reticent when the subject of establishing monuments to their service at Gettysburg was considered. William Robins, himself a Confederate veteran and park commissioner, met with little success in his attempts to

[51] *Gettysburg Compiler*, November 20, 1888.

arouse enthusiasm among his fellow veterans for more extensive commemorative efforts centered on the building of monuments. An ever shrinking, yet vociferous, minority of Southern veterans were less than enthusiastic about commemorating what had been a defeat. By the time of the Spanish American war and the start of the twentieth century, however, sentiment among former Confederates opposing commemorative activities at Gettysburg had dissipated greatly as thoughts of reconciliation and patriotic nationalism emboldened former Confederates and Southerners in general.[52]

Significantly, one of the earliest signs of reconciliation demonstrated through monumentation was the establishment of the High Water Mark Monument at an important battlefield location on Cemetery Ridge in 1892. Although the entire Gettysburg battlefield is considered a focal point for the survival of the Union, this particular point on cemetery Ridge is the location of the conclusion of Pickett's charge, and in popular memory, where the Union was saved. In *Pickett's Charge*, George Stewart declares: "If we grant that the Civil War furnishes the great dramatic episode of the history of the United States, and that Gettysburg provides the climax of the war, then the climax of the climax, the central moment of our history, must be Pickett's Charge."[53]

Dedicated on June 7, 1892, the monument included five distinct legends cast in bronze. Significantly, in addition to a narrative describing the final assault of July 3, 1863, the names of the brigades and regiments of both Union and Confederate forces that participated in the engagement are listed. The universal importance of site was noted in a

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[52]By 1921 approximately one hundred twenty-five of the two hundred currently existing Confederate monuments at Gettysburg had been established. See Martin, *Confederate Monuments at Gettysburg*, 78.

[53] George Rippey Stewart, *Pickett's Charge; a Microhistory of the Final Attack at Gettysburg, July 3, 1863* (Boston,: Houghton Mifflin, 1959). Quoted in Linenthal, *Sacred Ground: Americans and Their Battlefields*, 107.

speech presented during the dedication by Gettysburg resident and U.S. Representative Edward McPherson who also was the owner of property in Gettysburg which had been the site of heavy fighting. He noted that when the armies came together at Gettysburg, "all thoughtful men realized that a supreme moment in the history of the human race had come." In the dedication address the former governor of Pennsylvania, James A. Beaver remarked that Gettysburg monumnentation played a crucial role in national reconciliation. In referencing all the monuments that had been established on the field by 1892, he noted that they "provoke no jealousies. They harbor no resentments. They are eloquent in their mute appeal to patriotism and duty. They have a mission and they meet its requirements well." He went on to urge that visitors to the site of the monument should admire the courage of the "men who made the charge" as well as those "who received its momentum," because such admiration would eventually lead to the "utter destruction of sectionalism in all its forms and phases." Beaver concluded his speech with a plea for more Confederate monumentation on the battlefield.[54]

During the 1890s the U.S Congress started acquiring Civil War battlefields so that they could serve as war memorials and to prevent the intrusion of commercial interests on what had clearly become important sites of commemoration and public memory. When the federal government created a national military park at Gettysburg in 1896, it took over control of the holdings of the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association. Although the memorial association had supervised the preservation and the marking of the battlefield up to that point, it had confined its efforts exclusively to the battle lines

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[54] *Gettysburg Compiler,December 24, 1892.* See also "Annual Reports of the Gettysburg National Military Park Commission to the Secretary of War, 1893-1904," (Washington: 1905), 23.

and locations associated with the Army of the Potomac. Under the direction of the Federal government, through the direct control of the war department, the holdings of the park now expanded to include areas of the battlefield associated exclusively with the Confederate Army. By acquiring title to almost the entire Gettysburg battlefield, the national government made it possible, both politically and culturally, for Southern states and veterans' associations to establish public monuments and memorials on the field itself. As with all military parks established on former battlefields of the Civil War, the established practice of allowing veterans' groups and individual states to establish their own monuments was continued at Gettysburg. By taking control of Civil War battlefields such as Gettysburg, the federal government was in effect granting equality of commemoration to both the North *and* the South. As a gesture of reconciliation, the Federal government sponsored two Blue and Gray reunions at Gettysburg on the fiftieth and the seventy-fifth anniversary of the battle.

In addition to its desire to preserve the battlefields of the Civil War as sites of commemoration and remembrance, the Federal government also had a purely pragmatic reason for maintaining them in their original condition. Congress mandated that they serve as training grounds for the officer corps of the U.S. military and placed their management under the control of the War Department. [55]

By the middle of the 1890s there was a wide spread sentiment throughout the North that the monumented landscape of the Gettysburg battlefield should more fully tell the Confederate story. At Gettysburg, however, most Confederate veterans' organizations refused to establish monuments due to a federally mandated policy which stated that

[55] U.S Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *The Origins and Evolution of the National Military Park Idea, by Ronal F. Lee* (Washington D.C. 1973) p28-32.

memorials on the field be erected at the “position occupied by the command in the main line of battle” and permitted only “subordinate tablets” to be placed at the advanced positions reached by military units themselves. Many former Confederates objected to this restriction because it unfairly discriminated against their units and ignored the fact that earlier northern monuments established on the field had not been subjected to this rule. Additionally, sentiment for monumentation wavered among Southern veterans of the battle when it was asserted by some that the location of their monuments would always tend to remind visitors that they had lost.[56]

In 1896, reflecting the impact of widespread reconciliation and the rise of nationalistic fervor that was becoming more pronounced, the *Philadelphia Times* stated that no “sectional passions” could interfere with attempts to “tell the whole story of the matchless courage of American soldiers.” It was now apparent that *all* the soldiers who fought on both sides during the Civil War and at the battle of Gettysburg, were worthy of public remembrance by the entire nation through monumentation on the battlefield. In 1903, the *Gettysburg Compiler* declared that a fully monumented battlefield would demonstrate that the “God of battles gave victory for the preservation of the Union” and that the battle was unequivocal evidence of “immortal Anglo-Saxon bravery.” This rising sentiment of reconciliation naturally was going to reflect positively on both the veterans of the South their leadership. Both they and their leaders were now more often viewed as equally brave and patriotic as those who fought for the Union.[57]

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[56] Harlan D. Unrau, *Administrative History: Gettysburg National Military Park and Gettysburg National Cemetery, Pennsylvania* ([Denver, Colo.?]: U.S. Dept. of the Interior, National Park Service, 1991).

[57] *Philadelphia Times*, June 7, 1906 in “Gettysburg Newspaper Clippings,” vol. 2. GNMPL. *Gettysburg Compiler*, January 28, 1903.

Public Memory and the Acceptance of the Lost Cause and Lee

As an unquestioned model of respectable republican manhood, by the beginning of the twentieth century, Robert E. Lee had been absorbed into the pantheon of national icons. As pointed out by Gary Gallagher, a striking irony of the Civil War can be found in the realization that the leader of the rebellion, Robert E. Lee, rather than the chief commander of the North's forces, Ulysses Grant, stands today with Lincoln as one of the conflict's two great popular figures. Lee was idealized, commodified, and eventually appropriated as a true American hero by a Northern society in search of a paragon of republican virtue and manhood. Exclusive claim to the general's memory was, however, maintained by Southerners who were highly reluctant to relinquish their hold on Lee's reputation as the embodiment of virtues and attributes which they asserted were particularly laudable and uniquely *Southern*. Both the equestrian and the recumbent figures of Lee resting securely on Southern soil became jealously guarded artifacts of sectional pride. This sentiment was partially expressed in an 1899 article appearing in *Confederate Veteran.* In it, the author asserted that the general, who had been "another Adam, fresh from the Creator's hand" would never be the property of the restored Union and would always remain for all Southerners, "Our Lee."[58]

Despite Southern efforts to claim exclusive ownership of the iconic mythology of Lee which likened the general to George Washington, Lee would be embraced by the North as well. During an address delivered at the University of North Carolina in 1909,

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[58] "Recumbent Figure of Gen. R.E. Lee," *Confederate Veteran* 7, no. 2 (1899).

Woodrow Wilson lectured his audience that Lee was so great that he could not "be lifted to any new place of distinction by any man's words of praise."[59]

Although Wilson's sentiment directed towards the memory of his fellow Virginian would be most certainly judged as accurate by informed observers of the early twentieth century, further vindication for the South's Lost Cause would be hastened by a further appropriation of the general's reputation and physical presence in an act of permanent commemoration. It was his appearance along with his men again on the battlefield at Gettysburg as a sculpted icon of both the South and the entire nation that announced the final apotheosis of the Lee, his reputation, his cause, and what he had come to represent.

Why was a leader of a military and cultural entity that had been bent on the destruction of the American nation, now, at the dawn of a new century, so universally and unabashedly held in such high esteem? To understand this, it is helpful to examine the framework of how societies remember and explain themselves within the dialogue of their own national narrative of identity.

Constructing the Memory of an Authentic Patriot

In commenting on a seemingly universal tendency of all societies to struggle with reconciling the need for cultural continuity and cultural revision, Alfred North Whitehead noted that:

[59] Woodrow Wilson, "Appomattox, an Anniversary," *Journal of Social Forces* II (1924).

> The art of a free society consists in the maintenance of the symbolic code; and secondly in fearlessness of revision, to secure that the code serves those purposes which satisfy an enlightened reason. Those societies which cannot combine reverence to their symbols with freedom of revision must ultimately decay either from anarchy, or from the slow atrophy of a life stifled by useless shadows.[60]

The commemorative efforts surrounding the sculpture of Robert E. Lee on the field at Gettysburg play a significant part in this *maintenance* of America's symbolic code. Commemorative activities most often mobilize symbols that can be shaped and mediated to elicit feelings and perceptions about the past. The word *commemoration* derives from the Latin: *com* (together) + *memorare* (to remember)-to remember together. By marking events believed by those controlling the creation of the narrative to be the most deserving of remembrance, commemoration becomes society's moral memory. Commemoration makes a society conscious of itself as it affirms its members' mutual affinity and identity. *All* of those activities centered on the commemoration of Robert E. Lee were, by the start of the twentieth century, cast in the public mind as being truly positive in their intent as well as truly authentic in their effect. White America, North and South, viewed the general's legacy as highly deserving of national praise and unreserved admiration within the framework of the nation's shared memory.[61]

All commemorative processes, like those associated with the task of establishing a memorial on a former battlefield, are by definition social and political in nature. They involve the convergence of both individual and group memories and interests as various

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[60] Quoted in Merrill D. Peterson, *The Jefferson Image in the American Mind* (New York,: Oxford University Press, 1960), 332.

[61] Barry Schwartz, *Abraham Lincoln and the Forge of National Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 9-11.

constituencies contest the form and content of the final commemorative product. The results of this dialogue often present a seemingly legitimate vision held together by a patina of consensual convergence while seldom revealing the intensity of the contest for memory that is often an integral part of the birthing process of commemorative forms.[62]

But what exactly are these commemorative processes remembering? How do we understand what is being remembered by a society when it initiates efforts which are directed toward the various activities, including the establishment of monuments on battlefields intended to carry out their goals of commemoration? Are questions of public memory ones centered on a process of simple recall or are they ones that allow those controlling the dialogue to shape the memory itself?

Memory, both private and individual as much as collective and cultural, is constructed, not reproduced. This construction is not made in isolation but in the context of community, politics, and social dynamics. Monument dedications, like that of the Virginia Memorial at Gettysburg, are cultural expressions of *public memory*, which may be defined as a body of beliefs about the past which helps a society comprehend its past as well as its present. As a commemorative venture the Virginia Memorial, or any such monumentation at a site of contested memory, may be viewed as serving either official or vernacular interests. This memorial is distinctive because its representation of public memory at the time of its dedication served both the vernacular and the official interests

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[62] John R. Gillis, *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994), 5.

of the era in that it had constructed a singular public memory embraced as authentic and consensual.[63]

According to John Bodnar, "official" culture is the domain of cultural leaders (elites) or authorities at a variety of levels throughout society. Often "official" memory is made up of state sponsored commemorative activities dealing with events that have been construed as being of national significance. The continuity of the past and loyalty to the status quo are their main concern. Nationalism, patriotism and social stability are major priorities. "Vernacular" culture, on the other hand, is the purview of what he identifies as "ordinary people." Their associations are often informal and their needs as an interest group can often be constructed on an ad hoc basis. Typically they focus on ethnic, local and regional communities' recollection of what has been described as a *subnational* past. Also, they may include interests that are "outside" or in seeming opposition to the narrative embraced as being "official." Significantly, these interests ordinarily lack access to the structures of power in society.[64]

Using this dichotomy, the "interests" of each group in the structuring of commemorative practices can be seen as fundamental in shaping the totality of commemoration and determining what is *remembered* by a society; its public memory. These different constructions of memory often work at cross-purposes because by their nature they represent oppositional interests.

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[63] John E. Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991).

[64] For a complete treatment of this dynamic see Ibid., 13-38. The use of these terms to characterize this distinctive opposition in approach is structured in Susan G. Davis, *Parades and Power: Street Theatre in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986), 16-18.

Those constituents of the commemorative process concerned with the propagation of official culture share a common interest in social unity, the continuity and stability of existing institutions and widely accepted cultural narratives, and a pointed adherence to the status quo. They attempt to advance their interests by constructing the past in terms that reduce the power of competing constituencies that work against the goals of formalized structures of stability and order. Relying on what has been described as “dogmatic formalism” which emphasizes a restatement of reality in ways that are neither complex nor ambiguous, official memory constructs the past in terms of orthodox expressions of power and control while frequently evoking a unifying and unambiguous patriotism.[65]

In contrast, vernacular culture represents more dispersed interests that are not fixed but constantly in flux as constituent interests and their alliances coalesce and evolve while the structures of the dominant cultural and economic system adapt to maintain their control of the public narrative of commemoration. Vernacular interests are more concerned with localized realities based on a shared constituent interest as opposed to what has been called “imagined communities” based on articulated national interests.[66]

Public memory is the product of the ongoing discussion occurring in civic culture regarding the structures of power in a society and its visible and implied manifestations in constructed narratives of memory. The symbolic language of patriotism is central to the formulation of public memory because it is uniquely capable of mediating both regional

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[65] Schwartz, *Abraham Lincoln and the Forge of National Memory*, 14-19.

[66] Benedict R. O'G Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Rev. and extended ed. , (London; New York: Verso, 1991).

and minority concerns that make up vernacular interests as well as official concerns that make up the national and majoritarian interests.[67]

The symbolic code of the United States is complex and multivocal. However, official interests maintain an advantage in this mediated discourse in that the official structures of power, by their nature, have a tendency to silence vernacular interests. In no sphere are the complexities and nuances of this code more demonstrable than in the category of the public memory of the Civil War. Accordingly, the constructed nature of public memory is demonstrated by widespread acceptance of the main tenets of the myth of the Lost Cause. It is in that myth that the American nation found a national narrative of meaning at the start of the twentieth century. Embracing the image of Robert E. Lee as an unquestionably authentic and worthy American patriot, memorializing both his image and his cause on the battlefield at Gettysburg signaled a victory of public memory embraced by both official and vernacular interest. Northerners and Southerners remembered the cause of the Confederacy as being worthy of national celebration and remembrance.

If public memory is indeed constructed and contested, understanding exactly what it is that drives the creation of a narrative of memory is essential to understanding this dynamic. Although having different specific interests at the core of their efforts, both official and vernacular interests strive to construct a public narrative of remembrance based on the perspective of their constituents. Understanding this, ascertaining how the process in which Robert E. Lee's persona as an authentic American patriot rose to prominence in early twentieth century white America, after formerly being one that was

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[67] Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century*, 15.

widely vilified by Northerners and even some Southerners, directs the inquiry towards understanding the motives underlying the reconstruction of his legacy in the realm of public memory.

Two analytical approaches to this issue can be articulated through a mobilization of some concepts that inform our understanding of the motives driving the construction of collective public memory. The first approach assumes that the past as well as activities of remembrance and commemoration recalling the past are a social construction that is shaped and structured based on the needs of the present. According to George Herbert Mead, conceptions of the past are constructed "from the standpoint of the new problem of today." Similarly, Maurice Halbwachs frames the issue in a similar fashion saying: "collective memory is essentially a reconstruction of the past [which] adapts the image of ancient facts to the beliefs and spiritual needs of the present." David Lowenthal agrees, stating: "The prime function of memory is not to preserve the past, but to adapt it so as to enrich and manipulate the present." Mead, Lowenthal, and Halbwachs investigate this issue from different perspectives and maintain different assumptions about how present conditions affect perceptions about the past. The central thrust of their separate arguments is, however, the same. Their conceptualization of public memory relates what is remembered in a given context to specific beliefs, interests, aspirations, and fears about the present. The societal symbolic code of public memory is configured in a manner that is useful and meaningful in the present. The past is reconstructed in a manner which has utility for now. [68]

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[68] George Herbert Mead, "The Nature of the Past," in John Dewey, *Essays in Honor of John Dewey, on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday, October 20, 1929* (New York,: H. Holt and Company, 1929), 235-42, Maurice Halbwachs, *La Topographie Lâegendaire Des Âevangiles En Terre Sainte; Âetude De Mâemoire Collective* (Paris,: Presses universitaires de France, 1941), 7, David Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign*

The degree to which this analytical approach can be utilized in an unfettered way is somewhat restricted by another dynamic present within organized human societies. All societies require a real yet perhaps minimal sense of continuity with the past, and the public memory of any society cannot be serviceable in the present unless it somehow secures this continuity. This approach to understanding the past argues that if beliefs about the past and the commemorative activities celebrating it fail to outlive changes in society, then society's unity and sense of continuity would precipitously diminish. Emile Durkhiem has developed this argument in a systematic fashion. According to Durkhiem, a connection to the past is cultivated through the periodic convening of rites of commemoration. The purpose and function of these commemorative rites is not to *recreate* the past by bending it to the service of the present but rather, to *reproduce* the past to make it *live* again as it once was. Through this process, society "renews the sentiment which it has of itself and its unity." Edward Shils expresses a similar idea in his conceptualization of the meaning of traditions. The remembered image of the past of a heroic individual is not, according to Shils, conceived and elaborated anew in each generation. The past is never *reconstructed* but is transmitted according to what he describes as a "guiding pattern" that endows successive generations with a common heritage.[69]

The contrast between Mead, Halbwachs, and Lowenthal on one side and Durkheim and Shils on the other centers itself on the distinction between believing that

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Country (Cambridge [Cambridgeshire] ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 210, George Herbert Mead and Arthur Edward Murphy, *The Philosophy of the Present* (Chicago, London,: Open court publishing co., 1932).

[69] Emile Durkheim and Karen E. Fields, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (New York: Free Press, 1995), 415, 20, Edward Shils, *Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 31-32.

the process of the construction of public memory is in reality concerned with revising the narrative of the past and commemorating it in a manner that serves the needs of the present, or commemorating the past in an effort to recreate it so as to experience it again in the present. In the realm of public commemoration and the maintenance of a society's symbolic code, the celebration and memory of heroic figures like Robert E. Lee and his image is important.

Confederate Monuments at Gettysburg

In the years following the Civil War, Northern veterans began the process of commemorating their heroic deeds and their deceased comrades by establishing monuments and markers on the former battlefields. By the 1880s, every major battlefield had at least a small number of monuments on them. None, however, would have as many as the battlefield at Gettysburg. Eventually, Gettysburg would have over 1400 monuments and markers established within the confines of the Gettysburg National Military Park. Not surprisingly, only about fifteen percent of the monuments established on the field were built to honor Confederate troops.

Northern veterans' groups met regularly at Gettysburg in the years following the first informal reunion in 1878, primarily because it was the closest battlefield to their homes and the location of what was generally thought to be the site of the Union's most significant victory. Interest in establishing monuments and memorials continued to grow among Union regiments over the years until 1920, when every Union regiment had at least one monument on the field.

Conversely, Southern interest in establishing monuments at Gettysburg grew very gradually, mostly because Confederate veterans were understandably reluctant to

commemorate their participation in a major military defeat. Confederate veterans were not hesitant to establish monuments at Chickamauga, which had been a Confederate victory, or at Shiloh or Vicksburg which were closer to their homes in the South. Additionally, those few early inquiries made by Southerners regarding the possible establishment of monuments on the field at Gettysburg were most often met with a less than encouraging reply from the commissioners of the GBMA.[70]

It was not until 1886 that the first Confederate marker was established on the field. The early Confederate interest in monuments at Gettysburg had the same goals as the first permanent Union markers and monuments established beyond the boundary of the cemetery: former Confederates wanted to commemorate their participation in the battle by marking the positions of their regiments and honor the memory of fallen comrades and their leaders. The Confederate road to the establishment of monuments on the field was not smooth. The applications for the first two monuments to be established, the regimental monument of the 1st (2nd) Maryland Infantry, established 1886, and the Armistead Marker, established 1887 honoring the advance position where general Lewis Armisted fell within Union lines on July 3, were both intensely scrutinized by the board of the GBMA and by a number of Union veterans of the battle. The objections raised spanned a wide range of issues, but most seemed to reflect an overall reluctance on the part of the commissioners to honor former enemies with their own monuments in close proximity to already existing Union monuments. Somewhat paradoxically, most of the Confederate monuments and markers eventually established on the field were established under the auspices of the federal government and not Confederate veterans or Southern

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[70] Martin, *Confederate Monuments at Gettysburg*, 3.

states. As part of the effort at "preservation" taking place after 1895 when the battlefield was taken over by the federal government and placed under the jurisdiction of the War Department, the lines and positions of specific Confederate Units were preserved and marked for accuracy and as an aid for studying military strategy. Eventually, all the southern states that fought on the field established their own monuments, but the first to do so would be the state of Virginia, and the first equestrian monument of a Southerner was to feature Robert E. Lee.[71]

Of course, in a literal sense the first Confederate "monuments" at Gettysburg were the temporary headboards and crude markers used to mark the location of the burial of Confederate dead. Few dead Southerners had individually marked graves, and since the Confederates were on the attack during most of the fighting, those who fell were usually outside of Southern lines. By default, their burial became the task of Union troops, who quite typically, buried the Southern dead in mass graves that most often were marked in only the most rudimentary fashion. Most of the Confederate dead were eventually be disinterred and reburied in the South. When this process was completed in 1872, it left behind no traces of the Confederate presence anywhere on the field. This was not the case for those who had fought on the Union side.[72]

Beginning in 1867, when the veterans of the 1st Minnesota Infantry placed a memorial urn within the confines of the Soldiers' National Cemetery, the monumentation of the Gettysburg battlefield had begun. Beginning in the cemetery, this movement would soon emerge from this space of mourning and remembrance and into the space of the

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[71] *Minutes of the Gettysburg Battlefield Military Park Commission*, Vertical File 11-6, Gettysburg National Military Park Library n.p.

[72] Martin, *Confederate Monuments at Gettysburg*, 4.

battlefield itself. Twelve years latter, in 1879, the regimental association of the 2nd Massachusetts infantry placed a small commemorative tablet at the site of their location on the field, and the following year the veterans of the 91st Pennsylvania placed a modest granite monument on Little Round Top to commemorate their service.[73]

Confederate interest in erecting their own monuments on the field became more widespread during the 1890s, although none were established until the end of the decade. Battlefield administrators extended open invitations to Confederate veterans from the battle to return to the field to assist in the accurate marking of the Confederate lines of battle with some form of modest durable structure intended to *locate* the sites of their participation rather than *commemorate* it. This became especially the case after 1895 when the administration of the battlefield passed to the federal government and was placed under the direct control of the War Department.[74]

Although a process had begun during which the federal government extensively marked the Confederate lines with a series of "handsome tablets of iron" identifying the Confederate units' location , strength, casualties, commanders, as well as a brief description of their activities, what Confederate veterans were most interested in was marking their advanced positions. Park commissioners had initially intended to do exactly this, but their initial efforts met with a great deal of opposition from Northern veterans. The opposition was so great that by the late 1890s, all requests for the

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[73] Hawthorn, *Gettysburg: Stories of Men and Monuments as Told by Battlefield Guides*, 7.

[74] John Mitchell Vanderslice, *Gettysburg Then and Now* (New York,: G. W. Dillingham co., 1899), 491.

establishment of monuments at Confederate advance positions were automatically denied. In a few instances, this conflict that developed was to become pointed.[75]

The process of marking the main Confederate lines of battle was essentially complete by 1908 but would continue to be augmented from time to time. The main impetus of twentieth century Confederate monumentation on the field was not the marking of the movement of individual units or the commemoration of individual brigades but was directed at honoring the valor of the ordinary Confederate through the establishment of monuments by the former states of the Confederacy themselves. The first monument of this type to appear on the field was to mark the return of Robert E. Lee. The reappearance of both him and his men in a sculpted memorial form in 1917 was to signal a final triumph in the "war of ideas" called for years before by Edward Pollard in the war's immediate aftermath. A widely accepted public memory of the triumph of the ideology of the Lost Cause would supplant the memory of Confederate defeat at Gettysburg.[76]

Lee Returns to Gettysburg

During his presidency, Teddy Roosevelt went so far as proposing that a monument to Lee be erected in the North because, according to Roosevelt, the former Confederate commander had become "a matter of pride to all our countrymen." Soon after the president's proposal, Roosevelt's effusive sentiments were reiterated in the pages of *Harper's Weekly* where Lee was referred to as an embodiment of "the pride of

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[75] A controversy developed in 1902 over the proposal of Col. William Oates concerning the establishment of a monument on the advanced position of his unit, the 15th Alabama, in the vicinity of the southern face of Little Round Top. See Letter File 2-8 in Gettysburg Military Park Library.

[76] Edward Alfred Pollard, *The Lost Cause; a New Southern History of the War of the Confederates* (New York,: E. B. Treat & co., Baltimore, Md., L. T. Palmer & co.; (etc., 1866).

the whole country." By the early twentieth century Lee's stature was that of national hero and it can be asserted, as has been argued by Nina Silber, that by the time of the president's pronouncement, the North, in fact, needed Lee. [77]

The well defined movement towards reconciliation that existed in the early twentieth century did have its detractors. In 1910, the New York branch of the Loyal Legion of the United States, a society of former Union Officers, vigorously protested proposals before Congress that called for the establishment of a national monument in Washington D.C. to Robert E. Lee. Arguing that the federal government's establishment of monuments in honor of the Confederate dead in federal cemeteries had been overly magnanimous towards what they believed to be traitorous Southerners, the members of this veterans' group demanded that the nation's capital not be violated with a sculpted figure of the rebel chieftain.[78]

Other voices also objected to the national movement towards reconciliation. Frederick Douglass and other African American leaders insisted that reconciliation was being realized with no authentic justification. In their minds, and in the minds of others, the South had been forgiven without any real progress being made towards according African Americans the rights of full citizenship. Remembered as a war of liberation by many, former slaves and others feared that overzealous reconciliation would undermine

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[77] Theodore Roosevelt, "Robert E. Lee and the Nation," *Sewanee Review of Social Forces* XVI (1907). Quoted in Thomas Lawrence Connelly, *The Marble Man: Robert E. Lee and His Image in American Society*, Louisiana pbk. ed. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978), 99, A.J. McKelway, "Appomattox, an Anniversary," *Harper's Weekly* LXII (1906), Wilson, "Appomattox, an Anniversary." reprint of a 1909 address at the University of North Carolina. Quoted in Connelly, *The Marble Man: Robert E. Lee and His Image in American Society*, 99, 231.

[78] Thomas Sturgis, *Shall Congress Erect Statues at National Expense to Confederate Officers in Washington?* (New York), 1910)

the real goals of the sacrifice of so many, including African American soldiers themselves.[79]

Although no memorial to Lee was ever built in Washington D.C., by the beginning of the twentieth century equestrian statues of Sherman, Sheridan, Logan, and other Northern heroes of the Civil War did appear there. Equestrian representations of military and political leaders had been controversial during the period of the early republic. Formerly associated with the commemoration of monarchial leaders of Europe, their use in commemorations of Grant and other generals from both the North and South reflected a shift towards viewing the role of the military in American society seeing it as both necessary and beneficial to a truly great nation's self identity and well being. By this time, national and regional elites viewed war as a noble and heroic undertaking. In the early 1900s, Oliver Wendell Holmes recalled his Civil War experiences and remembered the "incommunicable experience of war" as being for him an exciting time of "glory" and "heroism."[80]

Dedicated in 1917, the Virginia Memorial (**figure 20**) prominently featuring the equestrian image of Robert E. Lee was the first Southern state monument to appear on the field at Gettysburg. It was sculpted by F. William Sievers and was dedicated on June 8, 1917. This monument had been proposed by the state legislature of Virginia in 1908, but

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[79] David W. Blight, *Frederick Douglass' Civil War: Keeping Faith in Jubilee* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989). The fears of Douglass and others were well founded. Only a few Civil War monuments commemorate the service of African American soldiers. In those monuments where they do appear, their representation is marginalized. See Albert Boime, *The Art of Exclusion: Representing Blacks in the Nineteenth Century* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990), 15-19, 199-217.and Kirk Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth-Century America* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997).

[80] Max Lerner, *Mind and Faith of Justice Holmes: His Speeches, Essays, Letters and Judicial Opinions*, 2008 ed. (Holmes Beach, FL: Gaunt, Inc., 2008), 9-27. *Report of the* (Virginia) *Gettysburg Monument Commission*, n.p. GBPL.

objections were raised by some Northern veterans, especially those from the state of Pennsylvania. On hearing about the possibility of the establishment of the monument, the Harrisburg chapter of the Grand Army of the Republic objected insisting that the South was responsible for starting the war. Additionally, the original proposal from the state of Virginia had included a request to locate the monument at the furthest point of the Confederate advance on Cemetery Ridge which was well within the Union lines. In response to this proposal, a tersely worded letter was composed by the Secretary of War that informed the members of the Virginia State Senate that, "No monument, Federal or Confederate, had been permitted by the Commission since the organization of that body, to be erected at that place, and that none would be permitted in the future."[81]

The monument was eventually established on a central location on Seminary Ridge, at the approximate location from which Lee observed the advance of Picket's charge on the climatic third day of the battle. The ordinary soldier of Virginia is also commemorated by seven figures at the monument's base, each intended to represent a specific civilian occupational group all of which are presented to represent a cross section of the Southern civilians who served as soldiers at Gettysburg. The base of the monument supports the sculpted equestrian figure of Robert E. Lee staring across the field towards the enemy's position. Inscribed across the front of the base are the words, "*Virginia to Her Sons At Gettysburg*."

The Movement to Erect a Monument

The movement to establish a state monument dedicated to the commemoration of the contribution of the state of Virginia at Gettysburg began to materialize on October 23,

[81] *Harrisburg Independent,* Jan. 15, 1903

1907, when the Grand Camp of the Confederate Veterans of Virginia meeting in Norfolk passed a resolution proposed by former General Lindsay L. Lomax to establish a memorial at Gettysburg "not to leaders only, but to Confederate followers worthy of great leaders." [82]

This recommendation soon found concrete political support from the governor of Virginia, Claude A. Swanson, and the state's General Assembly. In supporting the proposal the governor delivered a speech on January 9, 1908 saying:

> A more glorious exhibition of disciplined valor has never been witnessed than that shown at Gettysburg. The heroic achievements of our troops in that fierce battle have given to this Commonwealth a fame that is immortal, a luster that is imperishable. I recommend that an appropriation be made to erect on this Battlefield a suitable monument to commemorate the glory and Heroism of Virginia troops.[83]

On March 9, 1908 the General Assembly of Virginia unanimously passed a bill authorizing the establishment of a memorial on the battlefield in Pennsylvania and created a five man committee chaired by the Governor, and appropriated $10,000 for its construction. This amount was later increased to $50,000, with an additional $8000 appropriated for expenses associated with the dedication itself.

After settling on the site for the monument, the commission's next step was to solicit design proposals. The requirements for a design were advertised in local Richmond newspapers, and sculptors were invited to submit their plans to the commission. The advertisements included the stipulation that any submitted plan needed

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[82] "Dedication of the Virginia Memorial at Gettysburg," *Southern Historical Society Papers* IV (1917): 112.

[83] Ibid. 85, "Virginia Monument at Gettysburg, Records, 1906-1917," (Virginia State Library: 1917).

to include two alternate proposals: one with an equestrian representation of General Lee and one without. Some Confederate veterans had been lobbying for a memorial of some kind to General Lee at Gettysburg for a number of years, but it was by no means certain that a sculpted representation of Lee should be included in a monument dedicated to the sacrifice of troops from the state of Virginia. Members of the commission expressed some hesitancy, deeply concerned about promoting a negative reaction from Northerners by including a sculpted image that might be seen exclusively as honoring an "enemy" general on Northern soil. By having alternate design proposals from each submission, the committee acted to ensure the project's success while not alienating any constituent groups with a material interest in the form and content of this battlefield commemoration. Understanding that this proposed monument would significantly alter the existing commemorative text that had been dominated by the Union memorials already established on the field, the members of the committee were sensitive to the reality that opposition could be encouraged if the design and content of the memorial were perceived as threatening to the overall meaning of the battlefield as a commemorative work dedicated almost exclusively to honoring the bravery and sacrifice Northern troops.[84]

Some forty artists from all over the country submitted designs for the project. The winning proposal was that of F. William Sievers (1872-1966). Sievers was a Northerner who had been born in Fort Wayne, Indiana and had established a studio in New York. He had, however, grown up in Atlanta and, significantly, had lived and worked in Richmond. He was classically trained and had studied sculpture in Rome and in Paris and was at a relatively early point in his career when he was offered the commission for the Virginia

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[84] "Dedication of the Virginia Memorial at Gettysburg," 101.

Memorial at Gettysburg. His very first public commission for a memorial sculpture had been for the Confederate monument in Abington, Virginia.

Although the Virginia Monument Commission entered into a formal contract with the sculptor on March 15, 1910, the work took over six years to complete and consisted of a two part design. With the consent of the Committee, the artist eventually reworked the lower portion of his design that was to be located near the monument's base, changing its original motif from what had been three distinct figural groups to a much more positively received single group of Confederate soldiers portraying all branches of the Confederate Army. The artist described the figures as follows:

> The group is intended to represent the three branches of military service that took part in the Battle-infantry, artillery and cavalry. The several characters are drawn from various walks of life. The figure to the extreme left, biting off the end of a paper cartridge might well be the average man about town; the next, a mechanic. The bearded figure is of the professional type; and the gawky figure with charging bayonet, a farmer. These four characters are infantrymen. The figures with the pistol and the bugler are artillerymen. The mounted youth, a cavalry standard bearer, shows refinement, supposedly from the well -to -do class, and being possessor of a saddle horse landed him in the cavalry. These figures, in general, are intentionally robust, to symbolize the vigor of the Confederate Army. The battered and scattered military equipment merely records incidents of the battle symbolic of the struggle.[85]

The artistic characterizations of the figures themselves are drawn from what were by the time of the monument's creation stereotypical representations that had become widely popularized throughout both the North and South. By the early twentieth century

[85] Quoted in Nicholas Antonios Meligakes, *Gettysburg, the National Shrine*, 1st ed. (Gettysburg, Pa.,: 1948), 24.

such characterizations, based partly in truth, had assumed an almost mythic quality that was reinforced by decades of romanticized cultural traditions deeply rooted in the myth of the Lost Cause. The imagery utilized in the battered soldiers valiantly positioned at the monument's base is a product of the notion that the soldiers of the South were forever outnumbered and forever brave. The archetypal figure of "Johnny Reb" had become a standard iconic representation by the time of Siever's work on the Virginia Memorial and was greatly influenced by the work of a former collaborator of Sievers, William Ludwell Sheppard (1833-1912).[86]

Sheppard, popularly known as the "Winslow Homer of the Confederacy," created popular visual images of Confederate soldiers for over two decades. Additionally, he was the sculptor of three Civil War monuments in Richmond, the statue of General A.P. Hill (1891), a tribute to the Richmond Howitzers (1892), and the Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument (1893). His most important artistic contributions, however, were evident in his work in the genre of illustrations. He is especially well known for his extensive contributions to the series *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (1888). His images which significantly contributed to the perpetuation of the ideology of the Lost Cause into the

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[86] Some of the "types" of figures that are portrayed by Sievers in this sculptural group can be found in a number of Sheppard's prints of Confederate camp life. See Stephen W. Sears, *The American Heritage Century Collection of Civil War Art* (New York,: American Heritage Pub. Co.; book trade distribution by McGraw-Hill, 1974), 106, 63, 337.See also Ulrich Troubetzkoy, "W.L. Sheppard: Artist of Action," Virginia Cavalcade 11 (Winter 1961-1962) p 20-26. The preponderance of foot soldiers in Sievers' lower group also echoes a tradition alluded to by Confederate illustrator when he said: "despite…the claim to cavalier descent, the typical Johnny was essentially a man of his legs." Allen C. Redwood, "Johny Reb at Play," (1878). Quoted in Mark E. Neely, Harold Holzer, and G. S. Boritt, *The Confederate Image: Prints of the Lost Cause* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987), 219.

early twentieth century in visual form were widely available, popularly applauded, and most often hailed by veterans for their reportorial accuracy and attention to detail.[87]

This figural group clearly evokes a pictorial tradition that had been passed on for decades and was clearly an echo of the myth of the Lost Cause. The commemorative ideal of the Virginia Memorial and its reaffirmation of the public memory of the Civil War as recapitulated in the tenants of the Lost Cause which incorporated the image of the "everyman" Confederate, was a three dimensional extension of the familiar images of William Sheppard which had gained a large and loyal audience of supporters and constituents. Sievers' artistic vision operated within the pre-existing iconographical framework directly influenced by a balance of well understood visual images and well developed public presumptions influenced by the ideology of the Lost Cause. This dynamic was especially important in the case of the Virginia Memorial in which the site specific nature of the monument served to intensify the ideological concerns inherent in the establishment of this nominally Southern monument on the Northern soil of Gettysburg.

This sculptural group is represented in a variety of poses that are typical of combat, and presents a seemingly realistic presentation of the tension and the struggle of battle. While not specifically intended to portray a specific event, the effect for the viewer is no less dramatic in that the turmoil, anguish, and intensity of a life and death struggle is presented. This grouping of soldiers faces directly across the field upon which Lee's Virginians advanced on the battle's climatic third day. It serves as a reminder to the

[87] Leslie A Przybylek, "Soldiers to Science: Changing Commemorative Ideals in the Public Sculpture of Frederick William Sievers" (University of Deleware, 1995), 32.

observer that the sacrifice being honored was one that took place during moments of great emotional and physical stress and peril.

The final model for the lower group was completed in 1912 before any work began on a model for the figure of Lee mounted on *Traveler*, but was not unveiled to the public until 1914. Several major alterations were made to the initial design of this sculptural group of Confederates and its base before the figures were cast in 1916. Most notably, the pose of one of the infantrymen was changed slightly, and the flag carried by the mounted cavalryman was changed from the "crossed" configuration most often identified as the Confederate battle flag retaining part of the cross of St. Andrew to the less potentially incendiary imagery of the Virginia state flag.[88]

Apparently, understanding that symbols were important, the members of the Commission were not anxious to present an overly aggressive representation of the Confederacy, especially realizing that Northern veterans, although widely reconciled with their former enemies, could still pose significant opposition if offended by an overly overt celebratory tone. [89]

Additionally, the inscription originally intended for the front of the monument was altered. The original inscription for the memorial was to have been: "Virginia to Her Sons at Gettysburg, They Fought for the Faith of Their Fathers," an explicit reference to

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[88] It was reported in 1910 that "The Gettysburg Park Commission approves the design, only suggesting that the Virginia State flag be introduced…in place of the Confederate flag. The Monument being…erected by state laws, it would be more appropriate to have the Virginia flag as the one used to lead the troops in action." See General L.L.Lomax to the Honorable Secretary of War, 1 July 1910, "Virginia Monument File" GBMPL.

[89] "Citizen Soldier at Spangler's Woods," *Virginia Cavalcade*, Summer 1955, Craven and Stewart, *The Sculptures at Gettysburg*, 81. See also John M. Coski, *The Confederate Battle Flag : America's Most Embattled Emblem* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005).This work is perhaps for understanding the background and conflicts regarding the multiple meanings of this widely recognized flag.

the war and an indication of the near religious fervor which still permeated images of the Lost Cause. The members of the Virginia Commission were at least aware that this inscription could raise objections. Early in 1912 one member wrote to another warning that "… 'They fought for the Faith of their Fathers,' may be fact, but it certainly opens the inscription to a little adverse criticism." This apparent attempt at depoliticization of the memorial was done at the insistence of the U.S. War Department which had had control of the battlefield at Gettysburg since 1895. Honoring the bravery and sacrifice of the soldiers of Virginia while invoking admiration and praise through a maternal allusion was considered far more appropriate to those in the federal government controlling the editorial content of this important site of commemoration and remembrance than any symbolic lapse that could unintentionally erode the convergence of patriotic fervor that was hoped to accompany the establishment of the memorial.

The sculpted figure of Robert E. Lee was presented in a style and pose that is intended to contrast sharply with the monument's front piece. The inclusion of the equestrian image of Robert E. Lee on the Virginia Memorial marked the return of the general's presence to the field. In the mind of supporters of the Lost Cause, the decision allowing the sculpted images of Lee and his soldiers to stand in silent grandeur alongside similar monuments and memorials commemorating the sacrifice of Union soldiers and their leaders was a triumph of a long lived belief in both the justice of the now Lost Cause of the South and in the nobility of Lee and his fellow Virginians. Lee is represented here not just as a Southern hero but as a truly democratized American hero firmly ensconced in the aura of republican virtue and deserving of the heart felt praise of all Americans.

In sculpting the image of Lee, William Seivers understood that much of the hoped for success of the memorial would be contingent on his acuity in capturing a fitting likeness of Lee in his finished product. A failure in this regard would destine the monument to criticism and obliterate any chance that the artist would receive commissions for a similar project in the future. For someone like Sievers, who had limited experience in both equestrian statuary and portrait work, the task of getting it right posed a significant challenge.

Seivers apparently relied on all the means available to him at the time in an effort to accurately replicate Robert E. Lee's appearance as it was during the battle. He carefully studied photographs, made numerous sketches, and may have consulted the life mask of Lee that had been taken in 1869 by the sculptor of the Recumbent Lee, Clark Mills. Seivers sought out a former adjutant of Lee, Colonel Walter H. Taylor, for suggestions regarding the general's appearance and uniform. Seivers went as far as having copies made of the general's boots and coat. Finally, the artist read everything he could that was written about Lee in an effort to gain an appreciation and understanding of his character and temperament.[90]

The resulting sculpture eventually received effusive praise for its accuracy and its highly evocative quality. Additionally, the calm, pensive, and emotive persona evident in Lee's appearance serve to intensify the dramatic narrative qualities of the entire work in that they stand in pointed contrast to the anxious readiness of the accompanying

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[90] Craven and Stewart, *The Sculptures at Gettysburg*, 82. "Citizen Soldiers," *Virginia Cavalcade*, 46. Sievers himself explained the process he utilized: "Once I conceive the idea, I accumulate all the books, magazines, and special articles dealing with the subject that I cab find, borrow, or buy. These I study in order to become familiar with the history of the subject…" Margaret E. Gaines, "Word Portraits of Richmonders in Spotlight," Richmond *Times Dispatch*, (Sunday Magazine, March 1, 1936) p 10.

sculptural group of Confederate soldiers posed in combat. While restraining his mount, Traveler, with one hand, the general is posed gazing across the field of Pickett's Charge towards what is known as the High Water Mark of the Confederacy. With his right hand, Lee is shown holding his hat down at his side, as if in perpetual remembrance of those who never returned from the charge. Both Lee's bravery and virtue make themselves evident in the completed work, informing the observer that the cause of the South lives on through the permanent presence of Lee and his soldiers on the battlefield.[91]

In deciding that an equestrian portrait of Lee was to serve as the main focus of this memorial, the Virginia Memorial Commission was following a time honored formula for commemorating renowned military leaders and events. Indeed, equestrian monuments continued to be erected on battlefields of the Civil War well into the 1930s, long after the genre had otherwise lost its relevance in the modern age of mechanized warfare. The sculptural style of the Virginia Memorial also underlines the use of traditional means to memorialize individual military contributions and convey broader thematic ideals. The equestrian statue of Lee atop Traveler and the accompanying sculptural group of soldiers are in total both visually appealing and easily understood by the visitor especially in tandem with the inscription, "*Virginia to Her Sons at Gettysburg.*"[92]

A significant, though seemingly arcane objection was raised to the equestrian representation of Lee. The criticism was not centered on the artistic representation of the general or on the overall design and composition of the monument, but rather, it was

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[91] Przybylek, "Soldiers to Science: Changing Commemorative Ideals in the Public Sculpture of Frederick William Sievers", 28-29.

[92] Examples of later equestrian monuments include the *Major-General Oliver Otis Howard Monument* (1932) in the Gettysburg National Military Park and Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson Monument (1940) in the Manassas (Bull Run) national Military Park, Manassas, Virginia.

directed at what was identified as an error in representing the general in the *wrong uniform*. When Sievers' model for the equestrian portrait was displayed in Richmond in October 1915, it was harshly criticized by members of the Confederate Memorial Literary Society. The arraignment of the buttons on the coat represented Lee in the uniform of a lower-ranking Brigadier general rather than as the supreme commander of all Confederate forces. Sievers' representation did, however, prove to be an accurate one. According to eye witness accounts, Lee rarely wore the insignia of his rank. He habitually preferred a simple Brigadier's jacket adorned with the three stars of a colonel.[93]

This objection even prompted a letter to Sievers from the Virginia state archivist Morgan P. Robinson, criticizing the memorial:

> Can something not be done to give General Lee the coat of his rank so that even privates…will not be able through posterity to point the finger of scorn at this, our greatest pride, and say "Why was the brigadier General the ranking officer and Commander-in-Chief…when Longstreat, Pickett, Stuart, and others of higher rank were on the field in active service?"[94]

Although the Virginia Memorial Commission decided to ignore such objections and allow the sculpted figure of Lee to be portrayed in the attire that he in fact wore throughout most of the Civil War, these objections illustrate the way in which the monument was regarded during and immediately after its creation. To its Southern constituents, the Virginia Memorial was a precedent setting work of public sculpture: it

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[93] Photoghaphs taken by Mathew Brady in 1865 only days after the surrender at Appomattox serve as an illustration of Lee's preference. Additionally, eye witness accounts of the recollections of the general's friends and associates attest to his preference for modest military attire. See John Campebell, "The Fabric of Command." *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 268.

[94] Morgan Robinson to Sievers, October 28, 1915, *Sievers Papers*, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Virginia. Folder 5.

was a Southern shrine resting on Northern soil. It permanently introduced General Robert E. Lee and the Confederate soldier to a highly significant battlefield of the war heavily populated with Union monuments. Thus, some of the public's scrutiny of the work demonstrated only secondary concern with aesthetic issues, focusing instead on whether or not the iconographical content fit acceptably within established traditions.[95]

The Confederacy Returns to Gettysburg

The dedication of the memorial was set for June 8, 1917 and scheduled to coincide with a four day long reunion of Confederate veterans that was scheduled to take place in Washington D.C. This was the first large scale reunion of Confederate veterans to take place outside of the South. The concurrence of the two events was viewed by the organizers as an appropriate tribute to the South, to the memory of its former leaders, and to the legitimacy of the now pervasive narrative of the Lost Cause.

On June 7, 1917, one day before the dedication was to take place at Gettysburg, several thousand Confederate proceeded down Pennsylvania Avenue in a grand parade of celebration. Pleasantries were exchanged often by both the veterans and President Woodrow Wilson, who presided over the occasion and observed the now graying marchers from a reviewing stand. As both a Virginian and a Southerner, Wilson applauded and waved frequently to the veterans as they passed in celebration of this reunion of Southern bravery.[96]

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[95] In effect, the Gettysburg National Military Park had been created almost exclusively for the purposes of commemorating a significant victory. The known remains of the Confederate dead from the battle had bee disinterred and sent back to the South by 1872. Craven and Stewart, *The Sculptures at Gettysburg*, 78.

[96] *Citizen Soldiera at Spangler's Woods*, eds., vol. Summer 1955, *Virginia Cavalcade History in Picture and Story* (Richmond: 1955), 44.

The following day, over 1500 of those in attendance for the reunion boarded four special trains at Washington's Union Station for the trip to Gettysburg to witness the reappearance of their beloved leader in sculpted glory on the battlefield. The nature of the celebration at Gettysburg would be unique for its time, and according to the report in the *Gettysburg Times* the dedication ceremonies brought about, "the greatest demonstration the men of the Confederacy had ever staged on the most noted battlefield in America." The article went on to mention that other occasions had had large numbers of former Southerners in attendance before this event at Gettysburg, but that this occasion was unique in that, "this was the first large event [at the battlefield] that was under their exclusive direction." As a commemorative project intended for a Northern battlefield, the degree of autonomy granted to Southerners themselves in the planning, organization and execution of this event was unprecedented for that time.[97]

As the trains bringing all those headed to Gettysburg began to arrive during the morning of June 8, the streets, sidewalks, and public byways of the town became crowded with visitors. In addition to those veterans making their way by train from Washington, there were also many others, including interested members of the general public and those associated with the organized events of the day. Shortly before 1:00 pm, marching bands from a number of groups and organizations, the Municipal Band of Richmond, a battalion of soldiers from the Fourth Regimental Infantry of the U.S. Army, their own regimental band, Governor Stuart of Virginia and a contingent of 350 cadets from the Virginia Military Institute all proceeded in a grand procession beginning in the central square of the town and making its way on the one and a half mile journey on the

[97] "Virginia Shaft Is Dedicated," *Gettysburg Times*, June 9 1917, 1.

recently and appropriately named *Confederate Avenue* to the spot on Seminary Ridge were the Virginia Monument was located. There, the monument sat covered by two huge American flags, still hidden from view and waiting for the public acknowledgement that was soon to become evident when Lee's presence again on the battlefield was revealed for all to see and admire.

Again at Gettysburg, Southern soldiers and their supporters were on the field with something of great significance at hand. This time, however, they basked in the acclaim and pride that was being showered on both their cause and their general. Had they not fought bravely? Were they not equally deserving of praise and thanks from the entire nation? Again turning to their knighted chieftain, these returning "sons of the South" shared in the glory that was now to be directed towards Lee and his Virginians. Now, on this day, he represented not just Virginians, but the entire South, and indeed, all Americans.

The Dedication and Remarks

The dedication remarks attempted to frame a context for the meaning of the Virginia Memorial. As is frequently the case in addresses and ceremonies associated with the dedication of public monuments, part of the intended outcome is a construction of meaning and purpose that will define its ultimate understanding for those present. At the very start of a process that will repeat itself every time a visitor enters the commemorative space of this memorial, those tasked with setting the commemorative course of this monument interpreted this memorial through the filter of their own interests, beliefs, and goals. Regardless of the apparent certitude with which this task may be accomplished by those engaged in structuring an inaugural narrative of interpretation

and understanding, the seemingly "fixed" nature of commemorative activities, especially those associated with public monuments is misleading. While appearing to be the most static form of commemoration the ultimate meaning of public monuments remains malleable and fluid.

The ceremonies at the site of the monument began with an invocation delivered by Rev Dr. James Power Smith, formerly captain and aide-de-camp on the staff of General Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson. Evoking the theme of reconciliation and brotherhood, the former major informed the crowd that the memorial was built to honor, "…an army of patriot soldiers and their brave captain," and continued on to announce to all, while acknowledging the imminent entrance of the United States into World War I, that on this day all those in attendance would stand forever in "patriotic brotherhood."[98]

His invocation was followed by a short musical accompaniment provided by the Battalion Band on hand from the Virginia Military Institute which was followed by the official unveiling. Miss Ann Carter Lee, grand-daughter of General Robert E. Lee stepped forward a pulled the cords that had secured two huge American flags that had been covering the statue. As they fell to the ground a tremendous roar of applause and cheers rose up from the crowd of several thousand in attendance accompanied by volley after volley of rifle fire from the various troop formations present for this special occasion.[99]

Governor Henry Carter Stuart then delivered a formal speech of presentation of the monument on behalf of the Commonwealth of Virginia. He began too with a brief reference to the pending turmoil of the coming war while informing the crowd of the

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[98] "Dedication of the Virginia Memorial at Gettysburg," 88,89.

[99] Ibid. 3.

reason for the day's activities saying that,"…while the war drum beats around the world we gather here to dedicate a memorial to the constancy and valor of the brave Virginians who fought and died on this historic ground."[100]

He then went on to also tell the crowd what they were not gathered there to ponder the *causes* of the Civil War saying that, "…we are not here to consider the reasons for the combat [of the battle]…they have been well defined." As a demonstration of the overtly constructed nature of public memory the governor then went on to do exactly what he told the crowd they were not gathered to do at the dedication. As an overt reflection of the ubiquitous nature of the myth of the Lost Cause and its pervasiveness, the governor almost immediately instructed the audience on the *causes* of the Civil War and announced that the nation had in fact been, "…torn asunder by divergent views of the Constitution," and that the Civil War was a period during which, "…this land was plunged into fratricidal strife."[101]

Evoking well known Lost Cause explanations here, Governor Stuart had told the crowd that arcane constitutional issues had caused a misunderstanding between "brothers" and that the family had again united itself in solidarity. A blameless moral equivalency was cited:

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[100] Ibid. 91.

[101] "Dedication of the Virginia Memorial at Gettysburg," 90.

> Whether in the United States the citizen owed allegiance to the Federal Government as against his State Government was a question upon which men had divided since the birth of the Republic. The men of the North responded to the call of the sovereign to whose allegiance they acknowledged fealty-the men of the South did the same. It was a battle between rival conception of sovereignty rather than one between a sovereign and its acknowledged citizens."[102]

Additionally, he announced that all that had gone before could now be subsumed in a unified and patriotic celebration saying that despite the "…blood that was shed on this and many other fields," we all as Americans can celebrate , "…our unity in heart and purpose, [and] our supreme devotion our flag of a united country which today floats above us." Reflecting both a vernacular interest in celebrating a sectional hero that had been deified throughout the wider culture, and an official interest in promoting stability and a unifying patriotic ethos of nationalism, this celebration of Robert E. Lee and his cause was in reality a national convergence of an official and a vernacular public memory that was not only *congruent*, but in fact one and the same constructed memory of the Civil War legitimated by the unifying image of Robert E. Lee and his cause. That both Northerners and Southerners could celebrate the return of Lee to Gettysburg is testimony to the power of this uniquely constructed public memory.[103]

In perhaps the most acute instance of demonstrating how the past can be reshaped and reconstructed in a manner that is useful for the present, the governor went on to quote none other than Abraham Lincoln, intentionally (apparently) leading those in attendance to believe that he was alluding to Lincoln's Gettysburg Address saying that "…when the

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[102] Ibid. 92

[103] Ibid. 84.

smoke yet lingered on the battlefield [Lincoln] spoke words of sublime elegance, mingled with infinite kindness, when he said:

> We must not be enemies [but friends]. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic cords of memory stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living hearth and hearth-stone all over this broad land will yet swell the chorus of union when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.'"[104]

It should be noted that this quote, with the exception of one or two words, is from Lincoln, but it is not as is asserted by the governor, from Lincoln's *Gettysburg Address*, of November 19, 1863. It is, in reality, from Lincoln's first inaugural address which he delivered on March 4, 1861. When Lincoln actually spoke these words, Fort Sumter in Charleston harbor had been attacked, seven Southern states had claimed to have seceded from the Union, were arming themselves for war, and were encouraging other Southern states, including Virginia, to do the same and were generally threatening the national government with enjoinders of bloodshed and allegations and threats of potential military conflict. The potential for bloodshed was extreme and the importance of Lincoln's words was inestimable. Lincoln's aim at the time was, in part, to establish some sort of a practical framework for *reconciliation* and moderation during a period in which the specter of civil war was pervasive. It is a strange irony indeed that Virginia's governor, almost sixty years later, would decide to invoke these words in attempting to engender the now familiar theme of reconciliation during the dedication of a memorial prominently featuring the military leader that had became the most lauded hero of the ultimately unsuccessful secessionist's movement, the very same movement that Lincoln had

[104] Ibid.: 91.

employed the same words to mollify in an effort to prevent war and preserve the nation.[105]

No mention of this discrepancy has been found in any source consulted for this manuscript. In any case, the symbolic code of public memory is, in this case, being directly shaped and constructed by the needs of the present. Governor Stuart's misstatement of the origins of Lincoln's words most certainly makes one wonder as to the possibility of this being done in error. I do not think this likely, but rather, I consider it an attempt to build on the dominate image and reputation of Lincoln at the time of the monument's dedication as had been represented in the ideology of the Lost Cause. Alleging that Lincoln would have structured a gentle peace that would have spared the South from the supposed horrors of Reconstruction, Lost Cause partisans frequently represented Lincoln as perhaps the best potential ally that the defeated South could have had in the post war period had he survived. As part of the "tragedy" of Reconstruction in the Southern mind and in the popular and historical mind of the nation at the time, the absence of Lincoln during the period allowed Northerners who wanted to, without justification or provocation, to punish the South by waging an aggressive and vindictive policy against the Southern people while using former black slaves as their lackeys in a sinister plot to augment their ill gotten political power. Lincoln's memory was appropriated here for the purposes of constructing a memory of Lee, his Virginians, and the cause of the South that presents them as being truly blameless.

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[105] The exact text is: "I am loath to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield 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."

The governor closed his remarks by describing the completed memorial and its, "…inspiring figure of the one man who by the majesty of his character, the perfection of his manhood, and the glory of his genius, represents and embodies all that Virginia and her sister Southern States can or need vouchsafe to the country and to the world as the supreme example of their convictions and principles."[106]

Upon closer examination, one might expect there to be some points of contrast between the comments of someone like the governor of Virginia, representing his own constituent interests which by their nature would argue for the legitimacy of the Southern cause, and those of the day's next speaker, Assistant Secretary of War, William M. Ingrham who perhaps might portray the occasion of the dedication of the *Virginia Memorial* in a slightly different light. Ingrham's comments demonstrated the degree to which both the vernacular interest of those constituents of the former Confederacy, and those seemingly official interests of the U.S. government were merged into one appropriated construction of the meaning of the South's cause and Lee's memory.

He too began by informing the crowd once more that, "we are not here to discuss the causes of the war or to comment on its results…" but went on to both excuse Southerners for what they had done, regardless, it would seem, of their reasoning and then forthrightly complimented them for their actions:

> We are here to pay loving tribute to those who
> fell for a cause which they believed was just and right.
> No one can deny their sincere belief and honest
> conviction of the justice of their cause,…and they
> died fighting as bravely as any men ever fought in battle."[107]

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[106] Gary W. Gallagher and Alan T. Nolan, *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), 92.

[107] "Dedication of the Virginia Memorial at Gettysburg," 94.

He then moved on to happily note the permanent didactic quality that would be brought to the battlefield through the Virginia Memorial noting that, "This monument will always stand here and it will tell future generations of the valorous deeds and devotion to ideals and principles that the passage of time cannot erase." He also reminded the crowd that for Lee and his Confederates who fought at Gettysburg, "It matters not whether they be victorious or the vanquished as long as their part was honorable and they fought like men."[108]

In closing his remarks and accepting the memorial on behalf of the War Department, Ingraham ensured the crowd that the memorial would always be in its place of honor on the field. The interests of the War Department, based on the secretary's remarks, and the interests of Southern partisans appeared to be the same. Celebration of the Robert E. Lee and his cause was a celebration of the American nation.

The final speaker of the afternoon was Leigh Robinson, a former private in the legendary Richmond Howitzers and a "well known orator of the South." Throughout the most of his address, Robinson reviewed the history of the nation focusing on the relationship between the sections, highlighting incidences and episodes in which the North and the South had displayed sectional tensions which, according to Robinson, most often were based on a conflicting set of interests predominantly centered on divergent views of the Constitution, geography, economics, and *temperament*. He presented what in effect amounted to a summation of the major arguments of the Lost Cause. Of special note, was his analysis of Reconstruction and the institution of slavery

[108] Ibid. 95.

as it had existed in the antebellum South. As part of an address dedicating a memorial to the most noteworthy icon of the Confederacy, his arguments are worth noting because they are legitimated and affirmed by what was then the national acceptance of both Lee and his cause. In that sense, the presence of Lee and the Virginia Memorial signaled a vindication and acceptance of the cause of the South as being authentically American.

He first approached the subject by saying that, "from no eagerness to call back the sharpness of evil days is reference here made to Reconstruction," and then proceeded to describe it for the crowd mimicking the rhetorical style of the *Gettysburg Address* and stating that it was composed of, "a government of corruption, by corruption, and for corruption, [that] seemed heralded as a new birth." While roundly critical of the Reconstruction period, he went on to state for the record his understanding of the true nature of slavery.[109]

While disavowing any real affinity in the heart of Robert E. Lee for slavery as an institution, Robinson proceeded to tell the assembled crowd about the unquestionable correctness of the institution saying that, "The noble way for one race to conquer another is by the development of higher modes of existence in the other…southern slavery will hold up the noblest melioration of an inferior race, of which history can take note…the government of a race incapable of self government…" Blacks were and are unable to govern themselves, according to Robinson and in fact, "…a greater benefit [was given] to the governed than to the governors." According to the speaker, and apparently to the vast

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[109] Ibid. 111.

majority of all those who were in attendance on that day, slavery, although not something truly embraced by Lee was in fact both necessary and good for blacks.[110]

Additionally, according to Robinson, through the existence of the institution, "Southern master gave to slave more than slave gave to master; and the slave realized it. Better basis for uplift of inadequacy can no man lay than is laid in this. This slavery was a school to redeem from the sloth of centuries." In fact, Africans were better off as slaves in North America than as free people in Africa because through slavery, "A continent of mortal idleness had been exchanged for a continent of vital work."[111]

Reflecting the dominant racial attitudes, Robinson was simply stating what was at the heart of the acceptance of the Lost Cause by both North and South: Agreeing on the unalterable inferiority of blacks, late nineteenth century white Americans had become unified in their view that a subservient and unequal role for African Americans was acceptable and ,in fact, completely justified. As a result, segregation as it was practiced both formerly and informally throughout the nation was simply the public expression of a well documented truth: black and white were incompatible. A reunified nation by, for, and of the white race, was clearly justified based on their common ancestry as Americans and Caucasians.

His address closed with a reference to the Recumbent Lee, making an allusion to the burial place of the general saying that although Lee is dead, "…he still is warrior of

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[110] Ibid. 126.

[111] Ibid 129.

the cause of which he is the likeness," and noting that, "He and the cause for which he fought shall rise before the bar of history firm as marble and as pure."[112]

Lee Victorious

Remembered today as a highly significant turning point in the Civil War and frequently referred to as the "high tide of the Confederacy," the conflict at Gettysburg became the focus of intense examination, a site of contested public memory, and the subject of frequent and fertile myth making soon after the armies left the field. As the site of the furthest penetration of Union territory by a Confederate army during the course of the conflict, and widely considered to be the site of what is often identified as the Confederacy's greatest defeat, it soon after the war went on to become the focal point of interest in the public mind of the North and South alike.[113]

At the time of its dedication the Virginia Memorial represented, as it does today, a dominant voice in the dialogue of the constructed public memory of the causes and the consequences of the Civil War. It signaled the legitimacy and widespread acceptance of the myth of the Lost Cause and its association with the image of the most notable canonical icon of Lost Cause ideology, Robert E. Lee. It represents a public memory and reiteration of the war's legacy that, as Frederic Douglass declared, forgets the difference

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[112] Ibid.: 134.

[113] Jim Weeks, *Gettysburg: Memory, Market, and an American Shrine* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2003). The impact of the dynamics of the formation of memory and its effect on the constructed images of heroes at Gettysburg is not the exclusive domain of Robert E. Lee alone. George Pickett was the focal point of a major effort to construct images and myths associated with the battle's final day that were intended to serve the interests of a narrow group of constituencies. See Carol Reardon, *Pickett's Charge in History and Memory*, *Civil War America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997).

"between those who fought for slavery and those who fought for liberty." It is this myth that in effect controls the commemorative discourse of the battlefield and beyond.[114]

Today, as it has done since the time of its dedication, the Virginia Memorial remains an important sign post in the evolving national public memory of the Civil War and is the result of an ongoing political discussion that continues to take place in the public sphere regarding the structures of power that are inextricably linked with the formation of public memory. It stands as a unique physical marker in the text that comprises the dialogue constructing the nation's public memory of the Civil War, a unique work of commemorative public art that serves simultaneously as a battlefield monument and war memorial to the Virginians who fought at Gettysburg, and a site specific work of public sculpture in contested civic space. As such, it serves the purposes of seemingly contradictory and antithetical interests while asserting the ideas of both cultural continuity and cultural revision within the constructed symbolic code of America's commemorative patriotic landscape. [115]

Despite the fact that Gettysburg was the location of a major defeat for the Army of Northern Virginia and for the Confederate cause itself, the memory of Virginia's soldiers who fought at Gettysburg and their leader was viewed as worthy of commemoration and remembrance as would be, in a broader sense, the actions of the

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[114] "For Something Beyond the Battlefield": Frederick Douglass and the Struggle for the Memory of the Civil War in David W. Blight, *Beyond the Battlefield: Race, Memory & the American Civil War* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002), 93-119.

[115] John Bodnar, Remaking *America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1992), 1-20.The physical landscape of commemoration may undergo seemingly small or insignificant alterations that can have major symbolic repercussions. This process is most overt when a physical representation of the human form of an iconic personage is a central part of a memorial structure. See Paul A. Shackel, *Myth, Memory, and the Making of the American Landscape* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2001).

American south and the formation of the Confederate States of America. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the defeat of the army of Robert E. Lee at Gettysburg and the remembered motivations of the Confederacy in waging war were embraced as being worthy of memorialization in large part because of the widespread acceptance of Lost Cause ideology and the spirit of reconciliation that it successfully engendered. It is this ideology and its prominent reliance on the persona of Robert E. Lee as represented in the Virginia Memorial that helps to explain the sentiments of those who spoke at the monument's dedication.[116]

As arguably the most revered icon of the former Confederacy and a predominant figure of Southern identity, Lee's memory was evoked in a variety of forms beginning almost immediately after his death in 1870. By installing Lee as the South's premier representative, the Confederacy became depoliticized after the fact. The white South's urgent need to dissociate the Confederacy from slavery after the war dictated this strategy of depoliticallization. By the time of his death, Robert E. Lee and his constructed image had already become an example of the white South's collective reversal on slavery. His historical role as a leader of soldiers, and not as a maker of policy, completed and enhanced that personal example. In some ways, he fit the classic mold of the reluctant leader, as recently defined by Sarah Purcell in witting about the memory of the American Revolution. Presenting the image of a selfless republican hero who was cast in the mold

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[116] David G. Martin, *Confederate Monuments at Gettysburg* (Conshohocken, PA: Combined Books, 1995), 54-59. The term itself "lost Cause" first appeared as part of the title of a book published in 1866 by the Richmond newspaper editor, Edward Pollard. See Edward Alfred Pollard, *The Lost Cause* (New YorkAvenel, N.J.: Gramercy Books; Distributed by Outlet Book Co., 1994).Most significantly, the Lost Cause mythology disavows the connection between slavery and the causes of the war. See Gaines M. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865 to 1913* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), Gallagher and Nolan, *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History,* Nina Silber, *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865-1900*, *Civil War America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993).

of his fellow Virginian, George Washington, Lee became the personification of a newly revised, newly remembered Confederacy that pretended to have fought a heroic struggle not for slavery, but for liberty defined as the rights of states to self determination. Significantly, his image also presented a vision of unquestioned heroism that was white, male, and Southern. By the first decades of the twentieth century these traits were widely considered indisputably and authentically American. [117]

The Virginia Memorial is a physical symbol of a national acceptance of a constructed memory of the Civil War which exonerates the South and disavows any notion suggesting that the reasons the war was fought were in any way connected to the preservation of the institution of slavery. This memorial is distinctive because its representation of public memory at the time of its dedication served both the vernacular and the official interests of the era in that it had constructed a singular public memory embraced as truly authentic and consensual.[118]

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[117] Robert E Lee's traditional image as a noble example of an authentic nineteenth-century American patriot and notable persona of the Lost Cause is discussed in Connelly, *The Marble Man: Robert E. Lee and His Image in American Society*. A less optimistic and more critical assessment of his role as archetypical patriot that challenges the traditional assessment of Lee especially as portrayed in Lost Cause imagery and literature can be found in both Nolan, *Lee Considered: General Robert E. Lee and Civil War History*. and Gallagher and Nolan, *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History*. A still worth while classic on Robert E. Lee is Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants: A Study in Command*. For a detailed explanation of the early development and persistent presence of the imagery of the "republican hero" see Sarah J. Purcell, *Sealed with Blood: War, Sacrifice, and Memory in Revolutionary America*, *Early American Studies* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002).Kirk Savage persuasively argues that Lee's image is constructed on both moral virtue and a "canonical whiteness" which was essential to the post war rehabilitation of both he and the American South. His outward appearance as presented in public art is a reflection of inner superiority. This author also addresses the issues of race, memory, and the representation of race in the public art of the nineteenth century. See Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth-Century America*, 130-33. Race played a highly significant role in the formation of post-bellum commemorative patterns. See Paul A. Shackel, *Memory in Black and White: Race, Commemoration, and the Post-Bellum Landscape* (Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press, 2003).

[118] According to John Bodnar, "official" culture is the domain of cultural leaders (elites) or authorities on a variety of levels throughout society. The continuity of the past and loyalty to the status quo are their main concern. Nationalism, patriotism and social stability are major priorities. "Vernacular" culture is the purview of what he identifies as "ordinary people." Their associations are often informal and their needs as an interests group can often be constructed on an ad hoc basis. Significantly, they lack access to the

Through the dedication of this monument the past has been reconfigured to serve the needs of the present. Essentially, the past is reconstructed to become useful for today. The representation of the Confederacy in the person of Robert E. Lee atop the Virginia Memorial is one such reconstruction. Although the Confederacy was defeated in battle it emerged on the field at Gettysburg as victorious in memory. The constructed image and public memory of Robert E. Lee makes this final victory of memory possible.[119]

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structures of power in society. The Virginia Memorial structures a public memory of the Civil War in which official and vernacular interests are not simply identical or congruent: the memory constructed by each group is one and the same. This is a result, in large measure, from the appropriation of the image of Robert E. Lee. See Bodnar., *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century*.

[119] Maurice Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, 1st ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1980), 80, David Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge [Cambridgeshire]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 210. A significant influence on my general approach to this issue of collective public memory is Barry Schwartz, "The Reconstruction of Abraham Lincoln," in David Middleton and Derek Edwards, *Collective Remembering*, *Inquiries in Social Construction* (London; Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1990).

Epilogue

On April 25, 1987 the sixtieth anniversary of the dedication of the Virginia Memorial was commemorated by a rededication ceremony that took place on the Gettysburg battlefield. In his dedicatory remarks, the former governor of Virginia, Mills E. Goodwin, Jr. once more attempted to place the public memory of Robert E. Lee and the memorial in perspective.

Once again, the reason for the monument's existence was articulated for those in attendance that day:

> While Virginia could not raise a victory monument on this battlefield she was surely justified in erecting a memorial to the valor and courage of her fighting men who are portrayed so admirably in the lower group on this monument. And it was altogether appropriate that Robert E. Lee should be immortalized in bronze here where so many brave sons of Virginia and the South fought and died.[120]

He then went on to cite Lee's most admirable qualities by making reference to the remarks made at the original dedication by one of his predecessors, Governor Henry Carter Stewart, who had described the monument as presenting:

> …the imposing figure of one man, who, by the majesty of his character, the perfection of his manhood, and the glory of his genius, represents and embodies all that

[120] *Gettysburg Times*, April 26, 1987: p. 1.

> Virginia and her sister southern states can or need vouchsafe to the country and to the world as the supreme example of their convictions and principles.[121]

Lee once again was remembered as representing the apex of Southern manhood and horror for all to admire, even seven decades latter. Lee's persona was remembered by the governor as one that also had an aura extending beyond his already exalted character to one of potential peacemaker: "We inevitably think back to those tragic years of the 1860's and are reminded that had the views of Robert E. Lee prevailed, the unprecedented loss of life might well have been avoided."

The governor concluded his address by echoing themes of the Lost Cause and of the public memory of Lee saying that he, "…was not just a Virginian. He was a true American."

Robert E. Lee remains a national icon of our nation's public memory of the Civil War. He and his cause remain vindicated.

[121] Ibid.

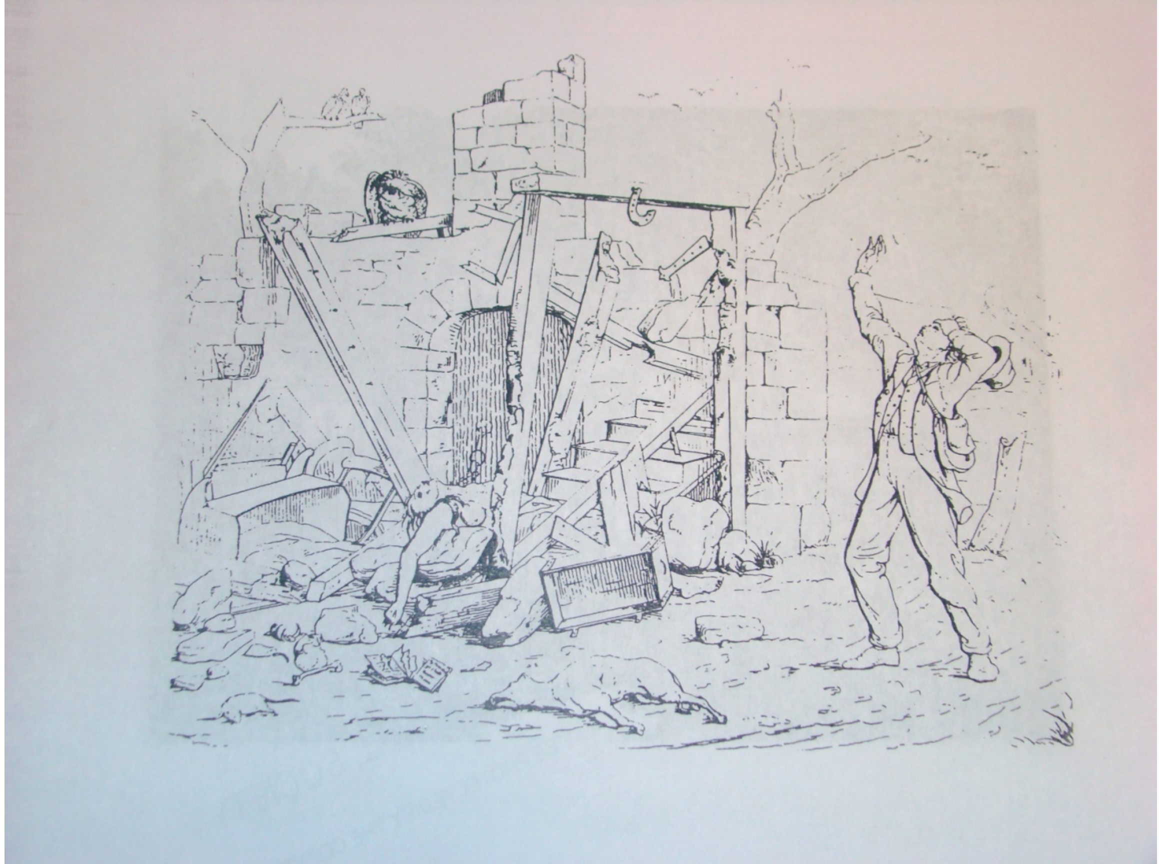
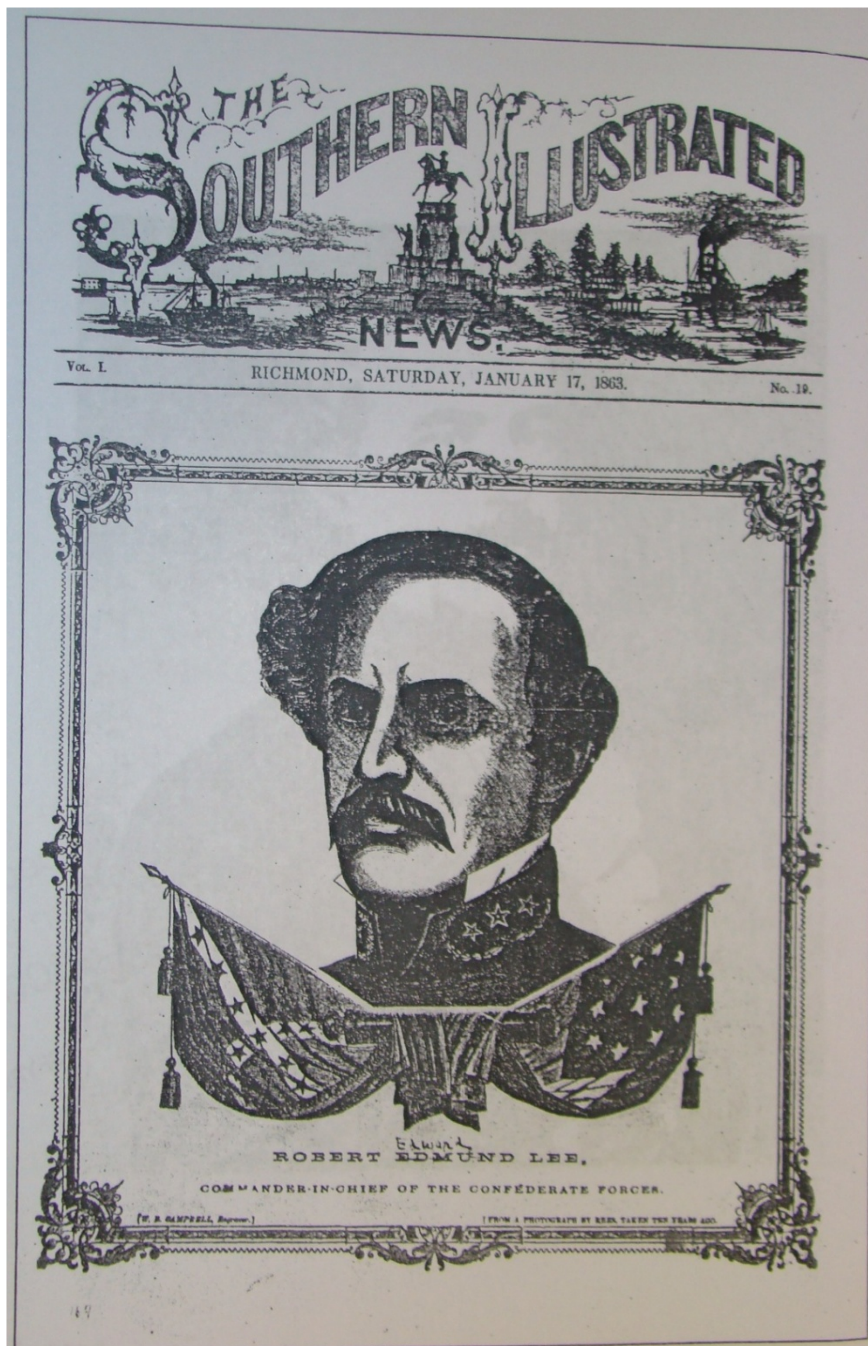


Figure One
Adalbert J. Volk, *Tracks of Armies*, 1863. Etching. Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library Museum

Figure Two
Currier and Ives, *The Lost Cause*, 1871. Lithograph. Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum



THE SOUTHERN ILLUSTRATED NEWS.

Vol. I. RICHMOND, SATURDAY, JANUARY 17, 1863. No. 19.

ROBERT EDMUND LEE,

COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE CONFÉDERATE FORCES.

[W. B. CAMPBELL, Engraver.] [FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY REES, TAKEN TEN YEARS AGO.

Figure Three
Southern Illustrated News, cover page, January 17, 1863

Figure Four
Mathew Brady, photograph of Robert E. Lee, Washington, 1850. The New York Public Library, New York

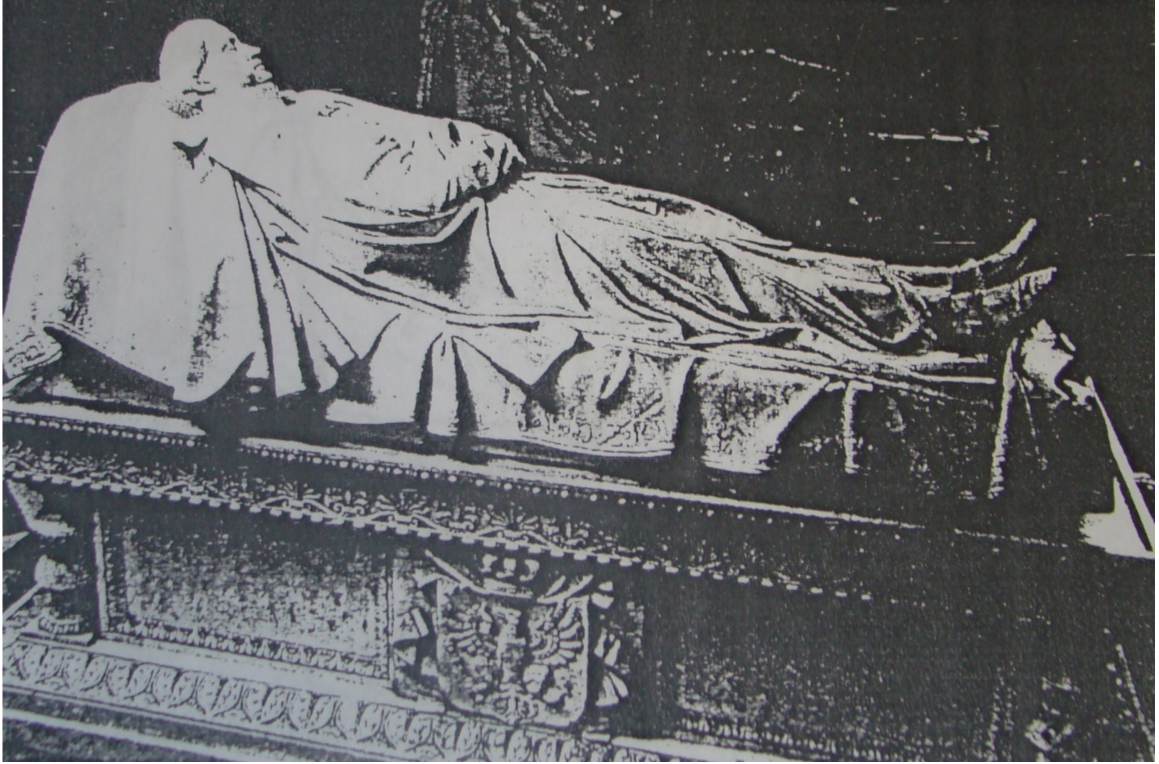


Figure Five
Christian Daniel Rauch, *Tomb of Frederick Wilhelm III,* 1840. Marble. Charlottenburg, Berlin

Figure Six
Christian Daniel Rauch, *Tomb of Louisa, Queen of Prussia*, 1810. Marble.
Charlottenburg, Berlin

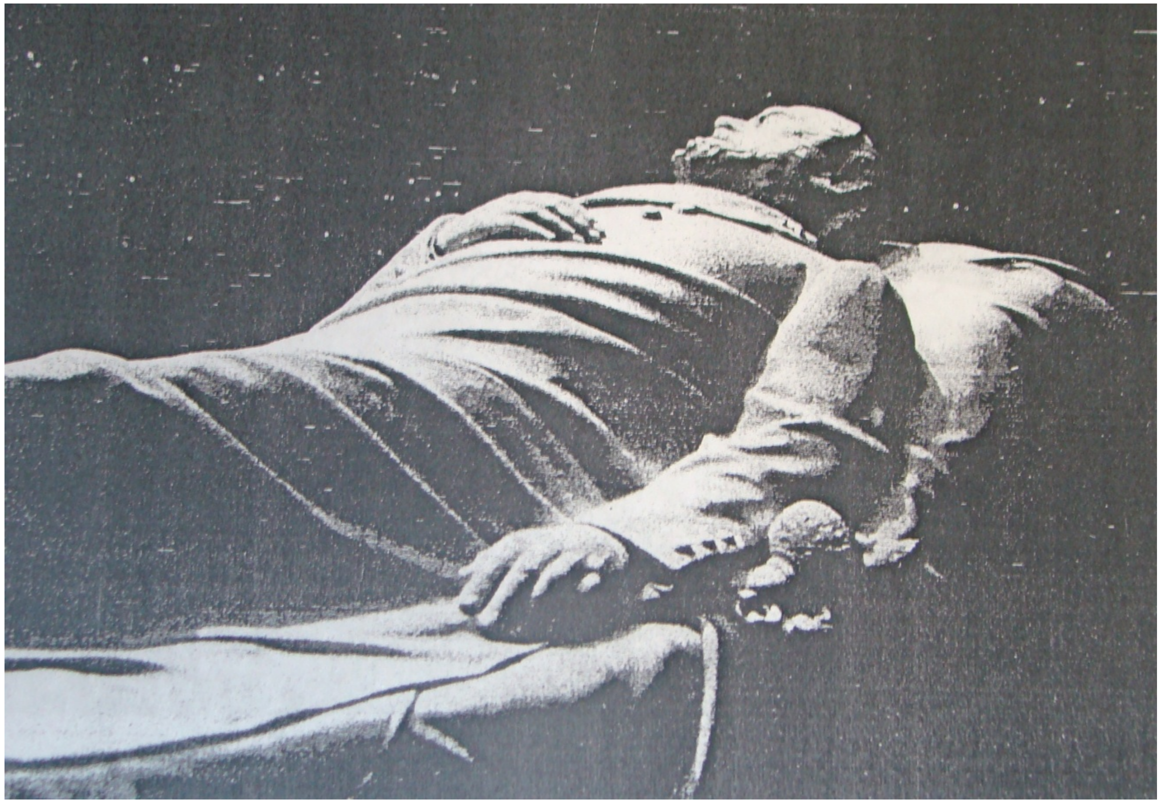


Figure Seven
Edward Valentine, detail of the *Recumbent Figure,* 1883.

Figure Eight
Edward Valentine, detail of the *Recumbent Figure,* 1883

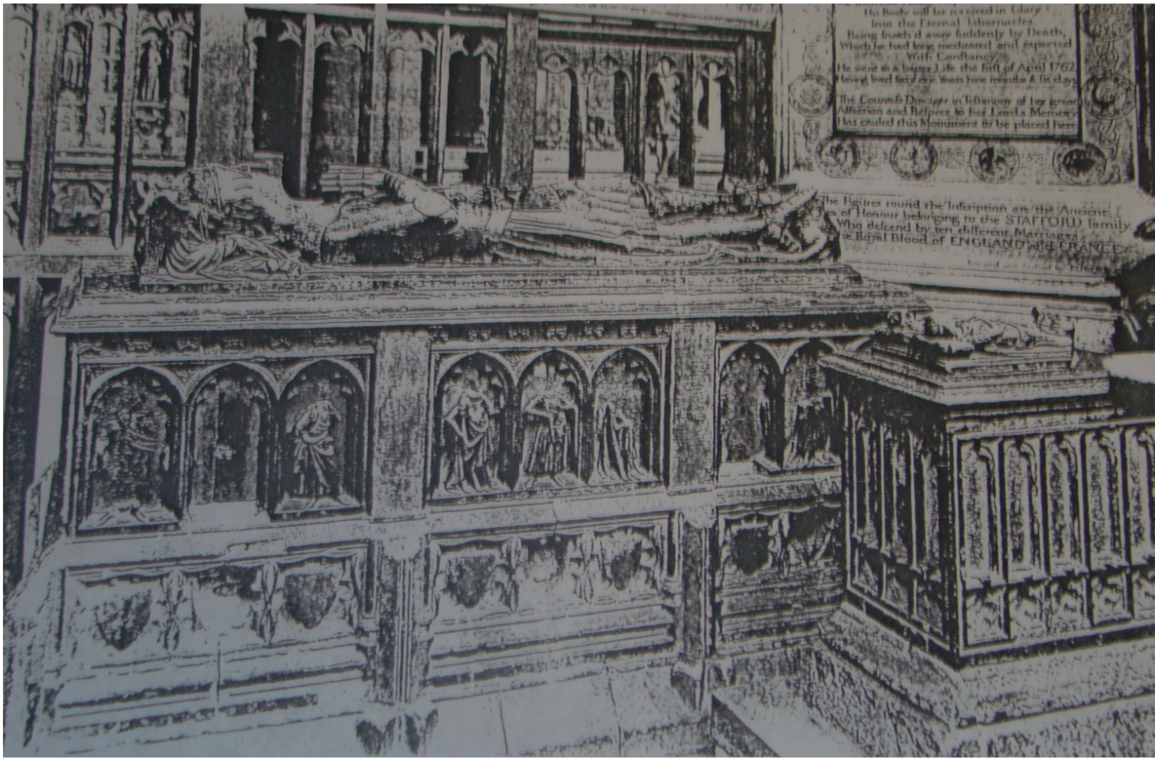


Figure Nine
Tomb of John of Eltham, Earl of Cornwall, 1336. Various stones. Westminister Abbey, London

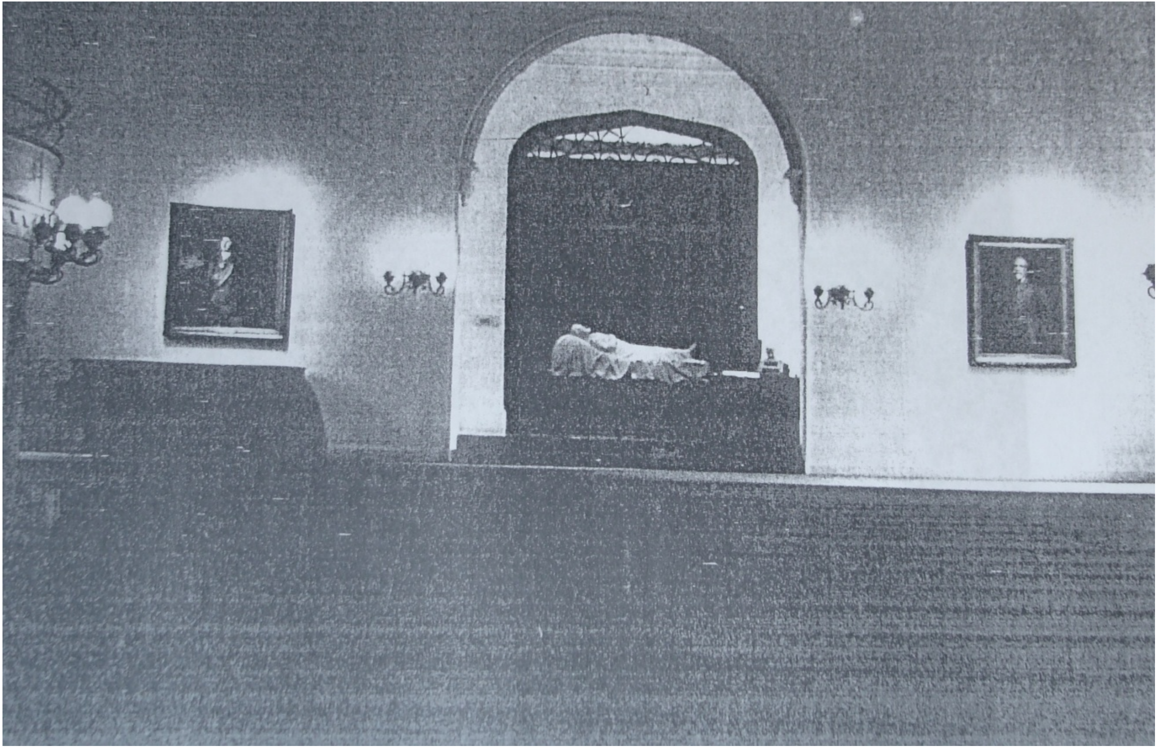


Figure Ten
Edward Valentine, *Recumbent Figure* of General Lee, 1883. Marble. Lee Chapel, Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Virginia.

FRANK LESLIE'S ILLUSTRATED NEWSPAPER

NEW YORK—FOR THE WEEK ENDING JUNE 23, 1883.

Figure Eleven
Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, cover page, June 23, 1883

Figure Twelve
Anton Hohenstein, *General Robert E. Lee*, 1867. Lithograph. Division of Political History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C.

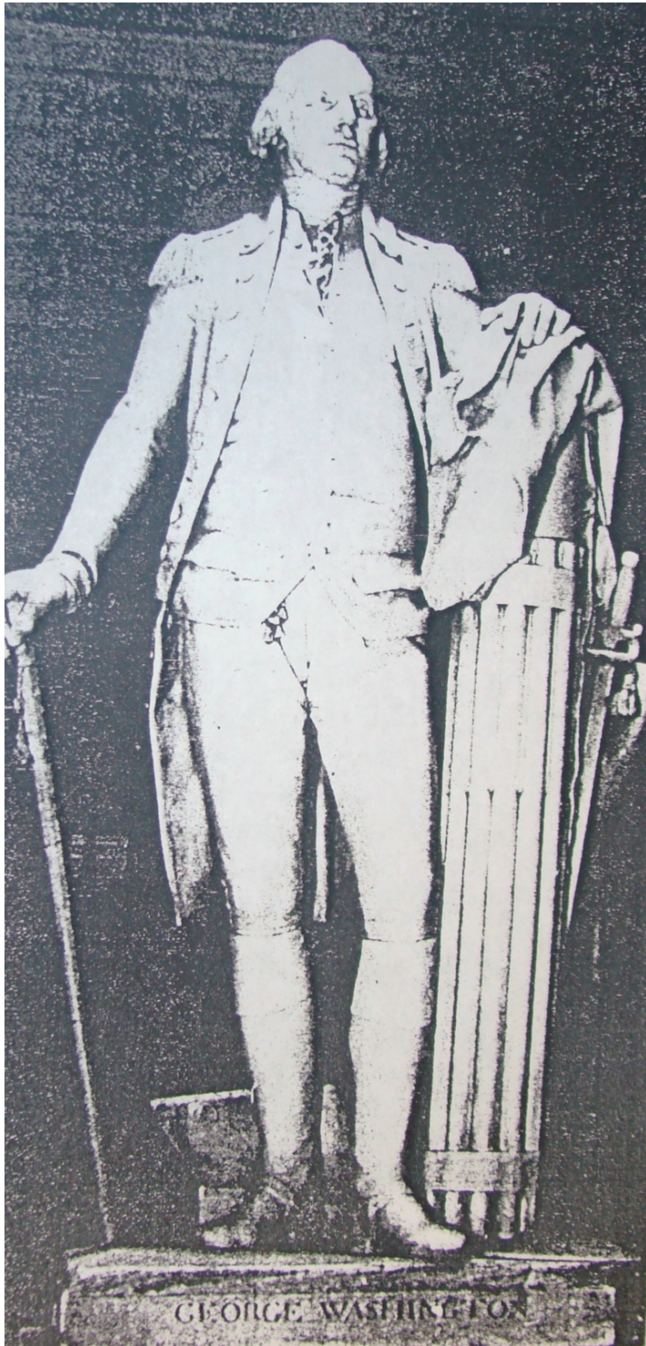


Figure Thirteen
Jean-Antoine Houdon, *George Washington,* 1788. Marble. State Capitol, Richmond

Figure Fourteen
Gilbert Stuart, *Washington (Lansdowne portrait)*, 1796. Oil on canvas. National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

Figure Fifteen
Gilbert Stuart, *Washington (Munro-Lenox portrait)*, 1800. Oil on canvas. The New York Public Library, New York.

Figure Sixteen
Antonin Mercie, *Lee Monument,* Richmond, 1890. Bronze

Figure Seventeen
Thomas Crawford, *Washington Monument*, Richmond, 1857. Bronze

Figure Eighteen
Antonin Mercie, *Gloria Victis*, 1874. Bronze. Petit Palais, Paris.

Figure Nineteen
Marcus Aurelius, ca. 176 C.E. Gilded Bronze. The Capitoline Hill, Rome.

Figure Twenty
William Sievers, *Virginia Memorial at Gettysburg*, 1917.

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