If Not for the Ladies:
Ladies' Memorial Associations and the Making of the Lost Cause

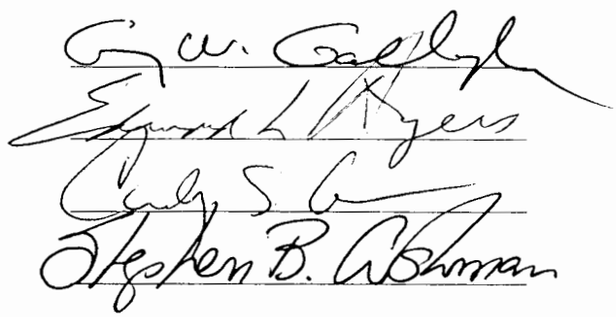
Caroline Elizabeth Janney-Lucas
Luray, Virginia

Master of Arts, University of Virginia, 2001
Bachelor of Arts, University of Virginia, 1998

A Dissertation presented to the Graduate Faculty
of the University of Virginia in Candidacy for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Department of History

University of Virginia
May, 2005



If Not for the Ladies: Ladies' Memorial Associations
and the Making of the Lost Cause

Table of Contents

Abstract

"If Not for the Ladies" restores white women's place in the historical narrative by exploring their role as the creators and purveyors of Confederate tradition in the post-Civil War South. Through a study of the Ladies' Memorial Associations of Virginia from 1861-1914, it examines how and why middle- and upper-class southern white women came to shape the public rituals of Confederate memory, Reconstruction, and reconciliation. Members of LMAs not only helped to create and entrench Confederate traditions, but they also comprised the first systematic and enduring organizations among southern white women twenty to thirty years before the establishment of national groups such as the United Daughters of the Confederacy, Daughters of the American Revolution, and the Women's Christian Temperance Union. LMAs, therefore, are evidence of a collective southern white woman's consciousness and activism (what historians have labeled "organized womanhood") much earlier than many historians have supposed. Through their experiences in Ladies' Memorial Associations, middle- and upper-class southern white women altered their relationship to each other, men, and the state. They redefined what it meant to be both an "ex-Confederate" and a "southern lady" in the postwar South.

Abbreviations

AANVA	Association of the Army of Northern Virginia
CMA	Confederate Monument Association
CMLS	Confederate Memorial Literary Society
CSMA	Confederated Southern Memorial Association
FLMA	Fredericksburg Ladies' Memorial Association
GAR	Grand Army of the Republic
HMA	Hollywood Memorial Association
LLMA	Lynchburg Ladies' Memorial Association
LLMC	Ladies' Lee Monument Committee
LMA	Ladies' Memorial Association
OMA	Oakwood Memorial Association
PLMA	Petersburg Ladies' Memorial Association
SCB	Southern Cross Brotherhood
SCV	Sons of Confederate Veterans
UCV	United Confederate Veterans
UDC	United Daughters of the Confederacy
WLMA	Winchester Ladies' Memorial Association
WRC	Women's Relief Corps

Introduction

"And when the bright sun of peace shall gleam
refulgent from the murky clouds of War,
a band of battle scarred veterans, a still unfainting few
bearing their tattered standards to the scenes of home,
beneath peaceful skies, shall gladly pay a life long homage at
the shrine of the patriotic ladies of the South,
at their feet shall be laid
the brightest laurels and fairest fruits of peace."[1]

Between 1866 and 1914, white southerners frequently hailed the critical role Ladies' Memorial Associations had played in creating the traditions that honored the Confederate cause. A Richmond newspaper praised the women's efforts: "thanks to the ladies' memorial associations once a year, all the people ceasing from labor, turn their thoughts back to the war [and] revive the memories of those days of heroism and suffering." A periodical called the Southern Opinion further commended the annual Memorial Days organized by women throughout the South for "keeping alive that nationality and hereditary feeling that our destroyers would systematically crush out." Former Confederate general Robert E. Lee likewise understood the ramifications of the women's commemorations. He extolled the women's "noble efforts, to protect the graves of those enshrined in our hearts," but consistently declined to attend Memorial Day exercises because he believed such celebrations engendered northern hostility and slowed reconciliation. Forty years after the war, the tributes to women continued when General

[1] Wickham's Brigade (led by Col. Thomas T. Munford – letter signed by Capt. William Steptoe, Capt I.S. Jones, and 1st Lt. B. W. Lacy) to Mrs. Raleigh Colston, January 23, 1865, Munford-Ellis Papers, Perkins Library, Duke University, Durham, N.C. [repository hereafter cited as DU].

Stith Bolling heralded the "untiring and faithful efforts of the Ladies of the Memorial Association to perpetuate [veterans'] memory." Contemporary white southerners understood the ramifications and applauded the efforts of these southern "Ladies" in sustaining the spirit of the Confederate cause.[2]

Recent years have seen the publication of numerous books and articles on Confederate memory and what has come to be known as the Lost Cause.[3] The authors of these books have explored the cultural, political, and social dimensions of the Lost Cause; the racial promptings and implications of the movement; and the significance of Confederate identity in contemporary America.[4] But unlike white southerners of the late-

---

[2] Southern Opinion, June 15, 1867, June 6, 1868; Richmond Dispatch, May 31, 1887; Robert E. Lee to Miss Ida Dodge, May 11, 1866, Lee Letter book, Lee Family Papers, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond [repository hereafter cited as VHS]; Petersburg Daily Index Appeal, June 11, 1901. Stith Bolling (1835-1916) enlisted as a sergeant in the Lunenberg Light Dragoons (Company G of the 9th Regiment Virginia Cavalry) in 1861. Eventually he rose to the rank of acting assistant adjunct general. After the war, he refused to surrender with the remainder of the Army of Northern Virginia and attempted to join Gen. Joseph E. Johnston in North Carolina. He surrendered, however, on April 15, 1865. After the war, the governor appointed him brigadier general of the militia, and he served as commander of the Petersburg A.P. Hill Camp of Confederate Veterans and subsequently major general of the Virginia Division. (Donald W. Gunter, "Stith Bolling," in John T. Kneebone and others, eds., Dictionary of Virginia Biography, 2 vols. to date [Richmond: Library of Virginia, 1998-], 1:71-72.)

[3] The standard definition of the Lost Cause states that in the postwar climate of economic, racial, and gender uncertainty, many white southerners began to cultivate a public memory of the Confederacy that sought to present the war and its outcome in the best possible terms. Rather than forsaking the defeated Confederacy, they created and romanticized the "Old South" and the Confederate war effort, often factually and chronologically distorting the way in which the past would be remembered. This nostalgia for the past accompanied a collective forgetting of slavery while defining Reconstruction as a period of "Yankee aggression" and black "betrayal." The Lost Cause provided a sense of relief to white southerners who feared being dishonored by defeat, while its rituals and rhetoric celebrated the memory of personal sacrifice in a region rapidly experiencing change and disorder. See C. Vann Woodward, Origins of the New South 1877-1913 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951), 154-55; Gary W. Gallagher and Alan T. Nolan, eds., The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), 1-34; Grace Elizabeth Hale, Making Whiteness: The Culture of Segregation in the South, 1890-1940 (New York: Pantheon Books, 1998), 47-49; Gaines M. Foster, Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 3-10; Pete Daniel, Lost Revolutions: The South in the 1950s (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 26.

[4] On Confederate memory and the Lost Cause, see William A. Blair, Cities of the Dead: Contesting the Memory of the Civil War in the South, 1865-1914 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004); Karen L. Cox, Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture, (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003); Catherine W. Bishir, "'A Strong Force of Ladies': Women, Politics, and Confederate Memorial Associations in Nineteenth-Century

nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, historians have tended to see women—and Ladies' Memorial Associations in particular—as peripheral to the movement. When women have emerged as primary actors in the historical literature, they do so only in the 1890s and early 1900s with the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC). Ladies' Memorial Associations (LMAs) have essentially become invisible to historians. For example, Gaines M. Foster claims that most white southerners were hesitant to celebrate the Confederate past in the years between 1865 and the mid-1880s, in part because he fails to recognize the significance of women's earliest roles in memorial associations. W. Fitzhugh Brundage, too, suggests that the 1860s and 1870s were marked by "little organized interest in the past" because he discounts the importance of LMAs. Even those few historians who take seriously the role of the LMAs see these women's associations as either temporary (lasting only through the 1870s or "giving way" to the UDC in the 1890s) or largely irrelevant because they were merely concerned with "memorialization."[5]

Raleigh," in Cynthia Mills and Pamela H. Simpson, eds., Monuments to the Lost Cause: Women, Art, and the Landscapes of Southern Memory (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2003), 3-26; David W. Blight, Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American History (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001); Gallagher and Nolan, eds. The Myth of the Lost Cause; Cecelia Elizabeth O'Leary, To Die For: The Paradox of American Patriotism (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1999), 122-23; Kirk Savage. Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth-Century America, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997); W. Fitzhugh Brundage, "White Women and the Politics of Historical Memory in the New South," in Glenda Gilmore, Bryant Simon, and Jane Daily, eds., Jumpin' Jim Crow: Southern Politics from Civil War to Civil Rights (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000), 115-39; Hale, Making Whiteness, 79-80; Angie Parrott, "'Love Makes Memory Eternal': The United Daughters of the Confederacy in Richmond, Virginia, 1897-1920,"in Edward Ayers and John C. Willis, eds. The Edge of the South: Life in Nineteenth Century Virginia (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1991), 219-38; Foster, Ghosts; Charles Reagan Wilson, Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1980); C. Vann Woodward. The Strange Career of Jim Crow (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974); Rollin G. Osterweis, The Myth of the Lost Cause, 1865-1900 (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1973).

[5] Foster, Ghosts, 36-62; Brundage, "White Women and the Politics of Historical Memory in the New South,"115. Blight, in Race and Reunion, fails to acknowledge the LMAs played a significant role in the Lost Cause (see esp. 258). The exception to this trend in the historiography is William Blair's most recent work, Cities of the Dead. In his account, Blair acknowledges the political significance of LMAs. (Blair, Cities of the Dead, 61-65, 78-97, 131, 189-91, 203-04.) This is the first dissertation or book-length study of

This dissertation, however, challenges those conclusions. "If Not for the Ladies" restores women's place in the historical narrative by exploring their role as the creators and purveyors of Confederate tradition in the post-Civil War South. Through a study of Virginia's Ladies' Memorial Associations from 1865-1914, it examines how and why middle- and upper-class southern white women came to shape the public rituals of Confederate memory, Reconstruction, and reconciliation. But LMAs are not merely significant because of their role in shaping the Lost Cause. They also composed the first systematic and enduring organizations among southern white women twenty to thirty years before the establishment of national groups such as the United Daughters of the Confederacy, Daughters of the American Revolution, and the Women's Christian Temperance Union. LMAs, therefore, are evidence of a collective southern white woman's consciousness and activism (what historians have labeled "organized womanhood") much earlier than many historians have supposed. Through their experiences in Ladies' Memorial Associations, middle- and upper-class southern white women altered their relationship to each other, men, and the state. They redefined what it meant to be both an "ex-Confederate" and a "southern lady" in the postwar South.

One of the reasons historians may have overlooked the relevance of women and gender in memorializing the past, especially between 1865 and 1890, is that most have focused on national organizations and trends, such as the United Confederate Veterans and the United Daughters of the Confederacy. Because of this national scope, they have

---

LMAs to date. Historians who have dealt with the LMAs in articles or chapters include Whites, Civil War as a Crisis in Gender, 160-98; Bishir, "A Strong Force of Ladies,'3-26; Jane Turner Censer, The Reconstruction of White Southern Womanhood, 1865-1900 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2003), 191-203, 206, 218, 275-78; John M. Coski and Amy R. Feely, "A Monument to Southern Womanhood: The Founding Generation of the Confederate Museum," in Edward D. Campbell and Kym S. Rice, eds. A Woman's War: Southern Women, Civil War, and the Confederate Legacy (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia and Museum of the Confederacy, 1996), 130-63.

not only disregarded community-based groups such as LMAs, but have also failed to examine the fractures within postwar memory and the cyclical nature of Confederate celebration. Likewise, historians have vastly underestimated the number of women involved in efforts to enshrine the Lost Cause, proposing that only a handful had the energy, resources, and inclination to engage in memorial activities. Evidence from Virginia suggests that a solid core of dedicated women emerged as early as 1865 and 1866 to serve as guardians of what they deemed to be a sacred past. For example, during the spring of 1866 more than three hundred women organized into three different LMAs in Richmond alone. Furthermore, these organizations did not disappear by the 1870s, but endured into the twentieth century. Like the Lost Cause as a whole, LMAs experienced a period of depressed interest in the late-1870s and 1880s, but the associations managed to revitalize themselves and continued to influence Lost Cause traditions for several more decades.[6] The women of the LMAs, and neither the United Confederate Veterans nor the United Daughters of the Confederacy, were responsible for remaking military defeat into a political, social, and cultural victory for the white South.[7]

By considering women's earliest mourning activities as a legitimate political response to Reconstruction, much of the Lost Cause historiography can be revised. The traditional narrative argues that celebrations of the Confederacy emerged with the die-hards such as former Confederate general Jubal A. Early in the 1870s, flourished in the

---

[6] Like many other historians of the Lost Cause, I elected to end the study between 1914 and 1915. These years marked the fiftieth anniversaries of the war and the commencement of World War I, a point at which reconciliation had been firmly established between white people of the North and South and when Memorial Days no longer solely celebrated Civil War soldiers. (Blair, Cities of the Dead, 6-7; Blight, Race and Reunion, 6-30, 381-97; Foster, Ghosts, 163-98.)

[7] Cox argues that the United Daughters of the Confederacy aspired to "transform military defeat into a political and cultural victory, where states' rights and white supremacy remained intact." I am arguing, however, that their predecessors, the LMAs, had already established this transformation by the time of the UDC's organization in 1894. (Cox, Dixie's Daughters, 1.)

mid-1880s with veterans' groups, and reached a pinnacle of popularity early in the twentieth century in unbroken continuity. But this chronology assumes that men alone directed the movement. By placing women at the forefront of this movement, the nature of Confederate traditions and memory is altered. First, it becomes apparent that the Lost Cause began *immediately* after the war, as soon as May 1865 in some localities. Second, contrary to the assumptions of many historians, "memorial" work itself was intensely political and should not be cast aside as insignificant. Finally, the notion of an ever-increasing momentum toward the Lost Cause is replaced with a more complicated picture of the tensions within postwar memory and the cycles of celebration.[8]

But exploring the Lost Cause through the lens of LMAs also challenges the conventional narrative of southern women's history. Historians of southern women generally agree that the war offered many white women a chance to step beyond the traditional boundaries of their gender. During the four years of civil war, white women in Virginia and throughout the Confederacy expanded on the civic duty they had embraced since the Great Awakening. They saw their loved ones off to war, endured the hardships of the home front, nursed the wounded, and most important, formed a myriad of patriotic and benevolent associations to support the cause. Confederate women moved more directly into the political realm by coordinating regional supply networks, sponsoring gunboats, undermining the orders of Union soldiers, participating in military funerals, and fanning the flames of Confederate nationalism. As Anne Firor Scott argued more

---

[8] I have discussed the cyclical nature of Lost Cause memory in further detail in "To Honor Her Noble Sons: The Ladies' Memorial Association of Petersburg, Virginia," in Bertram Wyatt-Brown and Peter Wallenstein, eds., Virginia's Civil War (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2005), 256-69.

than thirty years ago, the war helped to emancipate southern white women, allowing them to take on both new activities and new ideas about gender.[9]

Historians such as Suzanne Lebsock, George C. Rable, Drew Gilpin Faust, and LeeAnn Whites have since countered Scott's findings. They maintain that southern white women returned to their antebellum roles immediately after the war in large measure to prop up southern patriarchy, failing to participate in organized clubs or public life until the latter part of the nineteenth century. But an examination of LMAs demonstrates that for many Confederate women, devotion to the cause and participation in female-driven organizations did not end with Appomattox but grew stronger in the postwar period. The war proved to be a pivotal moment for white women, creating unusual opportunities and amplifying their activities.[10] Most important, the war politicized them far more than partisan rallies or benevolent societies ever could have. Middling and elite southern white women emerged from the war more active, both socially and politically, than at any previous time in their history and immediately directed their energies into memorial societies. Ladies' Memorial Associations, therefore, served a very important role in the evolution of southern white women's societies. They acted as the transitional

---

[9] Anne Firor Scott, The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics, 1830-1930 (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1970).

[10] For argument that the Civil War served as a watershed for middle- and upper-class southern white women, see Jane E. Schultz, Women at the Front: Hospital Workers in Civil War America (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 3, 6; Censer, Reconstruction; Mary P. Ryan, Women in Public: Between Banners and Ballots, 1825-1880 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), 142, 156; Anne Firor Scott, Natural Allies: Women's Associations in American History (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991), 79. For scholars who disagree with Scott's findings, see Suzanne Lebsock, The Free Women of Petersburg: Status and Culture in a Southern Town, 1784-1860 (New York: W.W. Norton, 1984); George C. Rable, Civil Wars: Women and the Crisis of Southern Nationalism (Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1989); LeeAnn Whites, The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender: Augusta, Georgia, 1860-1890 (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995); Drew Gilpin Faust, Mothers of Invention, Women of the Slaveholding South in the American Civil War (New York: Vintage Books, 1996).

organizations between wartime associations and the benevolent and suffrage movements of the late-nineteenth century.[11]

Here a definition of politics is necessary. Rather than a strict nineteenth-century understanding of the term as confined to voting and political parties, the definition must be broadened. Politics, as I have chosen to employ it, is the ability of an individual or group to wield influence in their communities, state, and region. As historian Lori D. Ginzberg has pointed out, virtually all early to mid-nineteenth-century female activists "recoiled from a public association with the potentially partisan nature of their efforts. . . but they lived with the contradictions of exerting their influence in decidedly political ways toward clear political ends." Antebellum and wartime women, both North and South, attempted to and succeeded in influencing their respective governments through legislative petitions, voluntary associations, reports, appeals, and even novels. In some cases, such as within the Whig Party, women expressed their allegiance to the party on the campaign trail, and during the sectional crisis southern white women acted first as mediators and then as advocates of southern rights. During the Civil War, Confederate women continued to petition the government, criticized military and bureaucratic leadership, helped supply the Confederate armies, and claimed to be the most ardent of patriots. Although Victorian culture presumed that women were naturally "disinterested" in politics, this was hardly the case.[12]

---

[11] Judith Ann Giesberg has argued similarly that the United States Sanitary Commission "served as an interim structure . . . between the localized feminine activism of the first half of the century and the mass women's movements of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries." (Judith Ann Giesberg, Civil War Sisterhood: The U.S. Sanitary Commission and Women's Politics in Transition [Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2000], 11.)

[12] Lori D. Ginzberg, Women and the Work of Benevolence: Morality, Politics, and Class in the 19th-Century United States (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1990), 68-69; Elizabeth R. Varon, We Mean to be Counted: White Women and Politics in Antebellum Virginia (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 1-9. For further definitions of women and politics, see also Theda Skocpol,

Women's interest in politics continued after the war across a wide range of issues such as the political reconstruction of the South. And it was in this realm that women found a way to further deploy politics in the interest of their state (by which they still meant the Confederate nation) precisely because white men presumed them to be "apolitical." LMAs actively rejected northern attempts to remake southern identity even as they fashioned material for remembering the past. White women's postwar memorialization efforts were therefore an extension of their deep devotion to the Confederate nation and of the time-tested vehicles of benevolent societies, memorial associations, and partisan campaigns. As Anne Firor Scott argued over thirty years ago, "it was in the Reconstruction period that the first foreshadowing of a new style of woman began to appear." LMAs, therefore, reveal not only well-laid networks of southern white women, but also the highly bureaucratized, political nature of such women's organizations.[13]

This project, therefore, explores how gender infused efforts to commemorate the past and to define what it meant to be an ex-Confederate after defeat. Women's postwar organizations not only employed the skills they had gleaned from decades of experience, but they also served an even more valuable purpose to their male counterparts. Because women, and not ex-Confederate soldiers, directed early memorialization efforts, northern Republicans perceived their work as less politically motivated and threatening. Just as members of the southern Whig Party had done since the 1830s, postbellum Virginian men and women agreed that because "ladies" were by nature "disinterested" in politics

---

Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992); Ryan, Women in Public; Rebecca Edwards, Angels in the Machinery: Gender in American Party Politics from the Civil War to the Progressive Era (New York:

their motives must be "pure." If women were not political, then by extension, their actions could not be either. Memorial activities lay clearly within the province of female mourning and posed no threat to sectional reunion. Because women could lay the groundwork for commemoration directly after the war, ex-Confederates later glorified their past without much resistance from northern observers. Although disputes over control of the movement arose between male and female leaders in the 1870s and 1880s, LMA women secured the foundation for national reconciliation of northern and southern whites by providing the domestic legitimization of mourning that Confederate men lacked.

LMAs shrewdly manipulated the political conditions of Reconstruction and the New South to maintain widespread southern support and broadened their public role by serving as surrogate government agencies for the defeated Confederacy. While northern women such as Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony debated woman suffrage and the Fifteenth Amendment, LMA members were likewise busy redefining southern women's relationship to men and the state, thus creating an alternate form of women's political engagement. They staged elaborate public spectacles, moved beyond the local nature of earlier southern benevolent work that had focused on orphanages and almshouses, and called on municipal and state governments to support their projects. Expanding on their wartime roles, LMAs allowed southern white women to engage in civic life as never before. In between the localized benevolent societies of the 1840s and women's club movement and the United Daughters of the Confederacy in the 1880s and

---

Oxford University Press, 1997); and Catherine Allgor, Parlor Politics: In Which the Ladies of Washington Help Build a City and a Government (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000).

[13] Censer, Reconstruction, 188; Varon, We Mean to Be Counted, 124, 171; Scott, The Southern Lady, 102.

1890s, the LMAs served as a transitional group, pivotal in the evolution of southern white women's organizations.

The very nature of LMAs' work forced them to craft a new relationship with both men and the state. Female club members hired and managed men for reinterment projects; they drew public attention to themselves when they organized and took center stage at memorial activities; they solicited support from the most powerful men in their communities, state, and region to accomplish their goals; and they fought off those men who attempted to thwart their efforts. Not surprisingly, male/female relations were not uniform in Virginia. For example, in Petersburg the elite white women of the LMA and the city's male leaders often disagreed over the necessity of maintaining the Confederate cemetery, while in Winchester the men and women worked closely together to provide a unified front. In many cases, men supported LMAs financially and otherwise, and men certainly found a valuable political reason for supporting women's efforts that allowed *all* former Confederates to honor their past. But regardless of the specific scenario, gender patterns did not return to their antebellum status, as some historians have posited; rather, women of the LMAs proved determined to control the direction of their associations, expand their civic duties, and redefine the very nature of southern femininity.[14]

Allowing the Ladies, as they called themselves, to take the center stage at the end of the war suggested to the women, at least, that they were equally valuable participants in the state, setting in motion debates regarding women's influence over Confederate memorialization as Reconstruction came to an end. Despite the diversity of male/female relations among Virginia's LMAs, the general pattern confirms that LMAs did not simply

---

[14] For historians who argue that gender patterns returned in large part to their antebellum status, see Whites, The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender, 132-98; Faust, Mothers of Invention, 248-54; Rable, Civil Wars, 228.

organize to bolster southern white men's masculinity in the face of defeat.[15] It is true that the LMAs' primary objective was to honor the sacrifices and lives of those Confederate men who had fallen in battle. But if LMA women wanted only to reassure men of their virility, they would have played a more submissive role. While men certainly encouraged female-dominated memorial associations for their own political reasons, the LMAs never served as mere puppets for male ambitions. Neither did women refrain from criticizing men, including veterans, when they failed to support adequately the memorial associations. Above all, these women saw themselves as patriots performing vital civic duties for their communities and the larger South rather than as purveyors of male confidence. LMA women not only honored those men who had fought for the South, but they likewise secured their own legacy as devoted citizens and participants in the cause.

LMAs permitted Virginia's white women to both construct a civic identity and shape the "new southern lady" in relation to African Americans, northerners, and other white southerners. Ultimately, celebrations of the Confederate past within the context of New South politics, race relations, the growing woman's movement, and industrialization, were about exclusion. Through their activities and membership bases, women of the Ladies' Memorial Associations sought to create an identity that excluded blacks and to a lesser extent, poor whites. Not surprisingly, the word "Confederate" in their writing implied "white", a definition that appears to have been questioned only in 1894 when a Richmond LMA found it necessary to designate their organization for

---

[15] For the argument that LMAs were dedicated to the "reconstruction of southern white men," see LeeAnn Whites, "'Stand by Your Man': The Ladies Memorial Association and the Reconstruction of Southern White Manhood," in Christie Anne Farnham, ed., Women of the American South: A Multicultural Reader (New York: New York University Press, 1997), 133-49; Whites, The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender, 160-98; Cox, Dixie's Daughters, 9-10; G. Kurt Piehler, Remembering the American Way, 1783-1993 (Washington: Smithsonian Institute Press, 1996), 63. For argument that LMAs were more interested in patriotic endeavors, see Censer, Reconstruction, 202.

"whites only." At heart, their efforts were about identifying who was truly "southern" and why.

To understand these dynamics better, I chose to concentrate on Virginia. The Old Dominion was certainly not the only southern state to have LMAs. Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Mississippi, and Alabama also witnessed a proliferation of such groups in the war's aftermath; all told between seventy and one hundred such associations organized throughout the South.[16] But Virginia offers the most fruitful study because of its prominence during the years of the Confederacy and its significance as a bastion of Lost Cause rhetoric and figures. As the center of the war's Eastern Theater, Virginia experienced more battles on her soil, sent more men to fight, and lost more sons than any other state.[17] Many of the war's most famous heroes hailed from the Commonwealth, including Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson and Robert E. Lee, and the state capital of Richmond served simultaneously as the Confederate capital beginning in May 1861. Over the course of three decades, several of the most vital male-dominated Lost Cause organizations called Virginia home, such as the Southern Historical Society, the Lee Monument Association (Lexington), the Lee Memorial Association (Richmond), and the Grand Camp of Confederate Veterans (Robert E. Lee Camp). But Virginia also fostered

---

[16] This number is based on the LMAs that joined that Confederated Southern Memorial Association [association hereafter cited as the CSMA] in 1900 as well as other documented associations in Virginia. The CSMA, discussed in chapter six, collected histories from each of the LMAs that joined the association and published them in a collection in 1904. (History of the Confederated Memorial Associations of the South, [New Orleans, La.: Graham Press, 1904].)

[17] Virginia undeniably sent the most men to war of any Confederate state. According to the Confederate Service Records, Virginia sent 214,476 men, followed by Georgia, 181,033; Tennessee, 141,728; North Carolina 137,527; and Mississippi, 127,069. Gary W. Gallagher and Robert K. Krick suggest that 1/3 of the total for each state should be deducted to account for duplicate records for individual men. According to Krick, "the infantry-to-cavalry syndrome, abetted by the imbecilic spring 1862 conscription plus bounty / elections legislation, accounts for the majority of that." That brings the estimated total of men who fought from Virginia to 142,984. (Robert K. Krick, The Smoothbore Volley that Doomed the Confederacy: The Death of Stonewall Jackson and Other Chapters on the Army of Northern Virginia [Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2002], 243-44.)

the organization of extremely active Ladies' Memorial Associations well connected with other women's groups both within their state and across the region at large. By the fall of 1868, more than twenty such societies were enthusiastically establishing cemeteries and arranging Memorial Days throughout the state, including those at Appomattox Court House, Bristol, Charlottesville, Danville, Emory and Henry College (Washington County), Fairfax Court House, Fredericksburg, King George County, Gordonsville (Piedmont), Leesburg, Lexington, Loudoun Park, Lynchburg, Manassas and Bull Run, New Market, Orange Court House, Petersburg, Richmond, Spotsylvania, Staunton, Warrenton, and Winchester.[18]

I selected the cities of Winchester, Fredericksburg, Petersburg, Lynchburg, and Richmond because of the diversity of wartime and postwar experiences they offer. I use the terms "city" and "town" interchangeably as the residents did, but these communities represent a range of populations, from the largest, Richmond, to the smallest, Winchester. Likewise, they offer a wide-geographic base, extending from Winchester in the far northern corner of the state, through Lynchburg on the median between the Piedmont and Blue Ridge, and to Petersburg in the Southside.

Winchester, located in the famous Shenandoah Valley twenty-five miles south of Harpers Ferry, became a military command post and major supply depot for the Confederacy in April 1861. Most of the town's three thousand white residents supported the Confederate effort, but throughout the Lower Shenandoah Valley (as it was designated because the Shenandoah River ran north to meet the Potomac) pockets of staunch unionist sentiment persisted for the course of the war. Because of its strategic importance within the Valley and its proximity to the United States capital in

---

[18] Southern Opinion, August 29, 1868.

Washington, Winchester remained contested territory throughout the conflict, occupied by one army or another at all times and witnessing five major battles.[19]

Situated on the fall line of the Rappahannock River, Fredericksburg had been a mercantile center in colonial times, but much of its glory had waned by the Civil War as a result of the tobacco depression in the 1840s. Fredericksburg's five thousand residents, along with those in the surrounding counties of Spotsylvania and Stafford, endured four major battles during the war—Fredericksburg (December 1862), Chancellorsville (May 1863), the Wilderness (May 1864), and Spotsylvania (May 1864). These battles claimed more than 100,000 causalities, necessitating makeshift hospitals throughout the town and countryside. Union troops occupied the town on five separate occasions during the conflict, the first beginning on April 19, 1862. During the bombardment by Union forces under the command of General Ambrose E. Burnside on December 11, 1862, the town suffered nearly as much destruction as the more famed cities of Atlanta and Charleston. Testimony from both civilians and the armies reported rampant looting and destruction by the Union forces as they marched through town. According to historian William Blair, soldiers "entered homes, stripped clothing from bureaus, defaced walls with their unit numbers, and tossed contents into the streets." Word of the sacking spread quickly throughout the South and served to intensify hatred toward the Union soldiers. Although subsequent battles in the area continued to drain the city's resources and increase privations, the winter of 1862 had been seared into Fredericksburg's memory.[20]

---

[19] For more discussion of Winchester, see Michael G. Mahon, ed., Winchester Divided: The Civil War Diaries of Julia Chase and Laura Lee (Mechanicsburg, Pa.: Stackpole Books, 2002), vii-ix; Frederic Morton, The Story of Winchester in Virginia: The Oldest Town in the Shenandoah Valley (Strasburg, Va.: Shenandoah Publishing House, 1925), 145; Garland R. Quarles, Occupied Winchester, 1861-1865 (Winchester, Va.: Farmers and Merchants National Bank, 1976), iii.

[20] For more detailed analysis of Fredericksburg, see William A. Blair, "Barbarians at Fredericksburg's Gate: The Impact of the Union Army on Civilians," in Gary W. Gallagher ed, The Fredericksburg Campaign:

In 1860, Petersburg had been a bustling manufacturing and transportation hub for the South with a population of 18,266 and the largest free urban black population in Virginia. Between 1850 and 1860 the population had expanded by nearly 30 percent while the value of all real estate, personal property, and slaves increased by 82 percent. The second largest city in Virginia, and fiftieth in the country, its five railroads extended in several directions, shipping products from the city's cotton mills, ironworks, slave trade, and tobacco manufacturers. The Confederate army understood that Petersburg's link between Richmond and supplies in the west and south made it a prime target for Union armies, and during the summer of 1862 southern engineers constructed a ten-mile line of fortifications around the city. On June 9, 1864, Union forces led by Maj. Gen. Benjamin F. Butler threatened the town, and a small force described as 129 "grey haired sires and beardless youths" of the home guard held off the Federal soldiers until the Confederate forces arrived, sustaining fifteen deaths and eighteen wounded. For the next ten months, Union forces commenced a steady siege on the Confederate line, the railroads, and the city itself. On April 2, 1865, General Lee ordered the soldiers defending Petersburg to evacuate, and to set fire to several of the city's tobacco warehouses, bridges, and railroad stations. The following day Union soldiers took possession of the shell-shocked city.[21]

Decision on the Rappahannock (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 142-170; Edward John Harcourt, "The Civil War and Social Change: White Women in Fredericksburg, Virginia," MA Thesis, University of Richmond, 1997, 5-13; George C. Rable, Fredericksburg! Fredericksburg! (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002); S. J. Quinn, The History of the City of Fredericksburg Virginia (Richmond, Va.: Hermitage Press, 1908); John T. Goolrick, Historic Fredericksburg: The Story of an Old Town (Richmond, Va.: Whittet & Shepperson, 1922).

[21] William D. Henderson, Petersburg in the Civil War: War at the Door (Lynchburg, Va.: H.E. Howard, Inc. 1988), 1-20, 136-43; Lawrence L. Hartzell, "The Exploration of Freedom in Black Petersburg, Virginia, 1865-1902," in Ayers and Willis, eds., The Edge of the South, 134-56; Nora Fontaine Maury Davidson, Cullings from the Confederacy: A Collection of Southern Poems, Original and Others, Popular During the War Between the States, and Incidents and Facts Worth Recalling (Washington: The Rufus H. Darby Printing Co., 1903), 10.

Like Petersburg, Lynchburg experienced a period of rapid growth and prosperity in the years immediately preceding the Civil War. Its financial base of tobacco "flowed into the city in increasing quantities," but the city's other industries, such as iron foundries, grist mills, and clothing manufacturers also contributed to its success. The city lay 110 miles west of Richmond along the James River and the Kanawha Canal and at the convergence of six major turnpikes, thus making it an important link in the transportation network of the state and Confederacy. Lynchburg's six thousand residents experienced only one major battle in the immediate vicinity of their city, and that battle paled in comparison to military action near the other cities of this study. But its rail, canal, and road access rendered Lynchburg an important supply and hospital center. By the end of the war, Lynchburg's tobacco warehouses, empty buildings, and private homes had been converted into more than thirty hospitals with a staff of approximately fifty military surgeons and several hundred women nurses / matrons who treated more than 20,000 patients (nearly 3,000 of whom died in the city).[22]

Richmond, the City of Seven Hills, had grown up along the fall line of the James River as a trading town in the eighteenth century. It had served as the Commonwealth's capital since 1780 and was named capital of the Confederacy in May 1861. During the antebellum period, like Petersburg and Lynchburg, the capital city thrived as an industrial

---

[22] For more information on Lynchburg during the Civil War, see George G. Morris and Susan L. Foutz, Lynchburg in the Civil War: The City, the People, and the Battle (Lynchburg, Va.: H. E. Howard, 1984), 1-56; Civil War Hospitals in Lynchburg, accessed through the internet, http://www.gravegarden.org/hospitals.htm; Steven Elliot Tripp, Yankee Town, Southern City: Race and Class Relations in Civil War Lynchburg (New York: New York University Press, 1997); W. Asbury Christian, Lynchburg and Its People (Lynchburg, Va.: J.P. Bell, 1900); Evelyn Lee Moore and Lucy Harrison Miller Baber, Behind the Old Brick Wall: A Cemetery Story (Lynchburg, Va.: Lynchburg Committee of the Colonial Dames, 1968). The battle of Lynchburg occurred on June 18, 1864. General David Hunter commanded 19,000 Union troops while General Jubal A. Early, later a resident of Lynchburg, commanded 16,000 Confederate troops. After a day-long assault, Early realized that Hunter had begun retreating and ordered an immediate pursuit. Early pressed Hunter past Salem, Virginia, where

complex and commodity broker. Companies such as Tredegar Iron Works, the Creshaw Woolen Mills, the Franklin Paper Mill, seven major flour mills, and fifty tobacco factories depended on slave labor, and the slave trade became the city's most profitable business. In 1860, the city's population was 37,916 (including 11,699 slaves and 2,576 free blacks), but refugees, soldiers, and government officials arrived during the war to swell the population to more than 100,000. Throughout the conflict the city remained a constant target of the Union army, most famously during the 1862 Peninsula campaign and again in the 1864 Overland campaign. As one historian has noted, "the city was, at times, almost an annex of the battlefield, surrounded by armed encampments, thronged with wounded and with prisoners, infused with the sights and smells and sounds of death." [23]

Rather than focusing on one community at a time, I have woven the stories of each locale together into one narrative, allowing me to highlight and explain the differences between cities while simultaneously drawing general conclusions. The first chapter examines the ways in which Virginia women supported the war effort through their "patriotic" activities. Women's wartime activities simultaneously transformed their relationships with each other and the state and heightened their public role in mourning traditions, all of which became crucial to the establishment of Ladies' Memorial

---

the Union forces slipped into the mountains of West Virginia. Casualties in the battle were minimal: Hunter lost approximately 250 killed, wounded, or captured; Confederate losses were far fewer.

[23] For discussion of antebellum and wartime Richmond, see Carol C. Green, Chimborazo: The Confederacy's Largest Hospital (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2004), 46-47; Sallie Brock Putnam, Richmond During the War: Four Years of Personal Observation (1867; reprint with introduction by Virginia Scharff, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), xvii; Michael Chesson, Richmond After the War, 1865-1890 (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1981), 3-23; Mary H. Mitchell, Hollywood Cemetery: The History of a Southern Shrine (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1985), 47; Katherine M. Jones, Ladies of Richmond, Confederate Capital (Indianapolis, Ind.: Bobbs-Merrill, 1962); C. Vann Woodward and Elisabeth Muhlenfeld, eds., The Private Mary Chesnut: The Unpublished Civil War Diaries (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984); C. Vann Woodward, ed., Mary Chesnut's Civil War (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1981).

Associations (and therefore the Lost Cause) in the years after Appomattox. Chapter two traces the development of seven LMAs in Virginia, focusing on which women were most likely to join the cause and elaborating on the political dimension of white women as the guardians of Confederate memory. Chapter three follows the LMAs during their years of prominence from 1867 through 1870. In these years of Congressional or "Radical" Reconstruction, Virginia's white women continued to dominate and dictate the path of Confederate celebration. The fourth chapter explores the increasing tension between male and female Lost Cause representatives. As the political necessity of white women leading the commemoration diminished, white men, especially former Confederate leaders such as Jubal Early, attempted to wrest control of the movement from women. Chapter five explores the resurrection of the LMAs during the so-called "height" of the Lost Cause in the last two decades of the century and considers how the associations were able to transition from a period of gender strife into an era of gender cooperation. Finally, the last chapter examines the relationship between the Ladies and the new generation of women devoted to the Lost Cause, the United Daughters of the Confederacy.

A word about what this study does not explore is in order. Although race played a significant role in shaping the social, cultural, and political dynamics of postwar Virginia, I have not focused on African Americans and the Lost Cause in any but the most basic way. Several historians have recently begun to explore this topic in more depth, and this study simply cannot do justice to the issue.[24] Nor did I attempt to analyze

---

[24] See for example, Blight, Race and Reunion; Blair, Cities of the Dead; Savage, Standing Soldiers; Kathleen Clark, "Celebrating Freedom: Emancipation Day Celebrations and African American Memory in the Early Reconstruction South" in W. Fitzhugh Brundage, ed. Where These Memories Grow: History, Memory, and Southern Identity (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 107-32;

the organization of men's memorial associations and veterans' associations.[25] Here, too, other scholars have more thoroughly developed these topics. But this dissertation adds to the scholarship on men's organizations in two important ways. First, men can be restored to the earliest Lost Cause activities when women's mourning ceremonies of 1865 and 1866 are taken seriously. Second, it appears that men were in fact motivated to celebrate the Confederacy, at least in part, because of their competition with women and gendered assumptions about battlefield glory. Finally, this project does not claim to serve as a catalog for every project undertaken by the seven Ladies' Memorial Associations surveyed; for such details, interested parties should consult the minutes of the respective organization.

In terms of sources, I have tried, to the extent possible, to retrieve the voices in the form of diaries and letters of individuals from each of the selected communities. When necessary, however, I have incorporated evidence from other places in the state that appeared to reflect the attitudes and activities of those who experienced the war or were involved in memorial work in the Commonwealth. Most of the information regarding individual LMAs came directly from their minutes and correspondences, except in the case of the Winchester association, whose organizational records no longer exist. Newspapers, pamphlets, circulars, and publications such as the Confederate Veteran rounded out the research.[26]

Antoinette G. Van Zelm, "Virginia Women as Public Citizens: Emancipation Day Celebrations and Lost Cause Commemorations, 1863-1890," in Janet L. Coryell, et al, eds. Negotiating Boundaries of Southern Womanhood: Dealing with Powers that Be (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2000).

[25] For most complete work on men's organizations, see Foster, Ghosts; Blight, Race and Reunion; and Gallagher and Nolan, eds., The Myth of the Lost Cause.

[26] While the minutes for the Winchester LMA have not been located, records for an associated group, the Stonewall Cemetery Records, have provided sufficient evidence of the WLMA's work. These records can be found at the Handley Regional Library, Winchester, Virginia.

Ultimately, this dissertation reveals the ways in which southern white women of the LMAs played a vital role in shaping the politics, culture, and society of late-nineteenth century Virginia. LMA women figured prominently in developing the racial and social tensions over Confederate memory that still haunt the South. This project illuminates a too-often-neglected aspect of southern women's history, highlighting the ways in which gender affected how Americans remembered—and continue to remember—the Confederacy and the Civil War.

Chapter 1
"Patriotic Ladies of the South": Virginia Women in the Confederacy

While Virginia's men and boys gathered their muskets and marched into battle in the spring of 1861, the Commonwealth's women understood that they, too, had an important role to play during this time of national crisis. Women willingly sent their husbands, brothers, and sons off to war; they helped supply the armies with clothing, food, and bandages; they endured countless hardships on the home front; they nursed the wounded and helped bury the dead; and they championed the southern cause.[1] Sixteen-year-old Lizzie Alsop not only supported the war effort by helping to send supplies to Confederate hospitals in Richmond, but she also demonstrated her loyalty to the rebel nation when she denounced the Union soldiers who had taken over Fredericksburg in the summer of 1862. "I never hear or see a Federal private or officer riding down the street that I don't wish his neck may be broken before he crosses the bridge," she proudly noted. She praised the local women for treating the Yankees "with silent contempt" and asserted that the northern soldiers "little know the hatred in our hearts toward them." That same summer when she and several friends passed a store where a Union flag flew, they "all

[1] Suzanne Lebsock, "Foreword," in Campbell and Rice, eds. A Woman's War, ix-xii. Not all of Virginia's white women supported the Confederacy, though most did. For examples of Virginia women who felt intense loyalty to the Union, see Mahon, ed., Winchester Divided; Quarles, Occupied Winchester; and Katherine Couse, Letter to unidentified recipients, May 4-20, 1864, Accession #10441, Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia, Charlottesville [repository hereafter cited as UVA]. Northern women, too, participated in the war effort in many of the same ways as southern women, that is, through soldiers' aid societies, as nurses, and as spies. See Rachel Filene Seidman, "'We Were Enlisted for the War': Ladies' Aid Societies and the Politics of Women's Work During the Civil War" in William A. Blair and William Pencak, eds., Making and Remaking Pennsylvania's Civil War (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), 59-80.

went into the street preferring to get our dresses dirty to bending our heads beneath the 'Stars & Stripes.'" [2]

This deep loyalty to the Confederate nation had profound implications not only for individual Virginia women, but also for their organizations and female networks. Building on a tradition of antebellum benevolent societies, Confederate women elaborated a more public and political role for themselves by way of their patriotism in aid societies, hospitals, and cemeteries.[3] They coordinated regional supply networks, sponsored gunboats, defied orders of Union soldiers, and participated in military funerals. These wartime experiences heightened the nature of women's associations, broadened their base, and extended their geographic reach across the state and region, thereby transforming both women's relationships with one another and the state. This expansion of women's organizations and activity, moreover, did not end when the armies laid down their guns. The networks and support base these women established during the war became crucial to the establishment of the Lost Cause in the years after Appomattox as women like Lizzie Alsop extended their wartime patriotism into Ladies' Memorial Associations. The battlefields of Virginia did more than alter forever the lives of thousands of her sons; it transformed the patriotic fervor, political horizons, and civic responsibilities of many of her leading daughters as well.

As had been the case prior to the outbreak of hostilities, during the war Virginia's white women paid close heed to what was happening in the larger political world. They

---

[2] Lizzie Alsop diary, June 6, July 2, July 14, 1862, Wynne Family Papers, VHS. Lizzie's mother, Sara Alsop, was a directress of the Fredericksburg Relief Association. Lizzie's diary suggests that she and her sister participated in the association when they were home from boarding school in Richmond.

[3] Historian Elizabeth Varon argues that women entered the public sphere through claims of feminine benevolent moral duty. (Varon, We Mean to Be Counted, 139-54.) For argument that southern women did not develop substantial benevolent associations or networks until after the Civil War, see Jean Friedman,

read newspapers and corresponded with friends and family to keep abreast of the happenings throughout both the North and South. In their diaries and letters, women detailed the maneuverings of armies and commented on the capabilities of officers and government officials. In May 1862, Betty Herndon Maury of Fredericksburg criticized Gen. Joseph E. Johnston for not attacking McClellan during that spring's Peninsula campaign. Adelaide Clopton voiced similar frustrations in the summer of 1862. She berated Confederate leaders for their many "useless, profitless battles." If only the army would pursue the Union forces and not allow them to recuperate after every encounter, she argued, the war might end. But beyond merely watching and listening, Virginia's women launched their own war effort in their homes and churches, at hospitals, and eventually, in their cemeteries.[4]

Prior to the Civil War, both northern and southern white women had been largely excluded from the nation's narratives. Historian Cecilia O'Leary argues that in the antebellum years "literature on the nation, with its focus on governments, public parties, and military heroes, simply ignored the roles of women." Women had served as spies and aided the Continental Army during the American Revolution, but this activity was not deemed equivalent to that of the male citizen-soldier. While women might contribute to the well-being of the nation by raising good republican sons, citizenship had been defined by service to the state and so remained restricted to white men. But the Civil War fundamentally blurred this line. The scale of the war necessitated the mobilization of men as well as women in both the North and the South, leading the press, pulpits, and

---

The Enclosed Garden: Women and Community in the Evangelical South, 1830-1900 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985).

[4] Alice Maury Parmelee, ed. The Confederate Diary of Betty Herndon Maury, 1861-1863 (Washington: Privately Printed, 1938. This is a very rare book. I used the edition held at UVA); Adelaide Clopton to

politicians alike to call on "patriotic ladies" to support their respective political communities.[5]

Virginia's women were no less vigilant in their outpourings of patriotism than their female counterparts in the Union or elsewhere in the Confederacy. In rapid pace, they transformed their antebellum benevolent, school, and church associations into ladies' relief and soldiers' aid societies. Women, who had previously spent their afternoons visiting, now found themselves busy seamstresses. "The click of the sewing-machine was the music which most interested them," recalled one Richmond woman. "The 'stitch, stitch, stitch,' from morning to night" filled the parlors and church halls as women plied their new trade. Women went to work carding lint, rolling bandages, and sewing jackets, trousers, and haversacks. They made heavy tents from cumbrous sail-cloth, leaving many delicate fingers stiff, swollen, and bleeding. Those who had little experience in sewing also volunteered their limited skills. "Even tents were made by fingers that had scarcely ever used a needle before," observed Winchester's Cornelia McDonald.[6]

Nearly every town and city in the commonwealth became the site of some ladies' association. In Petersburg, the women of the Washington Street congregation organized a society to "aid in both clothing and contributing to the relief of the soldiers of the

---

Nannie Clopton, July 9, 1862, Southern Women's Collection, Eleanor S. Brockenbrough Library, Museum of the Confederacy, Richmond, Va. [repository hereafter cited as MOC].

[5] O'Leary, To Die For, 71-74; Linda K, Kerber, No Constitutional Right to be Ladies: Women and the Obligation of Citizenship (New York: Hill and Wang, 1998), 8-13, 21-22, 28-29, 82, 146, 236, 241-42 299, 308; Jeanie Attie, "Warwork and the Crisis of Domesticity in the North," in Catherine Clinton and Nina Silber, eds., Divided Houses: Gender and the Civil War (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 247-59. Attie argues that in the North a distinct version of female patriotism developed that "placed economic voluntarism at the heart of women's participation in the defense of the nation." (Attie, "Warwork," 251.) Evidence from southern white women suggests that the economic and social conditions of the South did not allow for such a clear-cut distinction.

[6] Sallie Brock.Putnam, Richmond During the War: Four Years of Personal Observation (1867; reprint with introduction by Virginia Scharff, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), 39-40; Cornelia Peake McDonald, A Woman's Civil War: A Diary with Reminiscences of the War from March 1862 (1935; reprint with introduction by Minrose Gwin, Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992), 17.

Confederate Army." Building on existing female networks, the women sent delegations to meet with the other likeminded women. The women quickly made arrangements with the Commissary department in Richmond to have materials delivered each week to Tabb Street Church. There, the cotton cloth would be distributed to the city's six different church-based sewing societies. The following week, the finished sheets, suits, and haversacks were exchanged for more material.[7] Lynchburg's town leaders called on the women to aid in the "patriotic act" of furnishing supplies for the volunteer companies. The young girls of the Lynchburg Female Seminary donated the funds they had raised for their May festival to purchase knapsacks for the Rifle Greys. On April 20, nearly five hundred of the city's women organized the Ladies' Relief Society to outfit the poorer regiments. Within weeks, they had equipped several companies and were making uniforms for a company organized in nearby Nelson County. By the following January, the women reported that they had provided 1,789 coats, 2,195 pairs of pants, 1,454 shirts, 493 pairs of drawers, 523 pairs of gaiters, 1,175 cartridge boxes, sixty-six beds, ten overcoats, and many other necessary articles.[8]

Sewing societies in the capital city quickly multiplied. Within two weeks of the bombardment on Fort Sumter, female members of the Grace Baptist Church began to meet after Sunday services to sew for the soldiers. The women of the First and Second Baptist Churches, West Point Church, and four Methodist churches all helped sew uniforms and tents for local military companies, while Lucy Bagby and her mother joined

---

[7] Minutes of the Washington Street Ladies' Association, Campbell Papers, Earl Gregg Swem Library, Special Collections, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Va. [repository hereafter cited as W&M]; Lebsock, Free Women, 245-46. The sewing societies that have been identified in Petersburg include: Market Street M.E. Church, Tabb Street Presbyterian, High Street M.E. Church, Washington Street M.E. Church, High Street Church (not M.E.), and another unnamed church society. For discussion of Petersburg's antebellum female associations and networks, see Lebsock, Free Women 195-236.

yet another association that met daily at St. Paul's church. Under the auspices of Miss M.E. Woodward, women in the neighborhood of Ridge Church met in August 1861 to form the Ladies' Ridge Benevolent Society. The society's goals included not only alleviating the suffering of sick and wounded soldiers, but also providing "work and other comforts for such families as have been left by the soldiers in our neighborhood without a sufficient support." The women initially agreed to meet every Saturday with a goal of darning at least 500 pair of socks for the army.[9]

Mary Adams Randolph, wife of Secretary of War George Wythe Randolph, served as president of the city's most prestigious organization, the Richmond Ladies' Association. Including wives of government officials, such as Mary Boykin Chesnut, the association consisted primarily of "old [women] who wanted their way." Chesnut mused that the women, excluding Randolph, were often "crossgrained" with "sharp tempers." At one meeting, the group became rankled when Randolph proposed dividing all the goods sent to the organization equally with the northern wounded and sick prisoners. While some women believed it was indeed the Christian thing to do, others were less generous. "Some shrieked in wrath at the bare idea of putting our noble soldiers on par with Yankees— living, dying, or dead," recalled Chesnut. She believed that these "august, severe matrons" had not been accustomed to hearing the other side of an argument from anyone. They were, rather, "just old enough to find the last pleasure in life in power— and the power to make their claws felt." Despite the bitter in-fighting that these meetings

---

[8] Christian, Lynchburg and Its People, 194, 198, 214; Tripp, Yankee Town, 122; Lynchburg Daily Virginian, April 19, 22, May 2, 1861.

[9] Rable, Civil Wars, 139; Ladies' Ridge Benevolent Society Record Book, MOC; Richmond Whig, May 16, June 20, 1861; Diana Bell, "Female Benevolence and the Paradox of Southern Nationalism," Honor's Thesis, Davidson College, April 2003, 24; Lucy Bagby, "Chronicle," Bagby Family Papers, VHS.

endured, the association proved remarkably efficient at collecting and distributing goods to needy and wounded *Confederate* soldiers.[10]

The Ladies' Soldiers' Relief Society of Fredericksburg included a similar makeup of women from the town's most prominent families—many of whom would play a important role in the postwar memorial associations. Mary Gordon Wallace, wife of medical director, bank president, and former mayor, John H. Wallace, served as president. Miss Bella Little, a journalist and sister to the town's local newspaper editor, acted as secretary. Other members included Sallie Braxton Slaughter, wife of a banker, Lucy A. Broaddus, wife of the Fredericksburg Baptist Church's reverend, Elizabeth Gordon, wife of a bank cashier, and Mrs. F.A. Knox, wife of a merchant and wheat speculator.[11]

Perhaps it was this elitism within the groups that led some women to complain that members were merely using aid societies to gain notoriety. An unnamed "lady" from Lynchburg went so far as to write a letter to the editor disparaging the local women's organizations. She believed that "certain cliques" monopolized these groups. The "few" consult, form the basis for the societies, agree on officers, and then place a notice in the papers calling for a mass meeting. "When we go," she wrote, "we find the project all cut and dried—a fixed matter—between these few leaving the masses. . . with nothing to do, but to expend their money for the credit of a few women."[12]

---

[10] Jones, Ladies of Richmond, 183; Woodward, ed., Mary Chesnut's Civil War, 119, 155-56. Mary Elizabeth (Adams) Pope Randolph ran a fashionable salon with her husband George, grandson of Thomas Jefferson. After George Randolph resigned as secretary of war on November 15, 1862, the family remained in Richmond while he organized volunteers for its defense. In the fall of 1864, the family moved to Europe due to his health.

[11] Edward John Harcourt, "The Civil War and Social Change: White Women in Fredericksburg, Virginia." M.A. Thesis, University of Richmond, 1997, 18.

[12] Lynchburg Virginian, April 2, 1862.

Many women, nevertheless, devoted substantial amounts of time and energy to such work. Sallie Munford of Richmond apologized to her brother Charles for not writing more frequently in June 1861. "My opportunities for writing are very small now, for I really feel as if I was neglecting a positive duty every moment taken from work on the soldiers' clothes," she confessed. Twenty-one-year-old Abby Gwathmey told her parents she had spent the better part of a week making six large jackets, each with sixteen buttonholes. In Fredericksburg, Betty Herndon Maury, daughter of the world famous oceanographer Matthew Fontaine Maury, recorded her hard work in her diary. In three days, she managed to complete six pairs of pantaloons, six jackets, eight shirts, and haversacks. Overwhelmed at first, she quickly found women willing to assist in the work. "Every one that I asked took a part," she noted, "the work is now comparatively easy." Even Mary Custis Lee, wife of the Confederacy's acclaimed general, spent her time knitting gloves and socks for the soldiers.[13]

Confederate men lauded and encouraged women's nationalistic and philanthropic efforts. In Lynchburg, the local paper heralded the "moral heroism and fortitude evinced by the women of this city" engaged in preparing their men for the upcoming struggle. The women had made themselves "useful in the present emergency, and deserve great praise for their patriotic spirit." Men in Richmond urged women to help provide clothing for the soldiers. "Let the spinning wheel and the handloom and the knitting needle supply the deficiencies of our factories, and provide our soldiers for the rigors of the coming winter," one newspaper requested. The Richmond Whig published and warmly endorsed an appeal from Sally Mosby of Powhatan calling on all Virginia women to contribute

---

[13] Sallie R. Munford to Charles Ellis Munford, June 21, 1861, Munford-Ellis Family Papers, DU; Abby Manly Gwathmey to parents, April 29, 1861, Southern Women's Collection, MOC; Parmelee, Diary of

their gold and silver for the cause. "There is not a true-born Virginia woman, young or old, who would not gladly strip herself of every ornament, of every vase, goblet, urn or spoon, to uphold the freedom and independence of this State," wrote the editor. Likewise, he seconded Mosby's proposition that every county or town should organize a ladies' aid society.[14]

Rather than seeking women's support, the governor's proclamation of July 1861 called men to arms by touting the eager volunteer efforts of the state's female population. "Our gallant sisters of the South are hurrying to our assistance," noted the governor. "Be ready to lock arms with them, to rush unitedly upon and crush the foul invaders," he advised. What seems especially notable is that this appeal to arms placed women on an equal footing of importance to the war effort. Even the Confederacy's beloved General Stonewall Jackson expressed his "deep and abiding interest in our *female soldiers.*" In a letter to a Winchester woman, Jackson noted that the South's women were "patriots in the truest sense of the word, and I more than admire them."[15] Both government officials and army officers recognized the early mobilization of sewing and aid societies, and they encouraged men to *join* the defense of the Confederacy already underway by women. Although women were obviously not members of the electorate or (usually) army volunteers, Confederate officials considered them a vital component of the nation.[16]

Betty Herndon Maury, June 26, 1861; Lucy Muse Walton Fletcher Diary, May 22, 1864, DU

[14] Lynchburg Daily Virginian April 20, May 2, 1861, September 21, 1861; Richmond Enquirer August 23, 1861; Richmond Whig, clipping from April or May 1861, Clipping File, MOC.

[15] Southern Opinion (Richmond, Va.), October 12, 1867, emphasis added.

[16] Richmond Whig, July 22, 1861. For discussion of women who disguised themselves as male soldiers, see Elizabeth D. Leonard, All the Daring of a Soldier: Women of the Civil War Armies (New York: W.W. Norton, 1999).

Men and women alike employed the rhetoric of Revolutionary spirit of 1776 to motivate the state's women.[18] One reporter pointed out that the women of the Confederacy might not realize how their activities mimicked those of the founding mothers. Quoting Washington Irving, the reporter recounted how Martha Washington had spent her time in the wintry encampments at Valley Forge. There she "set an example to her lady visitors by diligently plying her needle, knitting stockings for the poor, destitute soldiers." Confederate women were, no doubt, "worthy descendants of the matrons of the revolution." In Sally Mosby's plea, she also invoked the Revolution. "Let us emulate our revolutionary matrons," she wrote, to show the entire world "that Virginia's present daughters are not unworthy or degenerate descendants of their noble and patriotic grandmothers."[19]

Women who joined soldiers' aid societies believed that they were fulfilling a necessary patriotic role. Less than a week after Virginia's vote to secede, several Fredericksburg women organized a Soldiers' Relief Society. In resolutions printed in the local newspaper, Mrs. Dr. Wallace, president of the group, elaborated on the relationship between women and their new nation. While they deeply deplored the sad necessity of war, as women were wont to do, they would "cheerfully" submit to any privations their husbands or government might direct. They agreed to deny themselves "all the luxuries of dress and table that our men may expend more for the defense of our homes and liberties." Following in the tradition of women during the American Revolution, these

---

[18] For discussion of Confederates comparing themselves to the Revolutionaries of 1776, see Emory M. Thomas, The Confederacy as a Revolutionary Experience (1971; reprint, Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1991); Reid Mitchell, Civil War Soldiers (New York: Penguin Books, 1988); and James McPherson, What They Fought For, 1861-1865 (1994; reprint, New York: Doubleday, 1995).

[19] Richmond Whig, clipping from April or May 1861, Clipping File, MOC.

women submitted to a self-imposed ban on any article not grown, produced, or manufactured by the Confederacy—although it is unclear whether or not they followed through on their declaration.[20] Confederate women declared that throughout the secession crisis they had been "silent observers" but "not uninterested spectators of the condition of our State and nation." "We firmly believe the course pursued by Virginia has been ever true and just," they proclaimed.[21]

A month after the first major battle of the war at Manassas, another group of Fredericksburg's women organized a separate patriotic society. Prompted by the suggestion of Captain Matthew Fontaine Maury, the women held a meeting on August 21 to discuss suggesting that a new flag be adopted by the Confederate states. Calling themselves simply the Ladies of Fredericksburg, they elected Betty Maury president and Mrs. William T. Hart secretary. Maury's cousin, Ellen Mercer Herndon, wrote the petition to Congress citing their objections to the "Bars and Stars," as they called it, on the grounds that it was ugly, a "servile imitation" of the United States' flag that conveyed "no idea of principle to the eye of the stranger or the citizen of our nation." Instead, the women suggested that the national flag be a "Southern Cross" upon "an azure field." Mrs. S. B. French, Sallie Slaughter, and Misses Braxton and Taylor then drafted a circular addressed to the women of Confederacy, asking them to hold similar meetings and petition Congress for the flag's adoption. Although the reception of the Ladies' petition remains unclear, sentiment such as theirs no doubt fueled efforts to reform the

---

[20] For discussion of women's participation in the non-importation movement during the American Revolution, see T.H. Breen, The Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence (New York: Oxford, 2004), 230-36.

[21] Fredericksburg News April 25, 1861. Historian Elizabeth Varon argues that during the antebellum period, Virginia's elite white women entered the public sphere through their claims of benevolent moral duty. She notes that through their political action, they shaped sectional tensions. (Varon, We Mean to Be Counted, 2.)

flag that culminated in the Joint Committee on Flag and Seal's task in April 1862 to propose a new flag. [22]

Philanthropic associations and flag petitions were not the only goals of Virginia's women. Gunboat societies, organized by women in coastal cities from Virginia to Alabama, represented what historian Drew Faust has called "genuine military intervention" on the part of women.[23] On March 27, 1862, Richmond's women first called for a Gunboat Association, or Ladies' Defense and Aid Association, which would aid in the defense of the city.[24] As the soldiers' aid societies and Ladies of Fredericksburg had done, the women quickly elected officers, adopted a constitution, and organized fundraising events. It was not until early April that the women, on advice from Captain Maury, decided to raise money for a gunboat to protect the city following the battle of the ironclads, the *U.S.S. Monitor* and the *C.S.S. Virginia*, at Hampton Roads. Under the direction of Maria Clopton, a committee of women met with President Jefferson Davis. They requested that he let the Society have the first gunboat built in the city, provided that members raised sufficient funds. Davis immediately endorsed their plans and encouraged the women to meet with the secretary of the navy.[25]

---

[22] Parmelee, ed., Diary of Betty Herndon Maury, August 16, 21, 1861; "Meeting of the Ladies of Fredericksburg" from the MOC microfilm collection; Devereaux D. Cannon, Jr., The Flags of the Confederacy: An Illustrated History (Memphis, Tenn.: St. Lukes Press and Broadfoot, 1988), 14. The names available for each organization suggest that at least the leadership of the two Fredericksburg organizations was distinct.

[23] Faust, Mothers of Invention, 28-29. Faust describes gunboat societies as "genuine political intervention." Her terminology suggests that soldiers aid societies, Fredericksburg's flag committee, and other likeminded organizations failed to provide a political context.

[24] Cynthia B.T. Coleman to "friend," March 25, 1862, Tucker-Coleman Papers, W&M. Women in Richmond were not the only Virginians to propose a gunboat. On March 25, 1862, Cynthia B. T. Coleman of Williamsburg suggested a similar "scheme emanating from some of the patriotic ladies of this old city." Like Richmond's women, she proposed raising a fund through concerts, suppers, and subscriptions to furnish a gunboat. She believed that cities across the state should form auxiliary organizations that would remit their collections to the "Parent Society," in Williamsburg.

[25] Ladies' Defense and Aid Association Papers, MOC.

These women immediately set about soliciting funds and materials. They called upon the tobacconists of Richmond and Lynchburg for old iron and requested donations from other women's organizations throughout the state. Women in Prince Edward, Goochland, and Louisa counties, along with those in the cities of Fredericksburg and Lynchburg, formed quasi-auxiliary associations to aid the gunboat society. They sent scraps of iron, silver plate, gold watches, metal kettles, and thousands of dollars to the Richmond association. By the end of April, the group's treasurer, Martha Maury, reported that they had collected upwards of ten thousand dollars. Within a year, the Gunboat Association had handed the iron and the money over to the government so that they might rightly call the *Lady Davis* their own.[26] With the ironclad built, the women found it no longer necessary to meet and disbanded the organization in the spring of 1863.[27]

Contrary to Faust's claim that women were expressing displeasure with the government's inability to protect them, these women appear to have simply been looking for yet another outlet to support the Confederacy. After noting in her diary that the Richmond women had organized a gunboat society, Harriette Branham of Louisa offered a positive pronouncement. "Everyone seems to be in good spirits about the war," she wrote. In fact, rather than suggesting a failure on the part of their men, women in these associations appear to have seen themselves as rough partners in the defense of their homes. A resolution from Lynchburg's women supporting the Gunboat Association

---

[26]Charleston Mercury, March 14, 1861. During the war, at least two ships were named *The Lady Davis*. Along with the Richmond ship, the first war vessel put afloat by South Carolina since the Revolutionary War was also named *The Lady Davis*.

[27] John M. Coski, Capital Navy: The Men, Ships, and Operation of the James River Squadron (Campbell, Cal.: Savas, 1996), 82-83; Ladies' Defense and Aid Association Papers, MOC; Lynchburg Virginian, March 27, 29, 1862; Harriette Branham Diary, April 11, 1862, DU; Parmelee, Diary of Betty Herndon Maury, April 30, 1862. Martha Maury was Capt. Matthew Fontaine Maury's niece. Richmond's *The Lady Davis*, became the *C.S.S. Virginia II* before she was ever sailed. She was launched in June 1863 and finally completed and commissioned in May 1864.

acknowledged "the vital importance of resisting the march of our invading enemies by all means that can be employed." They vowed "never to surrender our homes and country while life is left in *man or woman* to defend them." Cynthia Coleman of Williamsburg endorsed the plan because she "lov[ed] Virginia too faithfully to see her over-run by a vindictive foe." These women did not believe their men had failed them, but they saw the war as *their* war, too. While southern white women had been attending political rallies prior to April 1861, the war now offered them an outlet and reason to move more predominantly into the public sphere. Although they could not vote or don a gray uniform, they could provide invaluable services to their state and nation.[28]

As the efforts to raise a gunboat reveal, the war provided southern white women with an opportunity to build networks with like-minded women from across the state and region. Historian Jean Friedman argues that until the late 1870s, southern culture "inhibited the formation of women's consciousness, collective identity, and self-assertion." She maintains that the South's evangelical community and kin-dominated society discouraged the development of independent women's networks, even during the Civil War. But evidence abounds to suggest otherwise. Using the organizational skills they had learned from antebellum orphan asylums, benevolent associations, and church groups, along with the continuance of correspondence to friends and family, Confederate women developed substantial female networks that continued into the postwar period.[29]

---

[28] Faust, Mothers of Invention, 28-29; Harriette Branham Diary, April 11, 1862, DU; Lynchburg Virginian April 2, 1862; Cynthia B.T. Coleman to "friend," March 25, 1862, Tucker-Coleman Papers, W&M, emphasis added; For additional argument that women resented men for not protecting them, see Rable, Civil Wars, 73-90.

[29] Friedman, Enclosed Garden, xi - xvi, 98. For additional argument that southern white women did not develop networks nor a female consciousness prior to the war, see also Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, Within the Plantation Household: Black and White Women of the Old South (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988); and Laura Edwards, Scarlett Doesn't Live Here Anymore (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 27. For historians who argue that white southern women organized benevolent

Virginia's Confederate women went to great lengths to inform white southerners about their soldiers' aid societies and relief efforts. Many relied on time-honored familial and kinship ties to spread the word. As both the state and national capital, Richmond served as a temporary home to bureaucrats, statesmen, and military officials – and their wives – from across the Confederacy. This created immediate ties from the capital city to places as distant as Louisiana and Texas. The famous diarist / memoirist, Mary Boykin Chesnut, wrote letters to her sister-in-law in Camden, South Carolina, with implicit instructions for aiding the war effort. Chesnut informed Harriet Chesnut Grant that a great deal was needed in the capital city for the South Carolina wounded. "Whatever you send," Chesnut wrote, "direct to Mrs. G. Randolph, Franklin St., Richmond. Always send by express." Finally, she noted, "ask Kate Williams to get us arrowfoot from Florida." Soon after Chesnut's letter, supplies began pouring in from South Carolina.[30] Betty Maury heard continuous reports about the activities of women in the Confederate capital from her many cousins who resided there, including Martha Maury, president of the Gunboat Association. "I wish I were one of the women in Richmond," she wrote in 1862. "They have made for themselves a name that will be handed down with praise and honour for many generations." Later that month Maury sent eight hundred dollars to Richmond to help care for wounded soldiers.[31]

Newspapers, too, proved an invaluable source for communication between women both within and beyond the state borders. Women devoured newspapers whenever they were available, filling letters and diaries with tidbits of news or gossip.

---

associations prior to the American Civil War, see Lebsock, Free Women, 195-236; Varon, We Mean to be Counted, 10-70.

[30] Woodward, ed. Mary Chesnut's Civil War, 119; Woodward and Muhlenfeld, eds., The Private Mary Chesnut, 125-26.

And leaders of women's associations knew it. Announcements and calls for help from women associations regularly appeared in the state's papers. The Lynchburg Ladies' Hospital not only published a detailed list of contributions on a weekly basis but also used the space to invite the cooperation of women from across the state. The Fredericksburg women did the same in their efforts to change the Confederacy's flag. Ladies' associations from other states frequently wrote to Virginia newspapers thanking the local women for tending to their wounded husbands and sons. Finally, the long-standing practice in which editors reprinted articles from other papers vastly increased the circulation of women's appeals. Notices about women's organizations in Richmond, Petersburg, and Winchester often reached the far corners of the state and Confederacy, no doubt inspiring other women to participate in similar associations.[32]

***

Even more than their northern counterparts, Confederate women found themselves in the midst of an revolution in females' relationship to the state. Without an organization such as the Union's Sanitary Commission, the Confederacy relied heavily on women's volunteer organizations—a trend that would continue even after the rebel government ceased to exist in April 1865.[33] In some instances, the Confederate

---

[31] Parmelee, ed., Diary of Betty Herndon Maury, July 20, 27, 1862. Maury sent $10 to the Clopton hospital in 1862. (Clopton Hospital, Hospital Papers, MOC.)

[32] Lynchburg Virginian, October 4, 1861; Parmelee, ed., Diary of Betty Herndon Maury, August 16, 21, 1861; "Meeting of the Ladies of Fredericksburg," from the MOC microfilm collection; Richmond Whig, June 26, 1861.

[33] Rachel Filene Seidman estimates that thousands of northern women formed as many as 20,000 ladies' aid societies during the war. She notes that some of these associations formed immediately after the attack on Fort Sumter, however, "others were drummed up later by agents of the United States Sanitary Commission." On June 9, 1861, an order by the Secretary of War authorized the creation of the United

government called on women to aid procurement efforts. Colonel Daniel Ruggles issued General Order No. 4. in July 1861, requesting that the patriotic women of Fredericksburg contribute to the war effort in accordance with the patriotic offer made by them, to the well-being of the sick in the nearby hospitals. In the spring of 1863, E. W. Johnson of the Medical Purveyors Office too requested that the women of Virginia "render the Confederacy very essential service" by sending a generous supply of garden poppies for the production of opium.[34] But by and large, women's associations throughout the state initiated the volunteer drives on their own. Even before the first major battle of the war, a group of prominent Richmond church women led by Nancy MacFarland (future president of the Hollywood Memorial Association), Catherine Myers, Mrs. Frank G. Ruffin, and several others, formed the Soldiers' Aid Society of Virginia. The association consisted of delegates from the city's various churches who met frequently to collect and dispense garments for sick and wounded soldiers. In June 1861, the women called on their "sisters throughout the State" to form similar groups that would forward donations to the capital city. The Soldiers Aid Society received almost immediate response from groups such as the Ladies of Lewisburg and the Ladies of Henry County who agreed to form an auxiliary of the Richmond group.[35]

Despite the positive response from Virginia's women, by July it became evident that the society would need to look beyond the state for additional resources. Presuming the importance of Virginia as a battleground, the women requested that their sisters

---

States Sanitary Commission (USSC). The objectives of the USSC were to collect supplies, support soldiers' homes, transport the sick and wounded, and provide relief for discharged soldiers. The organization was under the direction of men such as Henry W. Bellows, D.D. and Frederick Law Olmstead, but many northern women filled the ranks of the USSC. (Seidman, "We Were Enlisted for the War," 61-63.) For more detailed analysis of the US Sanitary Commission, see Giesberg, Civil War Sisterhood.

[34] Gen. Order No. 4, Daniel Ruggles Collection, DU; Richmond Whig , April 3, 1863.

throughout the Confederacy unite with them since "most of those who may be wounded in any battle that may take place will be brought here." The Ladies' Hospital Association of Charleston, South Carolina, immediately sent supplies of whiskey obtained via blockade runners from Nassau to Richmond's Winder hospital. During the summer of 1862, the Greenville (South Carolina) Ladies' Association sent trunks filled with drawers, sheets, towels, shirts, soap, brandy, books, herbs, and tin cups to hospitals in Richmond, Fairfax, Culpeper, and Charlottesville. Materials were either sent directly to a hospital, or were forwarded (free of charge) by the Adams Express Company to the association who would then distribute the provisions to hospitals from Winchester to Culpeper. [36]

Coordinating regional supply networks often led women into more formal means of caregiving such as nursing.[37] In Lynchburg, several of the women from the Soldiers' Aid Association enlarged their volunteer activities during July 1861 by establishing the Ladies' Relief Hospital. Given the city's position along important rail lines and the James River canal, Lynchburg rapidly filled with more than three thousand wounded soldiers sent to the twenty-plus hospitals that had been improvised from tobacco factories, the old college, and various other buildings. Led by the tall and commanding Lucy Mina Otey (who would likewise lead the city's memorial association in 1866), the women established a hospital in the old Union Hotel. During the hospital's first few weeks, they

---

[35] Richmond Whig June 21, July 4, August 7, 9, 1861. In addition to gathering supplies, the association also organized a committee to engage competent nurses for the local camps and hospitals.

[36] Greenville Ladies' Association Minutes, DU; Woodward, ed., Mary Chesnut's Civil War, 119; Jones, Ladies of Richmond, 131-32; Charles F. Ballou, III, "Hospital Medicine in Richmond, Virginia During the Civil War: A Case Study of Hospital No. 21, Howard's Grove, and Winder Hospitals," M.A. Thesis, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, May 1992, 26-27; Richmond Whig June 21, July 4, 1861, August 7, 9, 1861. It is difficult to determine if the Soldiers' Aid Society of Virginia and the Richmond Ladies' Association, headed by Mary Randolph, ever merged into one organization. According to the Greenville Ladies', they received a circular from the Soldiers' Aid Society, but sent provisions to Mary Randolph of the Richmond Ladies'.

[37] Jane E. Schultz argues that "the most significant wartime labor in which women directly engaged military life was hospital and relief work."(Schultz, Women at the Front, 2-3.)

asked citizens of comfortable means to donate meals, bedding, clothing, or any other necessary article to provide for the sick soldiers.[38] Contributions including firewood, clothing, bedding, an assortment of foods, and cash poured into the Ladies' Hospital.[39] In October 1862, as Virginians began to face their first difficult winter of the war, hospital directresses Lucy Otey and Susan Speed requested that the secretary of war grant women hospital workers the same opportunity officers benefited from of purchasing goods from the city's commissary. Despite their intense work at the Ladies' Relief Hospital, the government denied their petition.[40]

---

[38] Lucy Mina Otey, born in 1801, was the wife of city leader, Capt. John M. Otey. Prior to the war, she served as president of the Ann Norvell Orphan Asylum of Lynchburg, which had been founded by her mother. She also participated in the local Dorcas Society. During the war, she remained in Lynchburg with one niece, while her seven sons and husband joined the ranks of the Confederate army. At the end of the war, only four sons had survived. Her only daughter, Lucy, married Captain John Stewart Walker of Richmond, who died at Malvern Hill. ("Mrs. Lucy Mina Otey," Southern Literary Messenger, 1[July 1895]: 15-16.)

[39] Moore and Baber, Behind the Old Brick Wall, 25; The Lynchburg News March 6,1960; Tripp, Yankee Town, 122, 141; "The Lynchburg Hospital Association," Irvine, Saunders, Davis, and Watts Families Papers, UVA; Lynchburg Daily Virginian August 29, September 30,October 4, 1861. By August 29, the ladies announced that they were prepared to have the cooking performed at the hospital, although donations would still be accepted. Believing that their class status prevented them from performing the more laborious tasks, the matrons—some of the city's most prominent women-- supervised nurses paid through charitable subscriptions. The upper class women daily visited the hospital to bring food and drink, distribute tracts, and write letters, while the nurses prepared food, changed bandages, and provide general aid to the surgeons.

[40] William A. Blair, Virginia's Private War: Feeding Body and Soul in the Confederacy, 1861-1865 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 96-97. Attitudes about women's work in hospitals met with mixed reactions from Confederate men. Many appreciated women's maternal touch in the wards. The surgeon who inspected Maria Clopton's hospital in 1862 believed that patients were most comfortable and happy in hospitals where women had general management of the nursing. During the spring of 1862, a soldier from Company I, 11th Virginia Volunteers, wrote a Lynchburg newspaper praising the women's efforts. "Too much cannot be said of this institution, and of the untiring energy and perseverance of its officers," wrote the volunteer. Commending Lucy Otey personally, he wished that all the Commonwealth's women were as loyal to the cause of liberty as she and that all the hospitals were conducted under such principles. Other men felt quite strongly that women did not belong in such an indelicate atmosphere. Phoebe Pember, a nurse at Chimborazo, encountered resistance to her presence upon arriving at the Richmond hospital. The women of Lynchburg had been prompted in part to organize their own hospital after a sentinel denied Lucy Otey entrance to the hospital where she had been volunteering. He claimed that Dr. William Otway Owen, Lynchburg resident and chief surgeon of all the city's military hospitals, had ordered that "no more women or flies were to be admitted." Otey, a well-connected woman who had entertained Robert E. Lee in her home, went directly to Richmond to speak with her personal friend, President Davis. The president granted her carte blanche to conduct her hospital as she deemed fit and appointed Dr. Thomas L. Walker surgeon in charge. Owen, however, continued his efforts to close the Ladies' Hospital. (Report of Clopton Hospital Surgeon to Surgeon Gen. S. P. Moore, September 15, 1862, Clopton Records, Hospital Collection, MOC; Lynchburg Virginian, April 9, 1862; Faust, Mothers of Invention, 98; Phoebe Yates Pember, A Southern

While cities and towns across the Commonwealth operated hospitals, Richmond served as the hospital center of the Confederacy. Using some of her own substantial means and the residence of friend Judge Robertson, thirty-one-year-old Sally Louisa Tompkins opened Robertson hospital shortly after the war began. When the government took over private hospitals in mid-1861, President Davis commissioned her a captain of cavalry, so that she might continue to operate her hospital for the duration of the war.[41] Maria Clopton, widow of a Virginia Supreme Court Justice and president of the Ladies' Gunboat Association, established her hospital in the spring of 1862.[42] A tiny woman less than five feet tall with striking blue eyes and dark hair, Clopton operated the hospital largely at her own expense and through subscriptions she obtained from the public. According to the surgeon's report, she ran an efficient and clean hospital, primarily

---

Woman's Story with introduction by George C. Rable [1879; reprint, University of South Carolina Press, 2002], 3; Tripp, Yankee Town, 122-123; "The Lynchburg Hospital Association," Irvine, Saunders, Davis, and Watts Families Papers, UVA; The Lynchburg News, March 6, 1960; Morris and Foutz, Lynchburg in the Civil War, 15, 17, 19, 21-23, 29, 36, 55.)

[41] Mrs. William B. Lightfoot, "Biographical Sketch of Sally Tompkins," Hospital Collection, MOC; Faust, Mothers of Invention, 94; Woodward and Muhlenfeld, eds., The Private Mary Chesnut, 118, 137-140; Woodward, ed., Mary Chesnut's Civil War, 143, 530. With the help of her sister, Ellen, Mary Jones, Martha Carter, various other elite women, and four family slaves, Tompkins cared for more than 1,300 soldiers during the war. She achieved considerable notoriety within the city largely because of her low mortality rate, so much that Mary Chesnut dubbed her the Florence Nightingale of the South.. Chesnut later referred to Lucy Mason Webb as "our Florence Nightingale," as well. Sally Tompkins was the daughter born in Poplar Grove, Mathews County to Christopher and Maria Booth Patterson Tompkins in 1833. She appears to be the only woman ever commissioned by the Confederate States of America, (although some claim that Lucy Otey of Lynchburg was commissioned.)

[42] Clopton Hospital officially opened May 28, 1862, under the direction of Capt. Israel Warner. Twelve to fifteen women initially nursed soldiers in two homes, until they split. One group went with Mrs. Joseph Jackson, and the other remained with Maria Clopton. (Clopton Records, Hospital Collection, MOC.)

because of the wealth and patriotism of the neighborhood's generous inhabitants.[43] Jane Coles Fisher, Caroline Mayo, and Lucy Webb, too, operated their own private hospitals.[44]

Nursing not only provided some elite women with an outlet to directly serve their government (and thus claim to be patriotic citizens of the Confederacy), but like the soldiers' aid societies, it also created bonds and networks among individuals separated by thousands of miles who otherwise would not have met. When a wounded Alabama soldier returned home after being nursed by Janet Cleiland Weaver and her daughters (one of whom would become a leading figure in the Hollywood Memorial Association), his mother frequently wrote his caregivers expressing appreciation for their devotion.[45] "Such kindness bestowed on my son when he lay wounded, sick and out of reach of a Mother's care has awakened a gratitude in my heart too deep for utterance," she wrote. Winchester's Kate Kern likewise reached out to comfort a distant mother who had lost her son. The young soldier had asked that Kate write his mother, Mrs. C.J. Presnell of

---

[43] Clopton Records, Hospital Collection, MOC. Of the 565 patients treated by the fall of 1862, there were 98 furloughs, 11 deaths, and 4 discharged from service. Despite its success, officials closed the hospital in October 1862 and offered Maria Clopton a position as matron of her own ward at Winder Hospital in the city's West End. The surgeon's report noted the difficulty in obtaining "intelligent nurses for the wages paid by the Confederacy." For more discussion of the nursing shortage, see Faust, Mothers of Invention, 95-97; Rable, Civil Wars, 121-28.

[44] Woodward, Mary Chesnut's Civil War, 416, 439, 474-475; Jones, Ladies of Richmond 71-72, 97-98. Confederate officials recognized the success of female-run hospitals, and in September 1862 Congress passed legislation that created positions for women in the military hospitals. Specifically, the law designated that each hospital allow matrons, assistant matrons, and nurses as needed by surgeons. Matrons were responsible for procuring provisions, overseeing housekeeping, and administering food and medicine when necessary while nurses performed the more grueling tasks of assisting with surgeries and changing bandages. These women were not merely volunteers but were to be paid a monthly salary ranging from twenty-five to forty dollars along with lodging and rations. Congress justified their decision to fill jobs traditionally reserved for invalid soldiers and slaves with women by invoking the feminine notion of maternal care giving. As Drew Faust has pointed out, the Hospital Act represented a significant statement regarding the changing relationship between the state and its female citizens. (Faust, Mothers of Invention, 97-98; U.S. War Department, The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, 127 vols. index and atlas [Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1880-1901], ser. 4, vol. 2, pt. 199-200.)

[45] Janet Henderson Weaver Randolph was a key member in the Hollywood Memorial Association, Confederate Memorial Literary Society, United Daughters of the Confederacy, and Lee Camp Ladies' Auxiliary. See chapters 5 and 6.

North Carolina, telling her not to worry about him. She conveyed the manner of his death and informed his mother that he had spoken of his faith before passing. Because Kate had spent so much time with the soldier, she told Mrs. Presnell that she no longer felt they were strangers. Kinship and church ties were not the only connections between women during the tumultuous war years. Like the soldiers' aid associations, the maternal nurturing and letter writing by women close to battlefields helped knit together a community of women from the far corners of the Confederacy.[46]

***

Virginia's women not only demonstrated their loyalty to the Confederacy through their volunteer associations and nursing but also expressed their ardent support in other less organized ways. Historian Stephen V. Ash argues that Confederates who resided in occupied areas often affirmed their patriotism through "noncooperation or passive resistance." Ash notes that many openly shunned the Federals, refused to cooperate with them, and spurned offers of conciliation. Union officials often encountered the most stalwart resistance when it came to oaths of loyalty. The nineteenth-century South's culture of honor meant that oaths were deeply revered and breaking one was near sacrilege. In occupied regions of the Confederacy, Federal authorities were charged with bringing southerners back into allegiance to the Union, and they often relied on oaths to ensure loyalty. But as Ash has shown, Federal attempts to pressure leading citizens and

[46] Mrs. J.S. Kennedy to Janet Cleiland Weaver, August 28, 1861, Randolph Family Papers, VHS; Kate Kern Letters, October 1864 through May 1865, LOV. For the argument that church and family were the most important (if not exclusive) ties between southern white women, see Friedman, Enclosed Garden, 3-20.

common folk into taking oaths rarely succeeded. Despite the low success rate, Federals often required Confederates to take the oath in order to receive passes and permits required for travel, trade, work, and occasionally, food rations.[47]

Many Virginian women likewise refused to take oaths of allegiance to the Union, out of loyalty to their country and their male relatives. In Winchester, Confederate women balked at the April 14, 1862, Federal order forbidding clergy to marry individuals who had not signed the oath. Gen. Robert H. Milroy, who occupied the town in January 1863, declared that all citizens would take the oath or be denied essentials such as food and firewood. "Milroy is trying to starve us into loyalty," Laura Lee noted. Refugee Judith McGuire scoffed at the notion that rations could be obtained by taking the oath. "Who is so base to do that?" she asked. "Can a Southern woman sell her birthright for a mess of pottage? Would she not be unworthy of the husband, the son, the brother, who is now offering himself a willing sacrifice on the alter [sic] of his country?" Fredericksburg's women expressed similar sentiment. Following the arrest of the town's most prominent men in the spring of 1863, the Union army announced that a loyalty oath would be offered to the women. If they chose not to take the oath, Union officials warned, they would be arrested. Writing to her daughters Lizzie and Nannie who were at school in Richmond, Sarah Alsop declared that her fate would be sealed. "I would suffer confinement and death before I would give up my principles," she told them. The next day she dressed in her best, convinced that she would be spending that evening and many

---

[47] Steven V. Ash, When the Yankees Came: Conflict and Chaos in the Occupied South, 1861-1865 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 44-5, 60-1, 73. Ash notes that as the war went on and more citizens folded to pressures to take oaths, breaking oaths was increasingly common.

more in the Old Capitol prison. Much to her surprise, however, the Federals left town and ten of the imprisoned men returned. [48]

Interactions with northern soldiers and reports of Federal brutality served simultaneously to deepen Virginia women's antipathy toward the Yankees and their loyalty to the Confederacy. While volunteer activities such as the gunboat or soldiers' aid associations provided connections of a bureaucratic nature among women, the shared experience of a common enemy united women throughout the Confederacy on an emotional level. Women from widespread parts of the state and the South shared a common bond in that northern soldiers were killing their men on the battlefield, occupying their communities, and destroying their homes. Even in parts of the commonwealth that remained unoccupied until the last days of the war, Confederate women sympathized with their sisters, both literal and figurative, who had to endure interactions with the Union forces. Emily Aylett of Richmond could not bear to hear how the Yankees had treated her sisters, Alice and Etta. The reports made her, if possible, "feel more bitter and intense in my hatred of the Yankees than ever," she wrote. "I feel now almost if I could enjoy shooting them myself." Nurse Phoebe Yates Pember described the equally hostile opinion among Richmond's most elite women: "The feeling here against the Yankees exceeds anything I could imagine, particularly among the good Christians. I spent an evening among a particularly pious sett [sic]. One lady said she had a pile of Yankee bones lying around her pump so that the first glance on opening her eyes would rest upon them. Another begged me to get her a Yankee Skull to keep her toilette

---

[48] Delauter, Winchester, 25, 48; Mahon, Winchester Divided, 77-78; Judith White Brockenbrough McGuire, Diary of a Southern Refugee, During the War (1867; reprint, Salem, N.H.: Ayer, 1986), October 2, 1861, 66-67; Sarah Ann Alsop to Lizzie and Nannie Alsop, May 29-31, 1864, Wynne Family papers, VHS.

trinkets in." [49] In avoiding flags, longing for guns to shoot northern soldiers, or bitterly hating the Yankees, southern white women proudly and defiantly displayed their loyalty to the Confederate cause.

Although women in other regions of the Confederacy may have grown disgruntled with the war effort and lost confidence in those who were to protect them, most middle- and upper-class Virginian women remained steadfast patriots. [50] Their letters and diaries testify to the fact that many still expected the Confederacy to succeed during the last two years of the war, a point by which many scholars have claimed women felt despondent. Lucy Otey, of the Lynchburg Ladies' Hospital Association, observed in March 1864 that so long as the men remained in the field, "there are loving hearts and busy hands *at home*—praying and toiling, for their preservation and success." A month later, Lucy Fletcher of Richmond saw hope amidst all of the turmoil: "While the most intense anxiety prevails in regard to the fate of friends in the Army, and every one is more or less straightened [sic] by the scarcity of provisions, and the enormous prices of every article of food and clothing, our people are as hopeful as to the result of the war." That same summer, Maria Peeks of Richmond told her future husband that regardless of the many fearful odds, "our cause is just." In January 1865, Kate Mason Rowland observed that the people were even willing to give up slavery if the Europeans would then acknowledge the Confederacy's independence. "Anything, everything, will we sacrifice rather than come again under the same government with the hated Yankee! Such

---

[49] Emily Aylett to Alice and Etta Aylett, July 27, 1864, Aylett Family Papers, VHS; Pember, Southern Woman's Story, xv.

[50] For argument that most Confederate women lost faith in the war effort, see: Faust, Mothers, 234-47; Rable, Civil Wars, 73-90. For argument that most Confederate women did not abandon nationalistic feelings, see Gary W. Gallagher, The Confederate War: How Popular Will, Nationalism, and Military Strategy Could Not Stave off Defeat (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1997), esp. 75-80.

are the sentiments of everyone I have seen," she declared. Lucy Bagby remembered feeling anxious during February and March 1865, but claimed that her faith in the cause never wavered. "Rumors were rife, but they did not break through our abiding faith in our army," she wrote. In Fredericksburg, Lizzie Alsop, too, believed that military affairs were gloomier than at any period during the war, but ultimately said she felt confident in the South.[51]

Patriotic contributions to the war by Virginia's women also continued through the spring of 1865. Numerous associations had suspended meetings by the fall of 1862, but many Virginia women persisted in their hospital work and individual sewing efforts. In some communities, such as Fredericksburg, the momentum shifted from sewing societies, as supplies dwindled, to the tending of sick and wounded soldiers. Richmond's elite women donated expensive materials such as furs to the patriotic fund in the spring of 1863. The following November, General Lee requested that the women of Richmond assist him in procuring socks for his army. By the winter of 1864, when conditions were bleak throughout the state, the Lynchburg Relief Society maintained their patriotic activities. During that time they organized a library, volunteered at the hospitals, and established a knitting society. In February and March, they made more than one thousand pairs of socks for the soldiers. Even during the first year of the siege at Petersburg, the city's women rallied behind the troops, rushing out to the streets cheering the soldiers and waving handkerchiefs. And as late as March 1865, a woman penned a letter to the Richmond Examiner asking all "patriotic" women to donate their jewels to the

---

[51] Lucy W. Otey to Colonel Lyle Charles, March 8, 1864, quoted in Gallagher, The Confederate War, 4-5; Maria Smith Peeks diary, June 6, 1864, Marrow Family Papers, VHS; Lucy Muse Walton Fletcher Diary, April 14, 1864, DU; Kate Mason Rowland diary, January 23, 1865, Kate Mason Rowland Papers, MOC;

Confederate government so that soldiers might be paid. Neither did the patriotic fervor among the state's women diminish after Lee's surrender in April. Instead, the women redirected their energies into memorial societies.[52]

***

The Civil War not only rapidly altered the relationship between women and the state, but it also transformed the ways in which individuals and communities responded to death and heightened women's public role in mourning traditions. In the antebellum period, high infant mortality, epidemics, poor sanitary conditions, and limited medical knowledge meant that most Americans had experienced the death of at least one member of their nuclear family before adulthood. Victorians' preoccupation with death and its meaning led to many elaborate mourning customs, primarily for women. Widows, who could afford to do so, were expected to observe a minimum two and a half years in mourning. During that time they wore black or dark-colored dresses, avoided social functions, and corresponded on appropriate black-lined stationery.[53]

Lucy Bagby, "Chronicle," Bagby Family Papers, VHS; Lizzie Alsop diary, February 17, 1865, Wynne Family Papers, VHS.

[52] Richmond Whig , February 3, 1863; Richmond Enquirer, November 13, 1863; Christian, Lynchburg and Its People, 214-215; Dr. John Herbert Claiborne to Sarah Joseph Alston Claiborne, May 14, 1864, UVA; Harcourt, "White Women," 29; Amy Murrell, "Two Armies: Women's Activism in Civil War Richmond," Honor's Thesis, Duke University, Spring 1993, 79. At least one instance of women refusing to aid the Confederacy has been documented. The women of Richmond's Monumental Episcopal Church refused to sew socks for soldiers during the spring of 1865. But evidence also exists for the continuation of soldiers' aid societies outside of Virginia. For example, the Greenville South Carolina Ladies' Association met through April 1865. (Minutes of Greenville Ladies' Association, DU.) According to Diana Bell, the war's effect on women's societies varied by region. Her research indicates that women cut off from supplies, such as those in South Carolina, were less likely to continue benevolent work than those in other regions. (Bell, "Female Benevolence," 44.) For the argument that "soldiers' aid became another of the Confederacy's glorious failures," see Rable, Civil Wars, 142.

[53] For discussion of mourning rituals during the nineteenth century, see Patricia R. Loughridge and Edward D. C. Campbell, Jr., Women in Mourning (Richmond: Museum of the Confederacy, 1985); Ann Douglas,

Although women had held prominent roles in mourning rituals throughout the Victorian era, the astronomical number of casualties brought on by the war necessitated significant alterations in their responses. During the first year of fighting, many women tried to maintain the rituals of dress and behavior that accompanied death. But with the increasing economic hardships, many middle- and upper-class southern women simply could not afford to continue to abide by the etiquette. When Varina Davis went into mourning for her young son in April 1864, she wore a black dress of inexpensive cotton. Susan Caldwell's husband advised her in the fall of 1864 against wearing black following the death of their young daughter. With "war and penury upon us," he thought it unwise to spend the money on an unnecessary purchase. Young Lizzie Alsop and her sisters were undecided about wearing black after the death of their grandmother in March 1863. "For tho' we should like to, mourning is so high that I do not know whether it would be right for us to wear it or not," Lizzie commented. While many of Cornelia McDonald's Winchester neighbors continued to dress in black after the death of a family member, others donned the dark colors simply because they anticipated the loss of a loved one. With as many as one out of every four Confederate soldiers dying, women across the region were thrown into a perpetual state of mourning and often forced to abandon their rituals of dress and self-imposed seclusion.[54]

The Feminization of American Culture (London: Papermac, 1996), 200-26. Douglas argues that mourning rituals were a source of authority for women and ministers thereby widening their sphere of influence. For detailed discussion of how the Civil War affected mourning and notions of death for the common soldier, see Drew Gilpin Faust, "The Civil War Soldier and the Art of Dying," The Journal of Southern History, 67 (February 2001): 3-38.

[54] Drew Gilpin Faust, "A Riddle of Death": Mortality and Meaning in the American Civil War, 34th Annual Robert Fortenbaugh Memorial Lecture (Gettysburg, Penn.: Gettysburg College, 1995), 21; Loughridge and Campbell, Women, 14-15; Lycurgus Washington Caldwell to Susan Emiline Jeffords Caldwell, September 27, 1864, in J. Michael Welton, ed. "My Heart is So Rebellious": The Caldwell Letters, 1861-1865 (Warrenton, Va: Fauquier National Bank, n.d.), 239; Lizzie Alsop Diary, March 18, 1863, Wynne Family Papers, VHS; McDonald Diary, 49-50.

As women's ability to observe strict mourning rituals of dress and appearance declined, the number of funerals they witnesses increased. Prior to the war, funerals tended to be private affairs situated firmly within the domestic sphere. But as the death toll rose, funerals became daily, public events in cities across the state. Lucy Fletcher tearfully watched her young son witness one of many military funeral processions pass through the capital's street. During the siege of Petersburg, Mary Rambant Morrison witnessed her husband and Rev. Churchill Gibson bury a Confederate soldier. "A band of weeping women, of which I was one," she wrote, "looked on from a North window of a house in Perry Street, commanding a full view of the Second Presbyterian church yard" where the "sad scene was being enacted." And following her brother's funeral in July 1862, Sallie Munford visited his grave in Richmond's Hollywood Cemetery. The city's prominent citizens, including Gen. Robert E. Lee, had adorned it with wreaths of magnolia, laurels of evergreens, and roses.[55]

Early in the war nearly all deaths received elaborate funerals, especially in the capital city of Richmond. Nineteen-year-old Henry Lawson Wyatt was one of the war's first casualties, killed at the battle of Big Bethel on June 10, 1861. Richmonders orchestrated an elaborate service to mourn the loss of one of their own. His body was brought by train to Richmond, and he was buried in Hollywood Cemetery with full military honors. But as the casualty lists mounted, the elaborate rituals declined and in some places ceased all together. Constance Cary Harrison later recalled watching the daily funeral processions for soldiers from her Richmond window. Most followed a similar pattern: "the coffin crowned with cap and sword and gloves, the riderless horse

[55] Lucy Muse Fletcher diary, June 7,1864, DU; Mary E. Rambant Morrison Memoir, 1832-1904, written 1902, VHS; George Munford to daughters (Maggie and Sallie), July 3, 1862, Munford-Ellis Family

following with empty boots fixed in the stirrups of an army saddle." "One could not number those sad pageants," Harrison lamented.[56] As the death toll rose, only the corpses of officers received individual funeral services in the presence of their families.

With men dying hundreds and thousands of miles away from home, strangers increasingly performed many of the rituals associated with death.[57] Most Civil War soldiers were buried on the fields where they had died. The victorious army in the aftermath of a battle traditionally assumed the responsibility of tending to the dead. Commanders would detail units to serve as burial parties for their own soldiers while those of the enemy were most often consigned to mass graves. At Antietam, for example, historian Drew Gilpin Faust notes that "details from each [Union] regiment gathered up the dead of their own command and in most cases provided individual graves, while the Confederate prisoners were directed to inter their countrymen in groups of 50-100 to a trench." In some communities such as Winchester, local residents helped tend to the dead once the armies had left the field. After the first battle of Kernstown, Kate Sperry and Joanna Krebs accompanied several male relatives to the battlefield. There the men quickly buried seventy-nine men in a tiny trench before bringing back six others to be claimed by friends or relatives.[58] When Confederates died in Richmond's hospitals, detailed and convalescent soldiers performed the anonymous task of burying the dead in Hollywood and Oakwood Cemeteries. By the war's end, more than 11,000 soldiers from battlefields across Virginia had been buried in Hollywood. Thousands more were interred

---

Papers, DU.

[56] Mary H. Mitchell, Hollywood Cemetery: The History of a Southern Shrine (Richmond, Va.: Virginia State Library, 1985), 47-48. Constance Cary Harrison also quoted in Mitchell, Hollywood Cemetery, 48.

[57] For discussion of death during wartime, see Gary Laderman, The Sacred Remains: American Attitudes Toward Death, 1799-1883 (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1996); Rable, Fredericksburg! Fredericksburg!, 277-8, 288-300, 315-6, 320-1, 358, 395-6.

[58] Faust, Riddle of Death, 11-12; Kate Sperry Diary, April 3, 1862, HRL; Mitchell, Hollywood, 47-60

in Oakwood Cemetery, just north of Chimborazo Hospital. James C. Reed of the Bedford Artillery recalled witnessing the mass burials: "A great trench as wide as the length of a coffin was dug and the coffins were placed one upon the other, two deep, and then they were covered with earth."[59]

During the war, elite and middle-class southern women frequently tried to mitigate the impersonal and anonymous burials of Confederate soldiers by attending services, writing letters to soldiers' families, and placing flowers on military graves. Lucy Mason Webb almost daily closed the eyes of her deceased patients and wrote consoling letters to their friends and families. Kate Sperry and other Winchester women frequently helped to wash the faces of the dead in preparation for burial. With family and friends often hundreds of miles away, nurses such as Kate Mason Rowland frequently performed funeral services. "I went to the hospital this evening to read a chapter over the body of a young soldier who died here yesterday," young Kate wrote from a hospital in Lynchburg. Surrounded by the slaves who assisted at the hospital, she read the burial service out of a prayer book while her mother guided a hymn. "It was raining hard while his comrades carried the beardless soldier to his lonely grave," she later remembered.[60]

The frequency with which Confederate women performed funeral rites for their nation's dead helps to explain the enormous popularity of *The Burial of Latané*. The painting by William D. Washington illustrates the funeral of Capt. William D. Latané of the 9th Virginia Cavalry, killed during Brig. Gen. J. E. B. "Jeb" Stuart's first "Ride around McClellan" in June 1862. The story that circulated with the painting in 1862

---

[59] "'On My Way Rejoicing,' Memoir of James C. Reed," Civil War Times, August 2000, 56.
[60] Woodward, Mary Chesnut's Civil War , 439, 474-475; Pember, Southern Woman's Story, xiii; ; Kate Sperry diary, June 12, 1863, HRRL; Kate Mason Rowland Diary, May 21, 1862, Kate Mason Rowland Papers, MOC. Lucy Mason Webb was a member of the Hollywood Memorial Association.

noted that in the absence of a minister—or any men for that matter— the soldier's last rites were read by the lady to whose home he had been taken. Years later, Mrs. William Spencer Brockenbrough, the "lady" of the painting, revealed that in fact she did not perform the service. Although she and several other women had prepared the body and were about to perform the funeral, a Methodist minister arrived just in time. But regardless of this revelation, the painting heralded women's special responsibility for mourning. Their presence at grave sites not only assured the slain spiritual immortality, but also helped to consecrate the deaths of Confederate soldiers.[61]

As the painting suggests, the transformation in women's wartime mourning marked an increasingly political tone of the formerly private grieving process. While Virginia's residents might have grown accustomed to hearses passing through their streets, the death of a famous officer usually led to grand public spectacles. When Gen. Turner Ashby, hero of the Shenandoah Valley, died in June 1862 near Harrisonburg, Virginians reeled with sorrow. "Another noble sacrifice to the cause of freedom," lamented Winchester's Laura Lee. Ashby's body was transported to Charlottesville, where it lay in state while hundreds of tearful visitors covered the corpse with wreaths of laurel and roses. The next day an elaborate procession of his cavalry and two servants, all dressed in black, accompanied his body to the university cemetery. Behind the hearse followed the black horse on which his brother had been killed, it too trimmed in mourning crape.[62]

---

[61] "The Burial of Latane: A Touching Incident of the Civil War Recalled," in J. William Jones, and others, eds., Southern Historical Society Papers, 52 vols. (1876-1959; reprint with 3-vol. index, Wilmington, N.C.: Broadfoot Publishing Company, 1990-92), [source hereafter cited as SHSP] 24: 192-94; "Burial of Latane," newspaper clipping, Women's Collection, MOC; Richmond Whig, July 25, 1862; Faust, Mothers, 188-89.
[62] Mahon, ed., Winchester Divided, 46; Unknown to Nannie, June 11, 1862, Lucas-Ashley Papers, DU. Turner Ashby died at the rank of colonel but was posthumously awarded the rank of general.

Less than a year later, Virginians mourned an even more popular Confederate leader. Gen. Stonewall Jackson had been mistakenly shot by some of his own men near Chancellorsville on May 2, 1863. Eight days later he died of pneumonia. "Gen. Jackson is dead! There is a wail of woe throughout the South," cried Laura Lee of Winchester. Immediately his body was transported to Richmond, where it was embalmed and lay in state in the reception room at the governor's house. All businesses and government offices closed, and flags were suspended at half-mast. Mourners from all parts of the South paid tribute to the general, including a large number of women who wept and left floral offerings on the casket. On May 13, his remains were loaded in a hearse and a great procession commenced, which included members of the Stonewall Brigade and the general's famous war horse. His remains were sent via the Orange and Alexandria Railroad first to Lynchburg and then on to his home in Lexington. When his body arrived in Lynchburg, Jackson received his second military processional of the day. The town had suspended all businesses and organized a parade of citizens and fifteen hundred convalescent soldiers. Guns were fired and bells of the city tolled throughout the procession. One newspaper reported that "it was an affecting sight to see those maimed and suffering men draw up in line to receive the remains of the glorious hero." In Lexington, Jackson's remains were met by the Virginia Military Corps of Cadets and professors and a large group of local citizens. Again his body lay in state, this time in Jackson's former classroom. As he had requested, Jackson was then buried in the Valley of Virginia.[63]

---

[63] Mahon, ed., Winchester Divided, 89; Putnam, Richmond, 222-25; Lynchburg Virginian, May 13, 14, 1863; John Esten Cooke, Stonewall Jackson: A Military Biography (New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1876), 446-49.

The women of Winchester had an especially deep sense of loss upon hearing of Jackson's death. Not only had Jackson defended the town during the first years of the war, but his wife, Mary Anna, had spent a great deal of time there residing in the home of Lt. Col. Lewis T. Moore. Mary Lee confessed to her diary that "a gloom, still deeper, is over our whole town; the sad news is kept as far as possible out of hearing of the sick & fevered patients; men, women, and children weep for their hero." Not content to mourn in private, she made a crepe rosette, with a Virginia button in the center as a badge of mourning for Jackson. Although friends warned her that the Federal commander in the city, General Milroy, would not allow such a memorial to be worn, she defiantly displayed her loyalty to the fallen general and the cause he represented. Within a week, however, she heard that Federal soldiers had been removing rosettes from women's coats and that any lady caught wearing the memorial was to be arrested. In fact, Union soldiers ripped a rosette from the dress of Julia Clark, commenting that it was an insult to their soldiers. But Lee ignored the warning. "I have worn and shall continue to wear mine," she stubbornly insisted. As would be the case during the postwar period, northerners recognized that Confederate women were often intensely patriotic and capable of treasonous behavior – even in mourning.[64]

The funerals and resting places of common soldiers also took on partisan meaning as Confederate cemeteries increasingly became sites of national mourning and pride. In the North, Union legislation required that a headboard identifying the remains be placed on each grave, and the United States Sanitary Commission helped to register deaths and notify kin. But the limited resources in the South had left the Confederate government

---

[64] Delaughter, Winchester in the Civil War, 15-16; Mahon, ed., Winchester Divided, 89-90; Quarles, Occupied Winchester, 16-19.

unable adequately to reclaim and reinter bodies. Extending their patriotism into the world of the immortal, Confederate women quickly took up the task of helping to identify and pay tribute to the nation's slain. Following the battle of Second Manassas, Janet Henderson Weaver (later Randolph) and several women of Warrenton constructed make-shift headstones for the Confederate soldiers buried in the town. Supposedly, Federal soldiers later used those wooden headstones for their camp fires. But simply marking the graves was not enough. Southern white women wished their dead to find eternal rest in cemeteries reserved exclusively for Confederates. Like so many other women, Kate Sperry abhorred the idea of Yankees finding their eternal rest next to the graves of brave Confederate soldiers. "It's a desecration," she declared.[65]

It was Lynchburg's women, however, who began turning the soldiers' burial grounds into a Confederate shrine as early as May 1863. Foreshadowing their postwar activities, Lucy Otey and the women of the relief hospital requested that every woman in the city undertake the task of tending one grave. "The ladies of Lexington, Kentucky, have turfed the grave of every Confederate soldier buried in their city," wrote Otey. "The Ladies of Lynchburg will do the same." If competition was not enough to provoke the women, Otey invoked the Confederacy's noble cause. "Shall we not mark the resting place of those who have fought and died for us?"[66] Mourning Confederate soldiers simultaneously fit with notions of feminine behavior and attributed soldiers' deaths with political sacrifice—a fact that would become especially important in the weeks and months after Appomattox when Otey and her band of sisters would continue their cause under the banner of the Lynchburg Ladies' Memorial Association.

---

[65] Faust, "Riddle of Death," 12-13, 18; Kate Sperry diary, March 17, 1862, HRL; John Coski, "Janet Henderson Weaver Randolph," unpublished article, MOC.

***

Many of Richmond's female diarists agreed that April 2, 1865, was a clear, beautiful morning. "Nature seemed as if in mockery of our woe to have put on her loveliest dress to meet the conquering foe," Mary Morrison later remarked. Mary Fontaine agreed that she had never seen a calmer or more peaceful Sabbath morning, or a more confused evening. During church service that day, a messenger came for President Davis informing him that the city was to be evacuated. Church services across the city ended early as residents returned home to prepare for the worst. Some, such as Mrs. William A Simmons, chose to flee. Others, such as Mary Fontaine, bade farewell to their friends and settled in for a long night. Just before dawn explosions of gunboats and magazines rocked the city, shattering glass and crumbling numerous homes. Retreating Confederate troops set fire to the city's tobacco and cotton warehouses and ignited arsenals stocked with munitions. The next morning, Mary Fontaine watched as two Union soldiers unfurled a tiny American flag on the Capitol. "Then I sank to my knees, and bitter, bitter tears came in a torment," she wrote that evening.[67]

The fall of Richmond was not enough to quell the loyalty of some women to the Confederacy. In Lynchburg, Mary Cabell believed that Lee had experienced just a temporary setback. Though her spirits rose and fell throughout the week with each new report, by Friday April 7, she felt strength enough to endure to the city's surrender, the

---

[66] Lynchburg Virginian May 19, 1863.
[67] Mary E. Rambant Morrison Memoir, 1832-1904, written 1902, VHS; Mary Burrows Fontaine letter, April 30, May 3,1865, Southern Women's Collection, MOC; Diary of Mrs. William A. Simmons, April 2,

evacuation of the state, and everything else "if Lee can save his army and make a stand." The day before Lee surrendered his army at Appomattox, Cabell recorded the remarkable tranquility of the Virginia spring. "The sky, the clouds, the delicate verdure and bloom, the weeping willows that bordered the canal, the birds' songs, all made a fairy land," she wrote. "Never have I seen so beautiful a spring," Cabell concluded. Amidst such a lovely setting, she could not have fathomed the next day's news.[68]

But Lee's surrender did not mean the end of women's deep devotion to the Confederacy. The war had necessitated the development of a collective woman's consciousness and a new sense of direct participation in the state as they rallied to support their soldiers. Lizzie Alsop, Janet Weaver (Randolph), Lucy Mina Otey, Susan Speed, Mary Gordon Wallace, Lucy Webb, Sally Tompkins, and Nancy MacFarland were just a few of the several hundred Virginia women who built upon their new female networks and extended their intense feelings of patriotism into the postwar period. Hardly relics of the war, soldiers aid societies, sewing circles, and Ladies' hospitals transformed themselves into equally devoted Ladies' Memorial Associations that honored the soldiers who had not received proper funerals or burials during the war. Southern white women's patriotism would find a new outlet and purpose in the memorialization of the Confederacy.

1865, Southern Women's Collection, MOC. For more description of Confederate evacuation and Union occupation of Richmond, see Chesson, Richmond After the War, 57-84.

[68] Mary Cabell diary, April 4, 7, 8, 1865, Early family papers, VHS.

Chapter 2
"A Fitting Work":
The Origins of Virginia's Ladies' Memorial Associations
1865-1866

The spring of 1865 brought peace to Virginia, but the scars of war remained visible throughout the state. Graves of southern soldiers had been scattered across the Commonwealth, and with each passing month residents uncovered more and more decomposing bodies and bleaching bones as they resumed their farming activities. One Winchester woman, Mary Williams, was greatly disturbed by the lack of proper burials for the Confederate soldiers who had defended the town. In May of 1865, Williams visited her sister-in-law, Eleanor Williams Boyd, and told her of a farmer who had plowed up the bodies of two Confederate soldiers while preparing his land for corn. The two decided to call a meeting to form a memorial organization composed of all the women who had volunteered in the hospitals during the war. Their objective would be to gather all the dead within a radius of twelve to fifteen miles of the town, inter them in one graveyard, and establish an annual tradition of placing flowers and evergreens on these graves. Less than a month after Robert E. Lee surrendered at Appomattox, the first Ladies' Memorial Association (LMA) in Virginia had organized to eulogize and praise the Confederacy's fallen soldiers.[1]

---

[1]Confederated Southern Memorial Association, History of the Confederated Memorial Associations (New Orleans: Graham Press, 1904), 275-318; Morton, The Story of Winchester Virginia, 247; Unidentified newspaper clipping, Winchester Confederate Memorial Day, Memorial Collection, MOC. Throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, representatives from LMAs across the South debated which group had been the first to organize. My research suggests that Winchester was at least the first LMA in Virginia, if not in the South. In addition, these same groups disputed who first celebrated Memorial Day. Alternatively, David Blight has shown that one of the first Decoration Days occurred in South Carolina under the direction of black men and women on May 1, 1865. For more on this debate see Blight, Race and Reunion, 68-71, and Mildred Rutherford Scrapbook Collection, MOC.

Contrary to some historians' assertions that no organized effort to memorialize the Confederacy occurred until the 1890s, a wave of Ladies' Memorial Associations emerged across Virginia and the South in the spring of 1866.[2] On April 19 of that year, Richmond women representing the city's eastern churches gathered to organize the Oakwood Memorial Association (OMA) and by the year's end claimed 328 members.[3] Picking up on their wartime practice of placing flowers on Confederate graves, at least forty women of the Lynchburg Ladies' Relief Hospital agreed to formally transform their organization into a memorial association.[4] Between May 3 and 10, some of the most prominent women of the state formed the Hollywood (based in Richmond), Petersburg, and Fredericksburg LMAs. Realizing that Jewish soldiers who had perished in Richmond

---

[2] Brundage, "White Women and the Politics of Historical Memory," 115-39; Chesson, Richmond After the War, 204-10. Brundage argues that memorial organizations in the 1860s and 1870s were too scattered and their membership too small to constitute a concerted effort to honor the Confederacy. Likewise, Michael B. Chesson contends that "in the 1860s and 1870s Richmonders had been too poor and too busy recovering from the war and Reconstruction to celebrate their Confederate experience." During the first week of May 1866, northern school teachers in Richmond had tended the graves of Federal Soldiers on Belle Isle and in Hollywood Cemetery. (New York Daily News, June 5, 1866.)

[3] Oakwood is the only LMA in this study to have systematically recorded all the names of its members in the 1860s. Historian Susan Barber has postulated that Hollywood was the largest Richmond organization, although little concrete evidence remains to substantiate or refute her claim. (Susan Barber, "'Sisters of the Capital': White Women in Richmond, Virginia, 1860-1880." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland, 1997, 389-90.) Oakwood Cemetery had been established in 1854 on a 60-acre parcel of land east of the city for St. John's Burying Ground as Shockoe Cemetery became increasingly full. The City Council authorized the burial of Confederate soldiers in Oakwood in August 1861, and by late 1862 thousands had been buried there, often in shallow graves. At the war's end, more than 16,000 soldiers, including many Union soldiers who had died at Libby Prison, had been interred in Oakwood. Union dead were reinterred in one of the six national cemeteries established in the area. Most of the Union dead from Oakwood were reburied in the Richmond National Cemetery off Williamsburg Road, which opened in the fall of 1866. (The Richmond State, December 15, 1994.) Racial hostilities flared in the summer of 1866 when United States soldiers, African Americans, and representatives of the Freedman's Bureau forced their way into Oakwood Cemetery to bury black patients from Howard's Grove near the Confederate dead. The City Council immediately called on the commanding general and secured his promise that all future interments of blacks would be in a an unoccupied section of pine barrens separated from the white section by a creek. (Chesson, Richmond after the War, 102.)

[4] The April 25,1866, edition of the Lynchburg Daily Virginian issued a call by "several ladies" to meet, take into consideration, "and adopt the most speedy and effective measures for inclosing the graves of the Confederate soldiers" buried in the city. The newspaper followed the announcement with an endorsement of the proposal, noting that the thousands of graves were exposed to the elements and that this was "a shame, and a reflection on the people of Lynchburg." The next day the paper noted that "every lady ought to be glad to do something toward an object which appeals so warmly in their sympathies and to humanity." (Mitchell, Hollywood Cemetery, 26, 64.)

would not be embraced by either the Oakwood or Hollywood groups, the Hebrew Memorial Association organized on June 5. Within a matter of two weeks, several of the most influential and active Ladies' Memorial Associations in the state, not to mention the South, had organized.[5]

Ladies' Memorial Associations did much more than provide centralized resting places for fallen Confederates. Many of the same women who had sewn battleflags, volunteered in hospitals, and snubbed Yankee soldiers during the war turned to the LMAs so that they might continue to display their Confederate patriotism through memorial activities. Such work allowed them to expand on two trends that had developed during the war: the creation of an organized womanhood among southern white women and a sense of white southern solidarity among ex-Confederates. But equally important, southern men and women realized that these Ladies, as they called themselves, might deploy gender in the interest of Confederate politics. Relying on the mid-nineteenth-century assumption that women were naturally non-political, ex-Confederate men recognized that women might be best suited to take the lead in memorializing the South's lost cause. After all, if women were not political, then their actions could not be construed as treasonous to the United States government. Middle- and upper-class women of the LMAs thus served in the forefront of the postwar battle over Confederate

---

[5] Petersburg Ladies' Memorial Association [association hereafter referred to as PLMA] Minutes, May 6, 1866, Library of Virginia, Richmond, Va. [repository hereafter cited as LOV]; Fredericksburg Ladies' Memorial Association [association hereafter referred to as FLMA] Minutes, LOV; "To the Israelites of the South," broadside, June 5, 1866, Beth Ahabah Museum and Archives, Richmond, Va. [repository hereafter cited as BAMA], Richmond. By the end of 1866, the PLMA claimed more than 200 members. (Presidents Report, PLMA Minutes, December 5, 1866, LOV.) Limited evidence exists to suggest that two other Ladies' Memorial Associations organized in Richmond during the spring of 1866. According to Susan Barber, ten women from Shockoe Hill cemetery signed an undated letter requesting funds from the Richmond Common Council for their cemetery. In June 1866, a group from Manchester had approximately 24 members. (Barber, "Sisters of the Capital," 386.)

memory, simultaneously allowing men to skirt the issue of treason and inaugurating the traditions of the Lost Cause as early as 1865 and 1866.[6]

***

"Although no State of the South had been exempt from the scourge," wrote Sallie Brock Putnam in 1867, "Virginia had borne the brunt of the war." She detailed the destruction of the once-grand state in her postwar memoir: "Wherever the foot of the invader had been pressed, it left its mark in desolation. Along the Potomac River scarcely a dwelling remained to indicate that that fair region had once been the abode of one of the happiest, most refined and intelligent communities in our country, but charred monuments of destruction betokened the work of the incendiary and the despoiler." Lucy Fletcher walked along the ruins in Richmond only days after Lee's surrender. She noted that from the south end of Capitol Square to the river, from 8th Street to 18th, scarcely one building remained standing. "All was in ruins and desolation," she exclaimed. Smoke billowed from the city's burned business district, where brick chimneys stood as stark reminders of the city's antebellum industrial strength. Virginians, like those elsewhere in the former Confederacy, looked around to see burnt cities, exhausted farms, torn-up railroads, and a disrupted labor force. Four years of war had left the region devastated.[7]

---

[6] PLMA Minutes, May 6, 1866, LOV. See Foster, Ghosts, for argument that in the 1870s the Lost Cause movement was lead by veterans and members of the officer corps, primarily from Virginia. He contends that their anti-northern tone and elitist attitude discouraged most white southerners from joining. For argument similar to author's, see Bisher, "A Strong Force of Ladies," 3-23.

[7] Putnam, Richmond During the War, 389; Lucy Muse Walton Fletcher diary, April 12, 1865, DU.

Surrounded by the chaos of destruction and exhausted from four years of battle, Virginia's ex-Confederate soldiers joined most other white southerners in accepting defeat. While a few fiery souls like Col. Thomas T. Munford attempted to keep his troops in the field following Lee's surrender and others like Jubal Anderson Early fled the country, most soldiers and citizens admitted that their quest for independence had failed. They agreed that Confederates had tried their hardest and had fought honorably, but that they could not overcome the superior manpower and military strength of the well-supplied Union army. Virginia's white residents laid down their guns, abandoned secession, and acknowledged the abolition of slavery—although they remained loyal to old political values and the principle of white supremacy. As historian Anne Sarah Rubin has pointed out, even when Confederate men felt disdain toward the Union, they recognized it was in their best interest to profess loyalty to the Union in order to regain their confiscated property and political rights. Restoring and rebuilding the defeated South became the primary objective for most ex-Confederate males.[8]

Having no guns to put down, southern women often found surrendering their service and devotion to the Confederacy more difficult.[9] In fact, many of Virginia's elite women continued to proclaim their allegiance to the Confederacy even after Appomattox. Two days after Lee's surrender, Mary Cabell still held out hopes of "yet seeing the Southern flag float over my beloved Richmond," noting that rumors circulated that

---

[8] Foster, Ghosts, 15; George W. Munford to Mrs. Elizabeth T. Munford, April 28, 1865, Munford-Ellis Papers, DU. For extensive discussion of Confederates' reaction to the end of war, see Anne Sarah Rubin, A Shattered Nation: The Rise and Fall of the Confederacy, 1861-1868 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 117-38, 219-20.

[9] Nina Silber, Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865-1900 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 26-29. Silber has demonstrated that many northern men believed southern women displayed an intense attachment to the Confederacy and hostility to the federal government beyond that of southern men. Believing that gender behavior was indicative of "civilization," white northerners quickly pointed out that these southern white women were lacking in proper Victorian manners.

France might yet help save the Confederacy. On April 12, 1865, Fredericksburg's Lizzie Alsop scribbled passionately in her diary that "Gen. Lee has surrendered! I pray God that I may yet live to see his vengeance exercised against our enemies." As late as December 1865, some white Virginians continued to express their devotion to the Confederacy. Isabel Maury's letter to her cousin, who had moved to England following Appomattox, boldly announced that two flags hung on the family's Christmas tree – the Confederate flag and the battle flag. "Gen. Lee, bless his soul, was hung immediately below" the flags, she remarked. And on New Year's Day, Maury proudly claimed that white southerners did not partake in any celebration. She objected to those who received visitors on the first of year, as it was a northern tradition. "We are a distinct and separate nation, and I wish our customs to be as distinct as we are," she declared.[10]

As had been the case during the war, many of these elite women remained the fiercest opponents of the United States government.[11] When Union troops marched into Richmond, numerous white women fumed about the Yankee invaders. A few openly turned cold shoulders on the occupying forces, as they had done during the war. Lucy Fletcher observed the "capitol square lined with blue coats," and resented the fact that these were "the people who for 4 years have been slaying our brethren, and desolating our land, burning and ravaging our homes insulting and robbing our defenceless women and grey haired men." As Federal troops flooded the streets of the former capital, Confederate women who appeared in public at all did so in mourning dress. Mrs. Charles Ellis noted that the "young ladies have scrupulously avoided the acquaintance or

---

[10] Lizzie Alsop Diary, April 12, 1865, Wynne Family Collection, VHS; Mary Cabell diary, April 11, 1865, Early family papers, VHS; Isabel Maury to Mollie Maury (later Mary Maury Werth), January 1, 1866, Isabel Maury Papers, MOC. New Year's was traditionally a day for hiring out slaves for the forthcoming year in the South, thus parties were a seldom occurrence.

recognition of any of the Enemy and for the first two or three weeks when they went on the streets wore veils 2 or 8 fold." Similarly, Emmie Sublett confided to a friend that she always went out "thickly veiled and never notice[d] the Yanks in the least." In fact, she proudly claimed, having northern soldiers in the city "makes us fifty times more southern in our feelings." Many other women claimed to be too heartbroken to leave their homes. Rather than accept invitations from Union soldiers to come to Capitol Square for fresh air and music, they remained quietly indoors.[12]

But Confederate women did more to indicate their continued devotion to the failed cause than just rant about Yankee soldiers. While the United States government provided transportation for men to return home, Confederate soldiers often found themselves hundreds of miles from their homes with no means to get there. Ex-Confederate women frequently took the lead in fulfilling what should have been a government responsibility. Women in both Petersburg and Lynchburg, for example, provided food and aid to the "famished and shivering Confederate" soldiers returning home from northern prisons; the Petersburg association alone provided aid to more than 12,000 parolees. The Ladies' Soldiers Aid Society of Richmond likewise discovered even more duties for themselves in the wake of defeat. They cared for wounded Confederate soldiers in hospitals, furnished means for them to reach their homes, and proposed education for those soldiers who had been disabled from wounds so that they might have the means to provide a living for themselves. Southern women furnished poor, maimed soldiers with artificial arms and legs, helped feed and cloth their destitute widows and

---

[11] As William Blair has pointed out, slaveholding women were often the most virulent in expressing their opinions regarding emancipation. (Blair, Virginia's Private War, 135.)

children, and generally assisted in relieving the suffering and poverty caused by war. In short, because the now defunct Confederate government would never be able to extend aid, women took up the banner. Beginning in the spring 1865 and 1866, these white southern women took on yet another task that should have fallen to the government—that of honoring the nation's soldiers.[13]

***

During the summer of 1865, the women of the Winchester LMA (WLMA) met frequently at the residence of Eleanor Boyd and continued in their efforts to locate the graves of Confederate dead surrounding the town. Late that fall, they issued an appeal to the entire South describing the destruction in the Valley and noting that "the dead were generally buried where they fell, and their rude graves are fast disappearing beneath the feet of men and beasts." The appeal explained that Winchester's resources had been greatly reduced by the war. "We are therefore induced to appeal to you for aid in this matter, encouraged by the belief that you will feel it a privilege as well as duty to pay this tribute of respect to the memory of those who fell in your cause," they wrote. Because every southern state was represented among the fallen, the WLMA believed that all states should feel obliged to aid the town's efforts.[14]

---

[12] Lucy Muse Walton Fletcher diary, April 12, 1865, DU; Emmy Wellford to brother, Phil, April 20, 1865, DU; Mrs. Charles Ellis, Sr. April 1865, Munford-Ellis Papers, DU; Emmie Sublett to Emilie, April 29, 1865, Southern Women's Collection, MOC; "Recollections of Isabel Maury," Isabel Maury Papers, MOC.
[13] Mildred Rutherford Scrapbooks XLI, MOC; Lynchburg News, January 15, 1866; Lynchburg Daily Virginian, April 20, 1866; Christian, Lynchburg and Its People, 241; Rable, Civil Wars, 236; Richmond Times, April 13, 1866.
[14] Morton, The Story of Winchester, 247-48; History of the Confederated Memorial Associations, 316; Richmond Times, December 4, 1865.

Despite the South's poverty, donations for Winchester's cemetery fund began to pour in from across the former Confederacy.[15] The appeal had appeared in newspapers across Virginia and as far away as Montgomery, Alabama, by early March. Montgomery's local paper reported Winchester's efforts and advocated that the "daughters of Alabama" should "assist their sisters in Virginia in this pious undertaking." By the spring of 1866, Winchester had received $14,000 in contributions ($1,200 from Alabama alone), and the WLMA in conjunction with the Stonewall Monumental Association purchased five acres adjacent to the town's citizen cemetery for a Confederate burial ground to be named after General Jackson. Mary Williams and Eleanor Boyd then organized a public meeting at which they assigned a group of men to begin collecting the remains of the dead for reinterment prior to the coming summer heat. By late spring, men employed by the WLMA had reburied in individual graves Confederate dead collected from a radius of fifteen miles around Stonewall Cemetery. Within a year, the WLMA had directed the reinterment of 2,489 Confederate soldiers, providing separate lots for the dead of each state and a section for the 829 unknown.[16]

While the Ladies of Winchester were busy creating their cemetery for Confederate soldiers, thousands of Unions soldiers remained in shallow or mass graves on the southern battlefields where they had fallen. Kate Sperry had detailed the wartime

---

[15] Even as early as April 1866, northerners were beginning to question the notion of an impoverished South. On April 9, 1866, the New York Times commented on this issue only a year after the war: "if one were to listen to the tales by people of this section [the South], or to read their newspapers about the scarcity of money, the natural impression would be that business is stagnant, and there is no capital actively employed here. To disprove such an inference it is only necessary to walk through the 'burn district' of Richmond and see the immense improvements now progressing. Somebody has money, and that money will soon find its way into the pockets of the masses...the fact of the matter is, the South, at least this section, is not so badly off as we have been made to believe."

[16] Rable, Civil Wars, 240-64; Ladies Memorial Association of Montgomery, Alabama, 1860-1870, Pamphlet Collection, MOC; Stonewall Cemetery Records, Handley Regional Library, Winchester, Va. [repository hereafter cited as HRL]; Morton, The Story of Winchester, 248; History of the Confederate

burial practices of Union soldiers after the battle of Kernstown in her diary: "the Yanks have been carrying off their dead since Sunday—all day today—and have buried a great many in trenches out on the field." They would "dig a trench, lay in a Yank, put a board on him—lay another Yank on top of board. By the that time the hole is pretty well filled, so shoveling in some dirt, they put a board at the head with one name on it—so three men have one name—it's awful to think of." But after Appomattox, northern public attention demanded that the federal government honor the Union dead who had been denied proper burials during the conflict, and in the spring of 1866 Congress authorized the funds for a massive reinterment project. As early as February, the United States Burial Corps arrived in Richmond to gather the remains of northern prisoners who had been buried at Hollywood and Oakwood Cemeteries and at Belle Isle. Modeled after the national cemetery at Gettysburg, the burial corps laid out the grounds so that each grave was of equal importance and provided individual headstones for all remains. From Richmond, the Union detail moved on to Cold Harbor, Seven Pines, Hampton, City Point (near Petersburg), Fredericksburg, and Winchester, repeating the process of identifying the remains and arranging the graves in orderly burial grounds. By 1870, 300,000 Union soldiers had been reinterred in 73 national cemeteries, at least 17 of which were in the Commonwealth.[17]

Reconstruction policies had expressly ignored the reinterment of Confederate dead; these well-tended, neatly organized Union cemeteries stood in stark contrast to the shallow graves of Confederate soldiers that were being uprooted by farmers and

---

Memorial Associations, 316; "Circular and Address of the Monumental Association of the Stonewall Cemetery," c. 1867, VHS; Richmond Times, December 4, 1865.

scavenging animals. According to William Blair, these new "national cemeteries" (as they had been designated by Congress) suggested that ex-Confederates were second-class citizens within the new nation. The care rendered to only the Union dead "proved to them that northern officials intended to subjugate the Confederate South rather than place the region on an equal footing with the North." Providing national cemeteries for the northern dead confirmed that these soldiers had not died in vain while Confederate soldiers had died for an unworthy cause. [18]

Even though some women, including those in Winchester, had begun preparing Confederate cemeteries before 1866, the Union practices of ignoring and neglecting the Confederate dead during elaborate reburial efforts further provoked the development of Ladies' Memorial Associations and the cult of the Lost Cause. With the presence of the Union Burial Corps on the outskirts of Richmond, residents became increasingly angered about the lack of provisions for Confederate soldiers. An article in the Richmond Examiner exclaimed that the United States government was wrong to view the Confederate soldier as less of a hero because he had failed and urged the city's churchwomen to honor the neglected Confederates buried in Hollywood Cemetery.[19] Col. Thomas A. Ellis, the cemetery corporation's president, subsequently issued a call in the

---

[17] Kate Sperry Diary, March 26, 1862, HRL; New York Daily News, April 5, 1866; Quarles, Occupied Winchester, 130; Morton, The Story of Winchester, 249-50; Faust, "Riddle of Death," 17-18; Blair, Cities of the Dead, 52-53; Blight, Race and Reunion, 68-70.

[18] Blair, Cities of the Dead, 52-54; Faust, "Riddle of Death," 18.

[19] Hollywood Cemetery Company was organized in 1847and formally dedicated in 1849, as Shockoe Hill and other municipal and private cemeteries began to fill. Designed by architect John Notman, Hollywood was constructed as part of the rural cemetery movement of the mid-1800s. The cemetery began to achieve its high social status when President James Monroe was reburied there in July 1858. As at Oakwood, during the Civil War, soldiers were buried in the cemetery. By August 1861, almost one hundred interments had occurred in the two acres that the Hollywood Company had donated for the burial of Confederate soldiers. By the time the HMA finished their work, more than 18,000 Confederate soldiers had been buried in the cemetery. Col. Thomas A. Ellis likewise was in distress regarding the financial situation of Hollywood, and he published an appeal for donations. Ellis's notice led to an anonymous letter to the

papers inviting all interested citizens to meet in St. Paul's Church on May 3, 1866. Richmond's women, many of whom had probably been members of the post-war Ladies' Soldiers Aid Society, responded en masse. By mid-May, the Hollywood Memorial Association (HMA) claimed more than one hundred active members.[20]

While the Ladies in several cities appear to have met of their own accord as an extension of their wartime aid societies, women were not the only impetus behind such organizations. As in Richmond, the men of Fredericksburg and Lynchburg called for LMAs in their respective communities, recognizing that memorial tributes from the "gentle hand of woman" would be less threatening to the federal government. Even though Lynchburg's women had been tending to the graves of Confederate soldiers since the spring of 1863, the local paper encouraged their efforts. "A fitting work lies before the ladies," the paper wrote in April 1866, concluding that "we doubt not they will do it well and promptly." Fredericksburg's clergy called a meeting on May 10, 1866, so that the city might make arrangements for the Confederate dead. On that Thursday, the city's stores and businesses closed to commemorate the death of Stonewall Jackson, while women, children, and old men gathered at the Episcopal Church to mourn the Confederacy. Following an address by J. Horace Lacy, the women in attendance, including young Lizzie Alsop, agreed to organize a Ladies' Memorial Association for the

---

paper suggesting that he ask the women of Richmond for help. For more information on the history of Hollywood Cemetery, see Mitchell, Hollywood Cemetery.

[20] HMA Minutes, MOC; Mitchell, Hollywood Cemetery, 64; Lynchburg Daily Virginian, April 20, 1866. According to the HMA's history, discussions about a memorial organization first occurred during the winter of 1865-1866 between Rev. Charles D. Minnegerode and Capt. Frank W. Dawson, who met in Mrs. Charles G. Barney's parlor. Mrs. Barney overheard their discussion and told many friends about their suggestion that a day should be put aside to honor the dead. This account, however, did not surface until 1896 and therefore appears somewhat unreliable. (Our Confederate Dead [Richmond: Hollywood Memorial Association, 1896], MOC.) The assumption that HMA members might have been members of the post-war Ladies' Soldiers Aid Society is due to the connection of Rev. William H. Christian. Christian served as the agent for the LSAS, and his wife was a member of the HMA.

purpose of taking care of the numerous Confederate graves that dotted the landscape as well as those at the city cemetery. Immediately thereafter, the women elected officers and appointed several men to serve on committees to aid their endeavors. After the meeting ended, a large number of women formed a procession to the city cemetery, where they decorated Confederate graves with flowers and evergreens.[21]

Like most of the wartime associations, LMAs were organized by women at the community level and operated independently of one another. But this does not mean that the groups failed to interact or support each others' efforts. Lynchburg's women had been especially tied to the Richmond groups through the Gunboat Association. It seemed only natural that they might build on these connections in their efforts to commemorate the Confederacy. The Lynchburg LMA not only adopted the OMA constitution, but they also followed the Richmond women's lead in selecting May 10 as their Memorial Day. Fredericksburg, too, borrowed from the Richmond memorial associations. Less than a month after their first meeting, the Fredericksburg LMA (FLMA) distributed a copy of the Hollywood constitution and by-laws as a model for its own founding documents.[22]

At least four LMAs discussed the possibility of uniting their organizations. Less than two weeks after the HMA first met, the women of the Oakwood Association proposed that the two groups unite so that they might have more success in raising money and tending to the soldiers' graves. The groups agreed that each would select two gentlemen to represent their interests at a meeting on May 24. Before that meeting could

---

[21] Lynchburg Daily Virginian, April 25, 1866; "A Leaf from the Past: From the Records of the Ladies' Memorial Association of Fredericksburg, VA" pamphlet, Central Rappahannock Regional Library, Fredericksburg, Va. [repository hereafter cited as CRRL]; "Confederate Memorial Days: Fredericksburg, Virginia, 1866 - 1985" compiled by Robert Allen Hodge (Fredericksburg, Va.: R.A. Hodge, 1987), CRRL , 1.

[22] Lynchburg Daily Virginian, April 28, May 8, 1866; Lynchburg News, May 8, 1866; FLMA minutes, June 1, 1866, LOV.

take place, three HMA women attended an OMA meeting, proposing that the two associations be dissolved and then reorganized under the name "The Richmond Memorial Association." Though the OMA had initiated talks, its members declined the HMA plan, fearing a loss of both financial and political control of the association. Rejection of a united group may have been due to the more elite status of HMA's members. Regardless, it is obvious that as discussions continued, the OMA became increasingly paranoid about its precarious position as the inaugural memorial society. At one point during the talks, the OMA representative even suggested dividing the capital so as to leave "an equal portion of the city open to the collectors of the Oakwood Association." Surprisingly, the suggestion "met with the entire approbation of the HMA" and the city was thus divided between those in the east who supported the Oakwood association and those in the west who donated to the Hollywood women.[23]

Fredericksburg's LMA also sent a delegation of men to speak with the neighboring Spotsylvania LMA regarding a union between the two societies. While the Richmond groups had commenced talks as a way to aid their memorial work, the FLMA exhibited a far more pretentious reason for negotiations with Spotsylvania. In early June, 1866, neither community had yet established a Confederate cemetery. The groups agreed to meet to discuss the practicality of establishing a single cemetery in which both LMAs would cooperate. FLMA representative J. Horace Lacy enumerated the reasons why Fredericksburg should be selected. First, the city commanded better transportation accessibility with its railroads, thereby making it an obvious place for common interment of the dead. Second, transportation to Spotsylvania was all but impossible. Perhaps most

[23] OMA minutes, May 12-24, 1866, MOC; HMA minutes, May 14-27, 1866, MOC; Richmond Times, May 25, 1866.

audaciously, he claimed that the city's battle and siege made it of "greater. . . historic celebrity." The Spotsylvania LMA predictably turned down efforts to join with its Fredericksburg neighbor. These early attempts at unification should not been interpreted as failures to create statewide organizations. Instead, they suggest that women of the LMAs wanted to preserve the autonomy of their local relief associations even as they understood that collaboration among groups would benefit all. Rather than creating a state or regional organization, the LMAs remained independent but agreed to cooperate with one another.[24]

In order to reach those sympathetic to their cause, LMA women appealed to the notion of maternalism. As they had during their wartime nursing activities, women of the LMAs saw themselves as filling the symbolic role of the grieving mother. They believed it was their Judeo-Christian duty to serve as surrogate mothers (and thus mourners) for boys and men who had died beyond the reach of their families. The women of the PLMA speculated on the importance of their work in one of their early meetings: "We can picture to ourselves the aged mother as she seeks the column that reports our celebration. Her son was in the army in Virginia. . . but she thinks of the simple bouquet affections offering, placed by the woman's hand on the green mound, and her heart echoes the thought—perhaps my child lies there. This is but one ray of that consolation we seek to afford. Who will refuse it? None—no, not one!" Their cemetery work offered comfort to mothers across the South, creating a common bond among all southern women who had

[24] FLMA minutes, June 15, 21, 26, 1866, LOV. Giesberg notes that northern women of the U.S. Sanitary Commission faced a similar dilemma. (Giesberg, Civil War Sisterhood, 7.)

lost a loved one to the war. Motherhood, therefore, served as an effective organizing tool for the Ladies.[25]

LMAs also relied on kinship and personal networks to support their endeavors. Nancy MacFarland, president of the Hollywood association, asked the vice presidents and managers to nominate suitable persons to appoint one or more agents "to represent the association in the different cities of the South." Because the husbands of many HMA members had been government officials during the war, these women presumably had many personal and political connections throughout the South. These networks, along with family ties, surely helped bolster the HMA's fundraising efforts. The FLMA began its campaign by writing letters to those persons who previously had lived in Fredericksburg and might consider themselves "friends of the Society," including Robert E. Lee. The LMAs in Petersburg, Richmond, and Lynchburg likewise invited the former leader of the Confederacy to participate in their own memorial activities. Though Lee gratefully accepted their honorary membership, he offered neither financial nor other support to any of the associations.[26]

All of the LMAs relied heavily on circulars to solicit assistance throughout the region. The Ladies crafted these circulars with heart-rending prose and then distributed

---

[25] PLMA minutes, June 1866, LOV; Theda Skocpol, Protecting Soldiers and Mothers; The Political Origins of Social Policy in the Untied States (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992), 311-524.

[26] HMA minutes, MOC; FLMA Minutes, August 1866, LOV; Robert E. Lee to C.R. Bishop of Petersburg, May 5, Lee to Mrs. William Coulling of Richmond, May 5, Lee to Miss Ida Dodge of Lynchburg, May 11, Lee to Mr. William Beyers of Richmond, June 2,1866, Lee Letterbook, VHS. Lee's response confirms Gaines Foster's assertion that Lee's role in the Lost Cause was often ambivalent. Though he promoted sectional reunion and approved books by Jubal Early and Robert L. Dabney, he "did avoid and sometimes discourage memorial ceremonies, monument campaigns, and other Confederate activities." Interestingly, while the women's organizations in Virginia were busy raising money to support their efforts, Lee believed that neither the students at Washington College nor the Shenandoah Valley residents could afford to donate funds to a proposed monument to Jackson in 1866. (Foster, Ghosts, 50-51; Robert E. Lee to Mr. William Beyers, June 2, 1866, Lee Letterbook, VHS.)

them either by direct mailings or by sending them to newspapers across the South.[27] The Fredericksburg women relied on Horace Lacy's business and wartime networks to raise money for their cemetery, while the Winchester LMA employed former Confederate leaders to spread word of their efforts. In February 1866, Col. T. B. Roy, former chief of staff to Lt. Gen. William J. Hardee, sent a letter to the Montgomery, Alabama, Mail, requesting that the editor publish the enclosed circular soliciting contributions. Roy asked that several Alabama women volunteer to collect subscriptions, as he was "impressed with the belief that ladies are more successful in such enterprises." Not only did the Winchester Ladies manage to muster a significant sum of money, but their efforts also encouraged women in other southern states to organize similar associations. In April of that year, the women of Montgomery established their own LMA.[28]

LMAs' relationships with other women's organizations both within and beyond the state reveal that southern women's associations were both more established and better connected than historians of women have often assumed. Some historians have argued that southern white women failed to participate in organized clubs or public life until the latter part of the nineteenth century because of a distinctive southern gender system. But evidence from LMAs reveals that white women in fact expounded on their feminine role as caregivers, mourners, and, ultimately, Confederate nationalists, to elaborate a more

---

[27] LMAs were not the first group of southern white women to rely on circulars. In December 1852, Ann Pamela Cunningham issued a plea to the "Ladies of the South" in The Charleston Mercury calling for a movement to save Mount Vernon, home of President George Washington. The association foreshadowed and perhaps inspired the work of post-Civil War memorial associations with its emphasis on the South. In 1853, Cunningham appealed to the "Ladies of the South" to help save the home out of a "sense of national, and above all, Southern honor. In 1856, the Virginia legislature issued a charter for the Mount Vernon Ladies Association, the group that eventually saved the home. (David L. Ribblet, "From Mount Vernon to Charlotte County: The Evolution of Historic Preservation in Virginia," in The Southsider: Local History and Genealogy of Southside Virginia, 11 [1992]: 3-14; G. Kurt Piehler, Remembering the American Way, 1783-1993 [Washington: Smithsonian Institute Press, 1996], 30-32.)

[28] Ladies Memorial Association of Montgomery, Alabama, 1860-1870, Pamphlet Collection, MOC.

public and organized role for themselves. In Richmond, Fredericksburg, Winchester, Lynchburg, and Petersburg, no fewer than 500 women immediately joined the ranks of LMAs, and that number fails to take into account at least 18 other associations active in the state.[29] These women expected other LMAs to support their projects and, as the Richmond and Fredericksburg cases indicate, initially considered merging their organizations. These extensive networks between associations and the speed with which women joined and supported LMAs throughout Virginia and the region suggest that, contrary to numerous historians' assertions, women's associations were not absent in the mid-nineteenth-century South, nor did they vanish with the Civil War. On the contrary, they were alive and flourishing.

***

Theoretically, any woman in the community could join these associations. In fact, nearly every society created committees to canvass particular sections of the city and solicit membership. Those who pledged to join the association were then expected to provide their "subscription," or dues, ranging from fifty cents annually for the OMA and FLMA to fifty cents monthly in Petersburg. Despite the claim that "every person [woman] of good character properly vouched for" could become a member, the

[29] These data are based on the author's membership databases for each LMA in this study. A total of 493 women have been identified within the seven LMAs. By the fall of 1868, more than twenty such societies were actively establishing cemeteries and arranging memorial days throughout the state, including those at Appomattox Court House, Bristol, Charlottesville, Danville, Emory and Henry College (Washington County), Fairfax Court House, Fredericksburg, Front Royal (Warren County), King George County, Gordonsville (Piedmont), Leesburg, Lexington, Loudon Park, Lynchburg, Manassas and Bull Run, New

membership rolls of each group reflected an obvious elite bias.[30] Not surprisingly, women who joined LMAs between 1865 and 1870 were overwhelmingly the wives and daughters of the cities' businessmen and civic leaders.[31] The LMAs' executive boards generally included women whose husbands or fathers were politicians, physicians, insurance agents, merchants, tobacco manufacturers, and, not surprisingly, lawyers.[32]

Most of the women who joined the LMAs had been born between 1830 and 1850, and therefore, had experienced the Civil War as young women. Bessie Meade Callender, president of the Petersburg LMA (PLMA), was representative of the earliest members of the memorial associations. In 1832, she was born to John and Rebecca Meade in Prince George County at the family home, Cedar Level, where her father made his living as a wheat and tobacco planter. Bessie married David Callender, a cloth manufacturer, in

---

Market, Orange Court House, Petersburg, Portsmouth, Richmond, Spotsylvania, Staunton, Warrenton, and Winchester. (Southern Opinion, August 29, 1868.)

[30] PLMA minutes, May 6, 1866, LOV; FLMA minutes, May 24, 1866, LOV. In almost every case, the Ladies distinguished between active members, those who enjoyed the privilege of voting, and honorary members, who may or may not reside within the community.

[31] In Petersburg, this group of elite men represented 11 percent of the white population prior to the war. Within this upper-class of approximately 2,000, the highest levels of office and power were held by fewer than 100 men. (Henderson, War at the Door, 1-21.) The OMA probably had a slightly less elite membership than their Richmond sisters, the HMA. Surveys of both groups, including work done by historian Susan Barber, suggests that the OMA members came from a slightly less affluent section of the city; i.e., Church and Union Hills. Likewise, Richmond residents buried in Hollywood and Oakwood cemeteries appear to have come from different social classes. Michael B. Chesson notes that while Hollywood "became both socially and symbolically the most important of Richmond's postwar cemeteries," whites "who could not afford lots elsewhere were buried in Oakwood." (Barber, "Sisters of the Capital," 389-90; OMA minutes, MOC; HMA minutes, MOC; Chesson, Richmond After the War, 18; 1880 United States Census Records, http://www.familysearch.org. Document accessed through the internet.)

[32] A survey of several LMA presidents offers a brief indicator of the members' social standing: HMA president Nancy MacFarland's husband, William H. MacFarland, had been a prominent railroad president and banker prior to the war. He served in 1865 as the president of the city council and later as the head of Planters National Bank. Dr. John H. Wallace, husband of FLMA president Mary Wallace, had been president of the local Farmer's Bank and owned a substantial country home in Stafford County, "Liberty Hall." The husband of Lynchburg's LMA president Susan Bocock, Henry F. Bocock, was a prominent town attorney. PLMA president Margaret Joynes's husband held the esteemed position of judge. Mary Williams, of the Winchester LMA, was the wife of Philip Williams, II, a commonwealth attorney and state delegate before the war, who continued his law practice after Appomattox. (Chesson, Richmond After the War, 21, 63, 95; A. A. Wallace, Two Chapters of a Life: America by Comparison and other Addresses (Richmond, Va.: Everett Waddey, 1913), 9; 1880 United States Census Records, http://www.familysearch.org. Document accessed through the internet ; Garland R. Quarles, Some Worthy Lives: Mini Biographies,

1855 and moved to Petersburg where she gave birth to at least three children. During the war, David sold cloth to the Confederate army while Bessie proudly served as treasurer of a soldiers' relief society. Like many of her counterparts in Petersburg, she continued to demonstrate her allegiance to the Confederacy as a founding member of the PLMA in 1866.[33]

Although older than many of her counterparts, Mary Gordon Wallace was also a typical LMA member when it came to class and wartime experiences. The former president of the Fredericksburg Soldiers' Relief Association, she was sixty-three years old when the war ended. After the battle of Fredericksburg, Wallace and her husband, Dr. John H. Wallace, had become refugees from the sacked city. They returned in 1865 to find that their house had been spared, but they owned only one hen, a cow, and a small supply of corn meal. Despite her impoverished condition, Wallace's leadership ability made her the natural selection for president among the members of the LMA. Her fellow members of the Soldiers' Relief Association, including Sarah Alsop and Mrs. James H. Bradley, also served on the FLMA board of directors.[34]

Women in the capital likewise adapted their wartime organizational skills to postwar memorialization projects. Nancy MacFarland's position as president of the Hollywood Memorial Association (HMA) was a natural outgrowth of her experiences during the war. MacFarland had acted as the president of the Soldiers' Aid Association of Virginia, organizing a network of the women's volunteer societies throughout the state

---

Winchester and Frederick County [Winchester, VA: Winchester-Frederick County Historical Society, 1988], 245-46.)

[33] Inventory, Ruffin and Meade Family Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, http://www.lib.unc.edu/mss/inv/r/Ruffin_and_Meade_Family. Document accessed through the internet; Lebsock, Free Women, 246; PLMA minutes, June 6, 1866, LOV.

[34] Wallace, Two Chapters of a Life, 8-9; 1880 United States Census Records, http://www.familysearch.org. Document accessed through the internet; FLMA minutes, LOV.

and the Confederacy. She had declined the treasurer's office for the Gunboat Association, noting that though her heart was in the cause she would not be able to do it justice given her other commitments. Her colleague in the Soldiers' Aid Association, Mrs. Samuel Price, transferred her role as treasurer to the Oakwood Memorial Association.[35] Other members of Richmond's Gunboat Association regularly joined memorial associations in the capital city. Martha Greenhow Maury, Mrs. George Gwathmey, Mrs. F. Nelson, Mrs. John Purcell, and Mrs. B. Smith all joined the HMA in 1866.[36]

Many of the women who believed it their duty to provide centralized cemeteries for Confederate soldiers had first witnessed the anonymous and lonely deaths of soldiers in wartime hospitals. Eleanor Boyd and Mary Williams, founders of the WLMA, had fed, clothed, and nursed wounded soldiers in Winchester's numerous hospitals. Nora Davidson, who operated a school for young children after the war, had frequently tended to wounded soldiers in Petersburg. Some women, such as HMA's Janet Henderson Randolph, had welcomed wounded soldiers into their private homes. A handful of LMA members had served in the more official capacity of nurse. "Captain" Sally Tompkins, who had operated her own private hospital in Richmond, was quick to join the HMA, as was fellow Richmond nurse Lucy Mason Webb.[37]

Lynchburg provides one of the most direct examples of women transforming their soldiers' aid societies and nursing activities into an LMA. The president of the Lynchburg Hospital, Lucy Mina Otey, realized that a cemetery for soldiers would be needed to deal with the mounting death toll in the city's hospitals. Though busy with the

---

[35] Ladies Defense and Aid Association, MOC; HMA minutes, MOC; OMA minutes, MOC.
[36] Ladies Defense and Aid Association, MOC; HMA minutes, MOC.

arduous task of managing the hospital in 1861, Otey attended to the last rites of the first soldier buried in the town, Private Robert Feemster of the 11th Mississippi. Soldier burials in the Old Methodist Cemetery continued throughout the war, but in April 1866 several of Otey's colleagues at the hospital organized a memorial association to enclose the graves and arrange an annual decoration day. Although Otey died at age sixty-five in May 1866, hospital directors Susan Speed, Cornelia Christian, and Mrs. Robert L. Brown helped continue her work through the town's memorial association.[38]

For some, simply having endured the destruction of their communities was enough to sustain their Confederate patriotism after the war. At least two of the FLMA vice presidents had witnessed the destructive battle of Fredericksburg. Fannie S. White, a widow and mother of three small children, had remained in the town during the 1862 Union shelling and occupation. Friends and family had desperately urged her to leave, but she had thought it best to remain in her home to protect her household. When the shelling began on December 11, she hurried to the cellar her children, slaves, and two gentlemen visiting from Stafford. After the shelling stopped at one o'clock in the afternoon, she surveyed the damage to her property. The garden was strewn with cannon balls and broken shells, limbs had been knocked off trees, and several large holes had been torn through the house. The two men from Stafford finally convinced White to take refuge near Salem Church. Anne F. Fitzhugh, too, endured staggering losses following the battle. When an effort began in December 1863 to compensate Fredericksburg citizens who had lost property during the shelling, Fitzhugh reported a list of losses,

---

[38]Mrs. N.V. Randolph, "Recollections of My Mother, 1861-1865," MOC; "Confederate Memorial Day," Memorial Collection, MOC; History of the Confederated Memorial Associations, 315; James A. Benson to Nora Davidson, July 25, 1862, MOC.

including $3,845 in household items and $15,000 in damage to the residence and outhouses.[39] Though a systemic survey of every LMA member is virtually impossible, most members had supported the war effort in some fashion. These wartime experiences had generally intensified women's bitterness toward Federal soldiers (who now occupied their communities and focused reburial efforts solely on the Union dead) while strengthening their identity as Confederates. What better way to demonstrate their disdain for Yankees and their undying loyalty to the Confederate cause than by honoring the South's dead?

***

Although many historians have described LMAs as merely "memorial," and by implication, irrelevant, these associations demonstrated overtures of Confederate nationalism and had profound implications for southern identity in the postwar period. Gary W. Gallagher's study of Confederate nationalism documents countless examples of white southerners using language such as "our country" or "nation" to describe the seceded states during the war. This loyalty to the Confederate nation came from a variety of sources, including hatred for those northerners who imposed their interests on southerners, military service, the experience of war on the home front, and "a belief that they shared cultural values at odds with those prized by northerners." As Anne Sarah

---

[38] "Mrs. Lucy Mina Otey," Southern Literary Messenger, 1 (July 1895): 15-19; Baber and Moore, Behind the Old Brick Wall, 25-26.

[39] Goolrick, Historic Fredericksburg, 41-47; Civil War Damage Inventories of Fredericksburg, Office of Clerk of Court of Fredericksburg, transcribed by Kristen Benedetto, Fredericksburg Area Museum, April 1989 (transcript at MOC). Following the battle of Fredericksburg, word spread quickly throughout the Confederacy describing the wanton destruction. People from across the South, but primarily from Virginia,

Rubin's work indicates, even though the Confederate state ceased to exist, many white southerners continued to identify themselves as a distinct population well into the late-nineteenth century. LMAs, more than any other individual or group in the immediate postwar period, did a great deal to extend this notion of southern distinctiveness and patriotism to the cause, albeit lost.[40]

Beyond establishing merely Confederate burial grounds, LMAs sought to make the cemeteries physical reminders of the cause. The women of the Oakwood association, for example, believed that "it is for the living. . . that such memorials are held, to inspire their lives with the memory of the lives and deeds of the great and noble dead."[41] As such, the OMA laid out its long-term goals: to turf and mark each of the 16,000 graves, to

---

sent donations to aid in the city's recovery. By February 1863, donations totaled roughly $170,000. (Blair, "Barbarians at Fredericksburg's Gate," 156-59.)

[40] Quotation from Gallagher, The Confederate War, 73. For more discussion of Confederate nationalism, see also, Rubin, A Shattered Nation, 2-7, 117, 234-39; Drew Gilpin Faust The Creation of Confederate Nationalism: Ideology and Identity in the Civil War South (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Press, 1988); Richard E. Beringer, Herman Hattaway, Archer Jones, and William N. Still, Jr. Why the South Lost the Civil War (Athens, GA and London: University of Georgia Press, 1986); Foster, Ghosts, 36-62; Brundage, "White Women and the Politics of Historical Memory," 115. Gallagher demonstrates that white women were as likely as their male counterparts to exhibit such intense passion for the Confederacy. Arguments for and against Confederate nationalism abound. Emory Thomas argues that nationalism flowed from the formation of national institutions such as the Confederate government or state sponsored industries. When these institutions fail to be maintained, nationalism floundered. Conversely, Drew Faust contends that common elements in the culture of the South, namely religion, provided the foundation for nationalism. Elites such as government officials and the clergy used these features of Southern distinctiveness to construct a national identity. Beringer, Hattaway, Jones, and Still understand nationalism to be an ideology based on perceived southern distinctiveness that proved fragile and insecure from its inception. They situate Confederate "cohesiveness" in southern churches, slavery, and state rights, but conclude that only slavery truly separated the sections. The authors argue that when southerners' allegiance to slavery failed, they lacked any ground for distinctiveness. While Rubin acknowledges that LMAs and women's involvement in memorialization served as one factor in sustaining a sense of Confederate nationalism or (white) southern identity in the postwar period, she does not see it as the primary cause.

[41] Localities such as Richmond's Church Hill District and Lynchburg had served as sites of large hospital complexes, and conditions had generally allowed for the centralization of Confederate graves during the war. Until the final days of the war, the citizens of Lynchburg had not experienced a battle in the immediate vicinity of their city. Richmond, on the other hand, had endured numerous battles throughout the war. But like Lynchburg, the capital had housed numerous hospitals that cared for sick and wounded soldiers, and both cities became the final resting place for thousands of soldiers from across the South. Military personnel, often with the aid of hospital matrons and nurses, had performed burials in city cemeteries, thus lessening the incidence of bodies buried haphazardly on battlefields. The women of Church and Union Hills in Richmond, located near wartime Chimbarazo Hospital, had been the basis of the Oakwood association.

lay out and decorate the grounds, and in the future when finances would permit, to replace the wooden headboards with those of "enduring marble." Similarly, women in Lynchburg agreed that they should enclose the space around the graves in order to protect them for future generations. The local newspaper concurred, arguing that leaving the thousands of graves exposed to the elements would be "a shame, and a reflection on the people of Lynchburg."[42]

These southern cities of the dead did not only bind the slain soldiers together in eternal rest, but they created opportunities for surviving Confederates to foster this sense of white southern solidarity. From Winchester to Lynchburg, Ladies appealed to a unified South to raise funds to continue their work.[43] Both the Fredericksburg and Winchester associations appealed to every state of the former Confederacy, observing that scarcely a town or a county was unrepresented on the city's battlefields. The Hollywood women's appeal addressed "the South as one family" and believed that "the southern heart throbs with one impulse." The OMA women claimed that their work was to be performed "for the honor and credit of the entire South."[44] The Petersburg LMA claimed that the entire

---

[42] Richmond Whig, June 26, 1861; OMA Minutes, MOC; Lynchburg Daily Virginian, April 25-27, 1866.

[43] The Hebrew Memorial Association also employed a circular to gain support from the South's Jewish population. On June 5, 1866, Rachel Levy, the association's corresponding secretary, issued an appeal to the "Israelites of the South." Noting the formation of both Oakwood and Hollywood, the Hebrew Ladies' organized for the express purpose of caring for the graves of Jewish soldiers; "which, of course, would not be embraced in the work of either of the first named Societies." They intended to mound and turf each Hebrew grave in their own private cemetery, and then place on them a simple headstone with an inscription. "In order, however, to successfully accomplish our object, we need some pecuniary assistance," they noted. The LMA claimed that because their community was already heavily taxed, they could not fund all of the work: "We make this appeal for aid, well knowing that as Israelites and true patriots, they will not refuse to assist [us]." The Hebrew Ladies concluded that "while as Israelites we mourn the untimely loss of our loved ones, it will be a grateful reflection that they suffered not their country to call in vain." ("To the Israelites of the South," Hebrew Cemetery Records, BAMA.)

[44] FLMA Minutes, May 24, 1866, LOV; Silvanus Jackson Quinn, The History of the City of Fredericksburg, (Richmond, Va.: The Hermitage Press, Inc., 1908), 186-87. Other anonymous donations contributed during the summer and fall of 1866 ranged from $5 to $100. (FLMA Minutes, June 28, July 26, September 6, October, 1866, LOV.) As soon as a central site for a cemetery had been secured in Petersburg, the PLMA prepared a circular appealing to the legislatures of all the southern states requesting aid from the people of the South for the cemetery, which then held nearly 4,000 soldiers. Likewise, the

South should be expected to provide "aid of a work which has equal claims on them as on ourselves." These pleas for aid did not go unanswered. Donations reached the women of the LMAs from as far away as Louisiana and Texas. Because of the number of Alabama soldiers who reposed in the Old Dominion, the state's women were especially generous in their donations to Virginia's LMAs, sending contributions to the Winchester, Hollywood, and Fredericksburg associations. An anonymous gift of twenty dollars in gold arrived for the FLMA from Mobile, while the Montgomery LMA offered the Ladies their cooperation in caring for their state's dead and further pledged to donate the proceeds from a charity ball held in Montgomery.[45]

Two surprising but important membership characteristics confirm that patriotic devotion to the Confederacy rather than mere sentimentalism motivated the women of the memorial associations. First, many of the LMAs' male relatives, especially husbands, did *not* serve in the Confederate military; rather, they tended to remain in the community either because of job obligations or age. For example, Rev. Andrew H. H. Boyd, husband of WLMA vice president Eleanor Boyd, was an adamant supporter of the Confederate cause but remained in the town throughout the war because of his position as minister of the Loudoun Street Church. Phillip Williams II, Boyd's brother-in-law and husband of WLMA president Mary Williams, probably did not join the army because of his position as a town councilman and his age of fifty-nine when the war commenced. Federal forces, however, took prisoner both men along with several other prominent

---

women in Montgomery noted that during the spring of 1866 they received appeals not only from Winchester, Fredericksburg, and Richmond, but also from Franklin, Perryville, and "other places where great battles were fought." (Montgomery Mail, March 18, 1866.)

[45] "To the Women of the South," Hollywood Memorial Association broadside 1866, VHS; "Appeal of the Ladies Memorial Association for Confederate Dead interred at Oakwood Cemetery," Memorial Collection. MOC; Lawrence L. Hartzell, "The Exploration of Freedom in Black Petersburg, Virginia, 1865-1902" in

townsmen during the course of the war. Charles Button, husband of LLMA vice president Mary Button, stayed in Lynchburg to operate his paper, the Virginian. HMA president Nancy MacFarland's husband, sixty-two year-old William H. MacFarland, served as a Virginia delegate to the Confederate Provisional Congress from 1861-1862 and therefore did not join the military. The same held true for HMA member Henrietta Lyons's fifty-nine year-old husband, James.[46]

Second, it appears that most of the Ladies in Virginia did ***not*** lose male relatives in the war. Capt. Charles Tackett Goolrick, brother to FLMA member Virginia Goolrick, was wounded at Chancellorsville and resigned on disability in February 1864, but he survived the war. Col. Robert S. Chew, the brother of another FLMA member, Ellen P. Chew, served as an officer with the 30th Virginia Infantry and returned home safely in 1865, as did Lizzie Alsop's uncle, William Alsop. Capt. Richard Pegram, husband of PLMA member Helen Pegram, and Maj. Gen. William Mahone, husband of PLMA vice president Otetia Mahone, likewise returned home after the war. The LMA women, then, were not grieving for their own kin. As the OMA's Constitution expressly noted, a "deep and living sympathy for bereaved families" motivated the women. The notion of "***our*** bereaved families" was conspicuously absent.[47]

Ayers and Willis, eds., The Edge of the South, 134-36; Petersburg Daily-Index Appeal, March 30, 1867; PLMA minutes, LOV; FLMA Minutes, May 24, June 28, July 26, September 6, October, 1866, LOV.

[46] Quarles, Some Worthy Lives, 42-43, 245-6; Delauter, Winchester in the Civil War, 20, 40, 62, 66-67, 80; Morris and Foutz, Lynchburg in the Civil War, 8, 35; The Political Graveyard, http://politicalgraveyard.com/bio/macdougal-maciora.html, document accessed through the internet. Quarles suggests that Williams did join the Confederacy, but Delauter offers a more convincing case that he did not.

[47] 1880 United States Census Records, http://www.familysearch.org. Document accessed through the internet; Robert K. Krick, The Fredericksburg Artillery (Lynchburg, VA: H.E. Howard, Inc., 1986), 78, 89, 102; OMA minutes, May 1, 1866, "Constitution," MOC. Conclusion based on data drawn from extensive research on the members of each LMA surveyed in this project. Evidence from Virginia contradicts LeeAnn Whites' findings for Georgia and Alabama. She argues that the pattern of office holding frequently represented the extent of maternal loss. For example, presidents might have been those members who lost

The fact that LMA members tended not to be the widows and orphans of men who died in the Confederacy reveals in part their political agenda. The "mourning" demonstrated by these women at memorial days and cemetery dedications was not of a personal nature; they were not there to secure the proper burial of their *own* fathers, sons, and brothers, or, in most instances, even to decorate the graves of a loved one. But that does not negate the very real mourning they felt, the bereavement for the loss of the Confederacy, for the death of their cause. The act of hiring burial crews, establishing cemeteries, and organizing elaborate Memorial Day spectacles all represented means by which they could keep alive their intense feelings of Confederate patriotism and demonstrate their continued commitment to the cause. Moreover, these projects gave them reason to foster ties with other like-minded southern "ladies," providing for greater coordination and cross-fertilization among the region's women than historians have previously acknowledged.

Clearly these women failed to see the end of the war as severing their cultural and emotional ties to the former slave states. Rather than fading, their identification with other ex-Confederates seemed only to intensify after the war. The LMAs called on the entire South, not just their own communities or even states, issuing appeals to people hundreds of miles away to aid in their efforts. It was more than just a need for pecuniary support that led them to contact their southern sisters and brethren. These women considered themselves loyal Confederates and identified with the common plight of white southerners across the region who had sacrificed sons, brothers, fathers, and lovers. The LMAs maintained that while their men had fought a gallant fight, women bore

---

the most sons, while vice presidents had just one unclaimed son. (LeeAnn Whites, "Stand by Your Man," 137.)

responsibility to keep alive their cause and memory. These women, from Virginia to Texas, were united by common losses – both personal and political. More than just having a mutual understanding of each other's suffering, women in Virginia, North Carolina, Alabama, and beyond expected a collective and cooperative effort to bury the dead. Although the South had been defeated on the battlefield, Confederate sentiment continued to thrive for decades in the South's cities of the dead.

***

If establishing Confederate cemeteries motivated Virginia's women to organize LMAs, their most visible and popular activity was the annual celebration of Memorial or Decoration Days. White southerners celebrated these days in the spring as a sign of renewal and rebirth, but each community chose its own symbolic date on which to gather. Fredericksburg, Lynchburg, and Oakwood in Richmond all selected May 10, the anniversary of Stonewall Jackson's death. The women of Hollywood agreed on May 31, the anniversary of the day Richmonders first heard the cannons of war. Petersburg's LMA chose June 9, the day in 1864 on which the "grey haired sires and beardless youths" of the home guard defended the city until Lee's troops could arrive. Finally, Winchester's Ladies settled on June 6, the day the Valley's hero, Gen. Turner Ashby, was killed.

Regardless of date, Memorial Days tended to follow similar patterns. The women of the LMAs gathered on the days preceding the event to make evergreen and floral arrangements and requested that young men or boys to do any physical work such as remounding. On Memorial Day, hundreds and even thousands of citizens gathered at

some central location in town, perhaps a church or town hall, and then marched in procession to the cemetery where the women and children decorated the graves with flowers and evergreens. Subsequently, orators chosen by the LMA delivered prayers and evocative speeches. Even though women selected men to serve as the featured guests and speakers, everyone understood that the Ladies ran the show. As city newspapers noted, Memorial Day was "under the direction of the Ladies" – they selected the date, chose the orators, invited groups to participate in the procession, and even picked the musical selections.[48]

Despite the omnipresent rhetoric of mourning at these Memorial Days, white Virginians knew they trod on dangerous ground when they invoked the "sacred" memory of the Confederacy so soon after defeat and while Union troops still occupied their soil. On Lynchburg's first Memorial Day, May 10, 1866, the city newspaper noted that the services would "doubtless excite harsh and malignant remarks in certain quarters of the North, and be taken as evidence of a mutinous, malcontent spirit pervading our people." But, the writer maintained, "we are sure" that "this sentiment will for the main part be confined to men who took no active *battle-part* in the war." Northern soldiers, and perhaps their devoted wives and daughters, would surely recognize the need to honor the remains of those who had died "valiantly in the opposite ranks."[49]

Indeed, ex-Confederates had every reason to suspect that the Union army and northern press closely monitored their actions. In May 1866, an unidentified northern

---

[48] Petersburg Daily Index, June 11, 1867, June 10, 1868; Richmond Times, May 11, 1866.

[49] As early as twelve months after Lee's surrender, white southerners were already employing the rhetoric of what would come to be the primary tenets of the "Lost Cause" by the 1890s. The Lynchburg paper argued that Confederate armies had fought well – as had the Union—and therefore, both sides should honor the other's dead. In fact, the author noted that "the southern people would indeed deserve eternal dishonor were they to fail in paying all becoming consideration to their illustrious dead." (Lynchburg Daily Virginian, May 10, 1866.)

paper charged that the money obtained for the dead should have been donated to the destitute living. The southern press defended the actions of their women, pointing out that "they can bury the dead but once; they are feeding the poor daily." White southerners, however, knew the real motive behind the accusation. "The secret of this carping is not because the fund was not applied to the relief of the poor, but because it was applied to preserving the memory of our dead," southern newspapers insisted. That same month, the Chicago Tribune denounced the women of Richmond for strewing flowers on the graves of the Confederate dead, charging that these women sought "to keep alive the political feeling of hostility to the Union." But couched safely in the shroud of "motherly and sisterly undertaking," former Confederates defended their actions. "This poor privilege is all that is left us now," they claimed. The Richmond Whig likewise responded that "political significance is not attached to these funeral ceremonies in the South," as it was not the habit of southern women to form political conspiracies. Rather, the paper proclaimed, "if the men of the South contemplated treason and 'civil war,'" they would not put "forward their wives and daughters to do the dangerous work." But for all their reasoning and justifications, southern white men did just that.[50]

If southern men simultaneously recognized and denied the political nature of the women's activities, the LMAs refused publicly to involve themselves in such debates. Yet the rhetoric the women used both in their appeals for money and in their organizational records suggests that they were well aware of the political implications of their activities. The Petersburg LMA invoked the military leadership of both the Revolution and Confederacy in its founding documents. The Ladies believed that "untrue would we be to

[50] Ladies Memorial Association of Montgomery, Alabama, 1860-1870, Pamphlet Collection, MOC; New York Times, May 21, 1866; Lynchburg Daily Virginian, April 28, May 14, 1866. The southern newspaper

the instincts of nature, as well as to our birthright of glory—untrue to the hand of a Washington and a Lee did we not give every energy to this work." Other LMAs similarly claimed to have been stimulated by feelings of gratitude for Confederate soldiers. Although they may not have admitted to being perilously close to treasonous behavior, their rhetoric leaves no doubt that they understood the magnitude of their floral and graveside tributes.[51]

During 1866, inaugural memorial celebrations occurred throughout the South. On May 10, the third anniversary of Jackson's death, the OMA paid tribute to their dead Confederates for the first time. Richmonders suspended business, and more than a thousand gathered at St. John's church for religious services before marching in a procession to Oakwood Cemetery. At the graves, the participants scattered flowers on the 16,000 graves before listening to Reverend Manning appeal to God to console and bless the wives and orphans of those Confederate soldiers who had fallen in war. Robert E. Lee had been invited to be the day's orator, but declined the invitation. Instead, the final orator of the afternoon was former general Raleigh E. Colston. After his speech stressing the loyalty of the enlisted men to the Lost Cause, two hundred Confederate survivors saluted him with a rebel yell. Despite this blatantly militaristic display, Richmonders were quick to remind any northerners who might be watching that women directed the entire affair. The officers of the OMA and their invited guests the HMA occupied center-stage on the speaker's stand, and newspapers pointed out that the day's activities were "under the management of the ladies." Richmond's ex-Confederates hoped that women

---

referred to in this quotation came from the Montgomery, Alabama, Mail, May 20, 1866.
[51] PLMA Minutes, May 6, 1866, LOV.

had de-politicized the event by their presence, thereby providing a forum for Lost Cause advocates such as Colston to voice their unrelenting support of the Confederacy.[52]

Not to be outdone, the HMA organized an even more impressive, and more militaristic, memorial celebration. Prior to the day's affair, Maj. Thomas A. Brander offered the services of the city's military companies to the HMA. The gentlemen formed themselves into companies and marched out to Hollywood on May 28 and 29 to remove weeds, remound, and place properly marked headboards on nearly six thousand graves. One observer commented that "the arms worn on that day and the duties to be performed were quite different from what they were some months ago. The musket, the sword, and the bayonet, gave place to the spade, the shovel, the pick, and the rake."[53] On May 31, twenty-three military companies participated in what could only have appeared to many northern observers as a military procession. Wearing their uniforms without military insignia or buttons as the law required, thousands of Confederate veterans made their way to the burial ground of their comrades. Stores across Richmond closed for the day (except those owned by Republicans or African Americans), and an estimated twenty thousand people congregated in Hollywood Cemetery. Although no ceremonies or speeches occurred at the cemetery, the HMA members placed evergreens and garlands on the

---

[52] Richmond Times May 11, 1866; Eighty-Eighth Anniversary of the Oakwood Memorial Association Program, May 8, 1954, Richmond National Battlefield Park. A second observance also occurred in Richmond on May 10, 1866. That day the Richmond Light Infantry Blues celebrated their 73rd anniversary by making a pilgrimage to the shrines of their dead in Hollywood Cemetery. Unlike the Memorial Day celebrations, women had little to do with this affair, and it was more militaristic in tone. In his study of the political meanings of Memorial Days, William Blair notes that the Richmond Light Infantry's blatant military tone was one of the key elements that "forced the Cities of the Dead to become public spaces dominated by women's groups and with minimal symbolic representation of living Confederate veterans." (Blair, Cities of the Dead, 55-65.) Although I agree with Blair that the celebrations of 1866 led Union officials to crack down on Memorial Celebrations in 1867 (see chapter 3), I believe this would have been the case with or without the Light Infantry's demonstration. Moreover, men clearly recognized the crucial role women played in 1866, well before the 1867 curtailing of Memorial Days.

[53] New York Daily News, June 1, 1866. About ten thousand graves outside the cemetery remained to be cleared.

graves while the veterans solemnly paid tribute to privates and generals alike. Again the newspapers tried to assure everyone that the affair was not intended to provoke Union authorities; rather it had been formulated by the "spontaneous demonstration" of "self-sacrificing" Richmond women [54]

Though smaller than the Hollywood ceremony, white southerners argued, the festivities in Winchester on June 6, 1866, were equally free of treasonous spirit. As in Richmond, businesses closed while thousands of locals and visitors filled the town's streets for the dedication of Stonewall Cemetery. Three hundred former Confederates, primarily survivors of the Stonewall and Arnold Elzey's brigades, were followed by fourteen young girls wearing white dresses and black sashes, accompanied by other citizens in a procession traveling from the Episcopal Church to the new cemetery. Upon reaching the site, the women and young girls decorated every grave with wreaths and garlands of fresh flowers and greenery. Finally, the crowd gathered to hear three speakers, all former Confederate majors, pay tribute to the fallen soldiers. Surely northern troops stationed in Winchester must have—or at least should have—frowned upon the large gathering of southern sympathizers, not to mention the hundreds of ex-Confederate soldiers who paraded through town only a year after the war's end.[55]

In order to avoid cries of treason from northerners, Winchester's men, like their counterparts in Richmond, consciously framed the day's blatant displays of Confederate patriotism within the domestic sphere of women. "The mothers and daughters of Virginia are the chief mourners and actors in these touching obsequies," one of the day's speakers, Maj. Uriel Wright, proclaimed. For Wright and other former Confederates, the language

---

[54] Richmond Times May 31, June 1, 1866; Blair, Cities of the Dead, 59-61.
[55] Winchester Times, June 13, 1866.

of mourning and feminine virtue was virtually synonymous when justifying tributes to their "lost cause." This rhetoric, if not full-fledged belief, allowed them subtly to protest not only the outcome of the war, but also the uncertainty of what a reconstructed South might look like in those first years after Appomattox. Who knew what changes might lie ahead? Already the region's labor and racial systems had been overturned. By placing the responsibility for protecting the past in the firm but gentle hands of women, white southern men could claim that memorializing the Confederacy was by no means a political gesture.[56]

Wright made sure that southerners, as well as any northerners who might be watching, understood that despite Confederate veterans' support, these ceremonies were solely the work of the South's women. "Mothers and daughters of Virginia," he exclaimed, "this noble enterprise is your work. They took their origin in the brains of no politician, no schemer, seeking individual distinction or plotting the renewal of strife." Because this tribute had been born in the heart of women, he argued, it could only be interpreted as true and pure. These women certainly could not be viewed as traitorous—they were simply exhibiting the qualities nineteenth-century Victorian ideology attributed to women: sentiment, emotion, and devotion to one's men folk. In fact, Wright declared that southern white women "were not political casuists." They had not paused "to enquire whether the teachings of Jefferson, Madison, or Mason furnished the true interpretation

[56] Ibid. Before the war, Uriel Wright had been a prominent lawyer St. Louis lawyer who had defended a free black (Charles Lyons) apprehended in St. Louis for not carrying a license. Wright argued that the law was illegal because it was inconsistent with the U.S. Constitution When the southern states seceded in 1860 and 1861, he was a staunch Unionist, but later changed his stance after witnessing a massacre of St. Louis citizens by Union soldiers. By the winter of 1862/1863, he had joined the Confederate war effort as a staff officer, though I have been unable to determine the specifics of his appointment. (NiNi Harris, "Civility During An Uncivil Time," http://www.seniorcircuit.net/of_interest/civility.html, accessed through the internet; The Camp Jackson Incident, ttp://www.nps.gov/jeff/Gazettes/CJackson.htm, accessed through

of the Constitution, and correctly marked the boundaries of State and Federal powers." Just as members of the southern Whig Party had done since the 1830s, postbellum Virginians agreed that women were naturally "disinterested" in politics and therefore must possess pure motives. In denying the political nature of women, Wright simultaneously acknowledged the very political nature of their work: if women were not political, then by extension, their actions could not be construed as such. Therefore, memorial activities, clearly within the province of female mourning, posed no threat to sectional reunion.[57]

What he failed to mention, however, was that under the direction of the Ladies, Memorial Days provided legitimate venues for ex-Confederate veterans to march into towns, for thousands of white southerners to gather in a central location, and for former generals and political figures to praise the Confederate cause in a public forum. Protected by their gender, white women were able to escape charges of treason during Reconstruction for which men, being "political-beings," would have been found guilty. Moreover, ex-Confederate men could practice what Anne Rubin has termed "political ventriloquism." That is, by allowing white women to take center-stage at memorial activities, men could both express their bitterness toward Yankees and assure the federal government of their loyalty.[58]

---

the internet; St. Louis in the Civil War http://www.usgennet.org/usa/mo/county/stlouis/acw.htm, accessed through the internet.)

[57] Ibid. For discussion of antebellum southern white women and politics, see Varon, We Mean to Be Counted, 71-168.

[58] Rubin, A Shattered Nation, 208, 218-29. I have taken slight liberty with Rubin's use of the phrase "political ventriloquism." While she in fact argues that ex-Confederate men allowed women to speak for them, to "express their bitterness toward the conquering Yankees," her example of ventriloquism refers to newspaper columns written in the voice of women. She argues that by publishing these columns allowed ex-Confederates of both sexes to publicly critique the Union government and Union soldiers without fear of reprisal. She further argues, however, that in these columns, "women were also being told to cease their political activities and return to the work of reconstructing hearth and home." (Quotation, 219-20.)

If Winchester's Memorial Day celebration in June 1866 should have been enough to raise northern eyebrows, then the elaborate reburial of Gen. Turner Ashby and three other Confederate officers the following autumn could have been seen as outright treason. Believing that Winchester rather than Charlottesville would be a more appropriate burial location for the Valley's dashing hero, the WLMA proposed in the spring of 1866 that Ashby and his brother Richard, killed fighting on Kelly Island, Maryland, in 1861, be reinterred in Stonewall Cemetery.[59] Joseph Holmes Sherrard and James Avirett, writing on behalf of the WLMA, drafted a letter to the Ashbys' sisters requesting permission to reinter the bodies. The men assured one of the sisters, Mary Moncure, that both the brothers "seemed attached to our people, where they had hosts of warm and instant friends." They claimed that "there are none to whom the guardianship of these remains would be more appropriately committed than those whose homes and firesides they tried to defend." The sisters willingly consented to the reburial.[60]

In early October, men hired by the WLMA disinterred the bodies of both Ashbys and prepared them for transfer to Winchester. They placed Turner Ashby's body in an elaborate coffin paid for by the "patriotic women" of Jefferson County, West Virginia. Made of black walnut and covered with black cloth of finest fabric, it was, the newspaper noted, "nearly enveloped in silver fringe and platings." The brothers' bodies were

---

[59] On June 6, 1862, Ashby died during a Federal assault on the rear of a Confederate column retreating to Port Republic. Born in Fauquier County, Ashby's connection to Winchester was due only to his cavalry's defense of the town through the first two years of war. Following his death, the military buried him in an elaborate funeral at Charlottesville's University cemetery. (Unknown woman [probably mother] in Charlottesville, Va. to "Nannie" [Anne Virginia Lucas],who is probably in South Carolina, June 11, 1862, Lucas-Ashley papers, DU; Blair, Cities of the Dead, 90-94.)

[60] Rev. James Battle Averitt was married to Mary Williams, daughter of Philip Williams II and Mary Dunbar Williams, co-founder of the WLMA. More than likely, his wife was a member of the WLMA as well. Joseph Holmes Sherrard was an honorary member of the WLMA and served on the committee to superintend removals. (Stonewall Cemetery Records, HRL; J. H. Sherrard to Mary Moncure, August, 22, 1866, Ashby Family Papers, VHS.)

transported first to Charlestown, West Virginia, and then on to Winchester, where they joined the remains of two other comrades on the night of October 24. The hearse, drawn by four white horses and accompanied by sixty former military officers and local officials, wound through small Valley communities until reaching Stonewall Cemetery. The elaborate processional must have been a spectacle reminiscent of Confederate military parades through towns during the war.[61]

On Thursday morning, October 25, nearly 10,000 Valley residents and guests gathered to await the reburial of the Confederate officers and dedication of Stonewall Cemetery.[62] Morning trains on the Winchester and Potomac line brought eleven passenger cars crowded with anxious spectators from Virginia and Maryland. Even West Virginia was well represented by the "fair women and brave men" of Jefferson and Berkley counties. According to the local paper, they ignored "their unnatural separation which has, temporarily we trust, deprived them of their birth rights as Virginians" and "gathered around the tombs of the Confederate dead." But if men and women alike thronged the bustling streets of Winchester, all recognized the vital role the fairer sex played in the day's events. One observer noted that "an early visit to the cemetery revealed to us the fact that, while man had shown energy and industry in preparing and mounding the graves of the dead, the hand and heart of woman had been enlisted in the decoration of the sacred ground." Women from West Virginia to North Carolina had contributed to the affair. A collection of flowers sent by the women of Shepherdstown and an elegant floral cross, a gift of women from North Carolina, decorated Ashby's

---

[61] Rev. James B. Averitt, The Memoirs of General Turner Ashby and His Compeers (Baltimore, Md.: Selby & Dulany, 1867), 243-55; Stonewall Cemetery Records, HRL; Winchester Times, October 31, 1866.

[62] The Winchester Times, October 31, 1866, estimated that 10,000 people attended the ceremony; however, the New York Times, October 29, 1866, estimated only 4,000 - 5,000 people participated.

grave. Monuments marking the lots appropriated to each state had been "wreathed and twined with evergreens, myrtle, and cedar, whilst the numberless bouquets resting on the hills marking the repository of the heroic dead, told plainly the sympathizing daughters of Virginia had been thus early at the tomb."[63]

The Ladies of Winchester and their sisters from surrounding areas, however, served a more valuable purpose than mere decorators. As had been the case only months before at Winchester's Memorial Day, women once again proved to be an important political symbol for the ex-Confederacy's message of triumph through defeat. As the keynote speaker at the dedication, former governor Henry A. Wise spoke neither of mourning nor reunion. Instead, he encouraged the crowd to look to the dead for the power and strength to deal with surrender and submission. He told them to ask themselves what the Mighty Stonewall would do in their situation. "Would he have praised proclamations of peace! Peace! When there is no peace?" he asked. "Would he not have demanded as lawful rights the withdrawal of military force and of Freedman's Bureau, and the restoration of Civil Rule and the writ of Habeas Corpus?" Wise proclaimed that Jackson would have never disavowed the cause for which his comrades died. Finally, with the Federal troops watching from across the field, he shouted: "A lost cause! If lost it was false; if true, it is not lost!" As William Blair has pointed out, Turner Ashby was reinterred in a town in which he had never resided, in a cemetery named after Jackson (who was buried in Lexington as opposed to Winchester), at a dedication that

[63] Winchester Times, October 31, 1866.

featured a recalcitrant rebel such as Wise. How could northerners not look upon the spectacle in the Valley as anything other than pro-Confederate political behavior?[64]

***

Women of the Ladies' Memorial Associations were not puppets of the South's men; they clearly orchestrated the creation of Confederate cemeteries and Memorial Days. But it was equally clear that men supported these displays of Confederate patriotism. In several instances men had encouraged women to form associations, and in nearly every instance, had provided the labor of preparing the Confederate graves. They could claim these "Ladies" were disinterested in politics, but women had literally provided the platform from which ex-Confederate men could lament their defeat. This fact was not lost on Republicans and Union occupying forces and did little to persuade them that these displays had no political content. On the day of Hollywood's services, for example, some Federal soldiers arrived in Richmond from Fredericksburg to prevent any emergency or hostility that might arise between the southern citizens and the occupying forces. Governor Francis Pierpont believed that the observance at Hollywood indicated that treason remained alive in the former Confederacy. The Union Burial Corps stationed in Winchester had refused the request of a lady to lower the flag at their camp during Ashby's reinterment and later that afternoon brandished their weapons at a group of the town's residents. Despite these close encounters, Union forces did relatively little to

[64] Ibid; Blair, Cities of the Dead; Delauter, Winchester in the Civil War, 95-96; New York Times, October 29, 1866. Northerners and the Republican government could tolerate only so much praise for the defeated South. Prior to the day's services, Captain Brown, commander of the occupying Union forces in Winchester, had ordered that the United States flag at the National Cemetery be flown at half staff in honor

prevent these intense displays of Confederate patriotism in the spring and fall of 1866. Under the auspices of the Ladies, from Winchester to Lynchburg, Virginia's first Memorials Days passed without incident. [65]

Within a year of Appomattox, much earlier than most historians have acknowledged, white women had successfully launched an effort to venerate the defeated Confederacy. Hundreds of Virginia's leading daughters transformed their wartime aid societies into memorial associations and launched south-wide campaigns to raise funds for their national Confederate cemeteries only furthering the sense of southern solidarity. Ex-Confederate men and women alike recognized the pivotal role women played in maintaining and recreating Confederate identity in the aftermath of defeat. LMAs had created a permanent reminder of the Confederate war effort through their cemeteries and provided a forum through Memorial Days and tributes such as Ashby's reinterment that allowed white men like Wise to expound on the virtues of the Confederacy and advocate resistance to Reconstruction. Although challenges awaited the women after implementation of more rigid Reconstruction policies in 1867, under the cloak of

---

of all those who had fallen in battle. While no account remains of how he reacted to the reinterment, Brown must have been enraged at the political tone of the dedication.

[65]Richmond Times, May 31, June 1, 1866; New York Daily News , June 1, 1866; Mitchell, Hollywood Cemetery, 70; Letter of "Genie" from the Lewis Leigh Collection, Book 19, at U.S. Army Military History Institute, Carlisle Barracks, Penn., May 29, 1866; New York Times, October 29, 1866. Richmond papers noted that several freedmen took part in activities-- many decorating the graves of their former masters-- and that five black waiters from the city's lavish Spotswood Hotel, who had each subscribed one dollar to the HMA and had worked on the Soldiers' Section, also contributed flowers for the event (the historical record does not disclose the motives of these black men). When the Federals saw a small group of citizens approaching their camp that afternoon, the Union soldiers gathered around the flag staff brandishing their weapons, and twenty armed cavalrymen arrived ready to defend their flag. No confrontation erupted, as the citizens claimed only to be looking for a local troublemaker. But the incident revealed the deep tensions surrounding the Confederate spirit still very evident in town. (Delauter, Winchester in the Civil War, 95-96.)

feminine mourning, the Ladies' Memorial Associations had set in motion Lost Cause traditions that would continue into the next century.[66]

[66] Blair, Cities of the Dead, 94. Blair concurs that "southern men knew how important the women's associations were for keeping alive the memory of the Confederacy and for allowing a form of political commentary."

Chapter 3
"The Influence and Zeal of Woman": Ladies' Memorial Associations during Radical Reconstruction 1867-1870

Even within the "tender" hands of southern women, Memorial Days and cemetery dedications smacked of unrepentant rebellion. The relatively lenient period of presidential Reconstruction had not quelled the Confederate spirit. Southern Unionists and northerners rebuked the bombastic behavior of ex-Confederates when, they claimed, northerners were attempting reconciliation. One Unionist newspaper editor condemned the federal government's policy of avoiding controversy: "union men must keep quiet, hang their heads, and look on in submission, allowing young loyalists of the South. . . to do as they please and to vaunt as they choose about the past." Moreover, some white northerners even denounced the commemoration of Confederate heroes and "the annual floral decoration of soldiers graves" as a "deeply laid plan in Virginia extending throughout the South, to keep alive for future use the hopes, purposes, and organization of the late disunion conspiracy." And following the elaborate memorial celebrations of 1866, U.S. Maj. Gen. Philip H. Sheridan declared that an "undoubted change for the worse" had occurred in the last six months among the attitude of white southerners.[1]

Former Confederate soldiers parading through the streets, the southern press's tirade against Reconstruction policies, southern whites' treatment of freedmen, and President Andrew Johnson's moderate policies toward the South prompted Congress to pass the First Reconstruction Act in March 1867. This act stipulated the terms by which

[1] Winchester Journal, April 13, June 29, July 27, 1866. The Winchester Journal was a Unionist newspaper and frequently reprinted articles from other like-minded northern newspapers.

the southern states might reenter the union: each of the eleven Confederate states, excluding Tennessee, would be required to write a new constitution that provided for manhood suffrage approved by a majority of voters and to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment. Equally important, the act divided the region into five military districts whose commanders could utilize the army to protect life and property. Virginia was designated Military District Number 1 under the command of Maj. Gen. John M. Schofield, and a total of 2,087 Federal soldiers occupied twelve camps scattered throughout the state, including the largest concentration of 1,031 in Richmond.[2]

Despite the tightening of Congressional Reconstruction measures, Ladies' Memorial Associations throughout Virginia persevered in their efforts to commemorate the Confederacy. Between 1867 and 1870, women of the LMAs continued to direct Confederate traditions in a period of gender cooperation with the endorsement and support of most southern white men. They shrewdly manipulated the conditions of Reconstruction to maintain a sense of white southern solidarity and broadened their public role by serving as surrogate government agencies for the defunct Confederacy. While northern women such as Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony debated woman suffrage and the Fifteenth Amendment, LMA members were likewise busy redefining southern women's relationship to the state, thus creating an alternate form of

---

[2] Lynchburg Daily Virginian, May 1, 1867; James Douglas Smith, "Virginia during Reconstruction, 1865-1879: A Political, Economic, and Social Study," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, May 12, 1960, 440. For the most complete study of the Reconstruction Act, see Eric Foner, Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution (New York: Harper and Row, 1988), 271-80. Anne Rubin also notes that "Reconstruction under Andrew Johnson had been less punitive that white Southerners. . . had expected;" however, she also argues that "whites took advantage of his leniency to reassert their vision of racial supremacy." (Rubin, A Shattered Nation, 4.) For a more thorough examination of Richmond during this period, see Chesson, Richmond After the War, 96-104. The final tipping point for Union tolerance of Confederate memorial activities may have been the elaborate reburial of Confederate general Albert Sidney Johnston. Johnston's body was removed from New Orleans in the winter of 1867, accompanied by former generals P.G.T. Beauregard, Braxton Bragg, and John Bell Hood to Galveston, Texas. (New York Times, January 24, 1867.)

women's political engagement. The Ladies staged elaborate public spectacles, moved beyond the local nature of earlier southern benevolent work that had focused on orphanages and almshouses, and called on municipal and state governments to support their projects. Expanding on their devotion to the failed Confederate cause, LMAs allowed southern white women to engage in civic life as never before.

***

Although United States troops had occupied cities across the Commonwealth since the surrender of Lee's army in April 1865, the first two years of Reconstruction in Virginia were a fairly lenient period for former rebels. The military presence was minimal, and the state was jointly governed by both the Freedman's Bureau and the provisional government run by Unionist Republican governor Francis H. Pierpont.[3] The governor proved to be an early, if unexpected, ally for former Confederates. Like President Andrew Johnson, Pierpont believed that the most appropriate response was to reestablish civil order throughout the state. He relied primarily on Unionists and antebellum Whigs but was willing to work with ex-Confederates as long as they repudiated secession and appeared reasonably repentant. During this period, the military

[3] During the war, Pierpont, a pro-Union man, headed the "restored" government of Virginia in Alexandria. Lincoln recognized this "shadow state government" that controlled only a small part of northern Virginia. In May 1865, President Johnson nullified Confederate authority in the state and recognized Pierpont as the legitimate governor.

interfered with civil government only when provoked by recalcitrant whites or when prompted by Republicans.[4]

This relatively peaceful political environment, however, soon gave way to increasing tension and controversy. With the exception of Tennessee, the southern states rejected the Fourteenth Amendment and black suffrage. After gaining control of Reconstruction policies in the spring of 1867, moderate and radical Republican congressmen denied all former Confederates political power, instituted martial law, directed southern states to provide freedmen with political rights including access to the ballot box, and laid out the means by which civil governments might be restored. Despite General Schofield's attempts to implement Congressional Reconstruction in Virginia with impartiality to both whites and blacks, several riots occurred and political tension mounted as ex-Confederates were disenfranchised while freedmen increasingly occupied public office.[5] In May 1867, violence erupted in Richmond after police arrested three black men of the Mounted Negro Guard for sitting in the white section of a horse drawn streetcar.[6] That same month, two other riots occurred in the capital city following incidents between the black community and police. While aggression continued between individual whites and blacks in Richmond, there were no riots in 1868 or 1869. Nevertheless, throughout the Old Dominion, a loose coalition of newly enfranchised

---

[4] Tripp, Yankee Town, 171-72; Chesson, Richmond After the War, 87-96.

[5] For detailed discussion of Schofield's tenure as commander in Virginia, see James L. McDonough, Schofield: Union General in the Civil War and Reconstruction (Tallahassee: Florida State University Press, 1972). For information about racial tensions within Richmond during Congressional Reconstruction, see Chesson, Richmond After the War, 96-104. At the state's constitutional convention, for example, 24 of the 105 delegates, or roughly one-third of the Republican majority, were black.

[6] According to Michael Chesson, following the incident, Schofield met with company officials and agreed to integrate four of the six cars. Two cars were reserved for white women, their children, and black nurses while the other four cars were open to anyone. Newspapers, however, reported that the agreement was a fraud, as white men were allowed to ride in the ladies' car. By November 1867, after securing the right to ride in some of the streetcars, apparently few black residents did so. By 1870, ten of the twelve streetcars ran with white balls on their roofs indicating "whites only." (Chesson, Richmond After the War, 102-3.)

blacks, southern Unionists, and transplanted northerners garnered control of the state and local governments.[7]

Virginia's conservatives did not attempt to hide their disdain for the new political order. According to historian Steven Tripp, Lynchburg's old elite "condemned the opposition with a ferocity seldom seen in prewar political contests." They portrayed the Republican leaders as illegitimate aliens who had gained power by misleading the "ignorant and misguided" blacks and poor whites. Conservatives believed that the Republicans' intention was to "humiliate the Southern people as they stole from state coffers and raped the South of its resources." In order to stop the carnage, conservatives believed they must unite and reelect "traditional" leaders to power.[8]

Women, too, expressed outrage toward the federal government and Republican politics, just as they had during the secession crisis and war. Maria Louisa Carrington lamented that Virginia's political prospects were "more and more dreadful" during Reconstruction because radicals were "filled with every fiendish feeling." Lizzie Alsop voiced a similar despair. "The political horizon, never clear, has recently become so dark and threatening that I shudder at the bear [sic] possibilities of the troubles in store for us," she wrote in the spring of 1867. Later that summer, Maria Louisa Wacker Fleet reported that Richmond had been "beset by a fresh influx of Yankee officers and carpetbaggers trying to register the negroes and influencing them to vote against us." But, she countered, "I will not dwell on this as it is too dreadful even to contemplate."[9]

---

[7] Chesson, Richmond After the War, 103-4; Tripp, Yankee Town, 172-3.
[8] Tripp, Yankee Town, 172-3.
[9] Maria Louisa Carrington to Susan Taylor, February 6, 1866, Saunders Family Papers, VHS, quoted in Censer, Reconstruction, 188; Lizzie Alsop diary, March 1, 1867, Wynne Family Papers, VHS; Maria Louisa Wacker Fleet to Alexander Frederick Fleet, June 7, 1867, in Green Mount after the War: The Correspondence of Maria Louisa Wacker Fleet and her Family 1865-1900, ed. Betsy Fleet (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1978), 274.

One of the most vocal public opponents of so-called "Radical Reconstruction" was a new weekly Richmond newspaper, the Southern Opinion. Established only three months after the Reconstruction Act by avowed secessionist H. Rives Pollard, wartime editor of the Richmond Daily Examiner, the paper's expressed purpose was to foster a distinctive southern culture. Pollard advised the people of the South to "comply in good feeling with the requirements of the military bill" and vowed that his paper would not obstruct the military "in any of its operations through our influence." In fact, the first edition of the paper described Schofield as "on the whole, as moderate and just as could be expected." While the South might be "politically dead," reasoned Pollard, it was not "socially or intellectually dead." Echoing much of the LMAs' sentiment, he repeatedly encouraged former Confederates to "foster in the hearts of our children the memories of a century of political and mental triumphs," and preserve the heroism and endurance of their cause. By the spring of 1868, the paper regularly printed weekly indictments of the Republican government, Schofield, and the freedmen. Pollard's paper would become a mouthpiece for continued Confederate memorialization, especially the Ladies' Memorial Associations of Virginia and the South at large.[16]

By the fall of 1866, Union authorities had begun restricting expressions of Confederate sentiment throughout the South. Residents of Raleigh, for example, were prohibited for five years from marching in processions to cemeteries. The Union commander in Memphis refused to allow any processions, speeches, or public demonstrations on Decoration Day in 1867. But New Orleans, under the military command of Maj. Gen. Philip H. Sheridan, experienced some of the harshest constraints. The general forbade residents of the city from participating in fundraising endeavors for

---

[16] Southern Opinion, June 15, 26, 1867.

monuments and broke up organizations dedicated to supporting widows and orphans of Confederate soldiers. The orders eventually led the Ladies Confederate Memorial Association of the city to drop "Confederate" from its name.[11]

While there was no official crack-down on memorial celebrations or cemetery projects in Virginia, the commencement of Congressional or Radical Reconstruction along with the various riots in the capital city prompted Virginia's LMAs to institute at least a voluntary curtailment of their memorial activities.[12] In 1867, the commanding Federal officer in Lynchburg prohibited H. Rives Pollard from delivering a lecture regarding the chivalry of the South during war. That spring the local LMA chose only to gather at the cemetery to deposit flowers on the graves. Fredericksburg's activities remained relatively low-key as well. There was no official procession, although advance cars and wagons led by citizens brought loads of sod to the cemetery early in the morning. On this fourth anniversary of Stonewall Jackson's death, the FLMA and "a number of gentlemen repaired to the cemetery near town where they spent the day sodding and decorating with strewn flowers and evergreens" the graves of more than two hundred southern soldiers. The Oakwood Memorial Association refrained altogether from organizing a decoration day. Although Richmond's businesses closed as if for a Sabbath and nearly sixty thousand people turned out to place flowers on the graves at Hollywood, the HMA likewise held no formal procession and prohibited orations in eulogy of the

---

[11] Blair, Cities of the Dead, 62-63.

[12] During the spring of 1866, northern newspapers frequently reported on the occurrence of Confederate Memorial Days. See, for example, The New York Times, May 16, July 13, 1866.

dead. As several newspaper indicated, the majority of those in attendance were women and children.[13]

James Henry Gardner of Richmond noted that even without the parades and speeches, if the affair "had not been under the control of the Ladies," then a "thousand bayonets would have bristled to prevent the celebration." But such a display of arms, Gardner believed, still would not prevent the LMAs from their memorial work. "Nothing" he maintained "can subdue the deep seated sympathy of noble women of the Southern Confederacy." The stiffening of Reconstruction policies in 1867 had made it all the more necessary for Memorial Days and Confederate cemeteries to be under the leadership of women. Despite the presence of General Schofield and his Federal troops stationed throughout the Commonwealth, Ladies' Memorial Associations defiantly claimed that "we yet have left us the right to love and to mourn."[14]

***

Memorial celebrations did not diminish under Radical Reconstruction, but continued to grow in popularity with the passing of years. In 1869, "nearly all the people" of Fredericksburg and the surrounding countryside paid tribute to the Confederate dead in an elaborate ceremony. An assemblage primarily of Sunday Schools began at the Presbyterian Church and formed a procession that extended for three city blocks.

---

[13] "A Leaf from the Past: From the Records of the Ladies' Memorial Association of Fredericksburg, Va." pamphlet, CRRL; Hodge, ed., Confederate Memorial Days (1987), HRRL; OMA Minutes, April 30, 1867, MOC; Richmond Times, June 1, 1867; Richmond Whig, June 1, 1867; Richmond Dispatch, June 1, 1867; New York Times, June 3, 1867; Henry Clay Brock diary, May 30, 1867, VHS; Blair, Cities of the Dead, 64; Lynchburg Daily Virginian, May 1, 11, 1867. Pollard was later allowed to give his talk.

[14] James H. Gardner to Mary Gardner Florence, June, 1, 1867, James Henry Gardner Papers, VHS; Lynchburg Daily Virginian, May 1, 11, 1867; Blair, Cities of the Dead, 64.

Winchester's 1869 tribute attracted between six thousand and eight thousand people, including, according to the local paper, the town's black residents. Hundreds of citizens attended the Hebrew Memorial Association's third Memorial Day, even though the cemetery contained only a small number of Confederate dead. Services at Hollywood continued to generate substantial crowds, sometimes ranging close to twenty thousand. At Petersburg's third memorial celebration on June 9, 1868, people from throughout the state sent flowers, local businesses provided hacks and wagons, and a great many locals participated in decorating the graves. The whole city came to a virtual standstill on that day, as businesses closed their doors and thousands of white citizens paid homage to the dead heroes of the Lost Cause. In all, they decorated between 2,500 and 3,000 graves in Blandford Cemetery with offerings of flowers, evergreens, and tiny flags stamped with the Confederate motto. Support for the PLMA and their cemetery abounded, and they exclaimed that "on no previous occasion has there been manifested by our people more cordial sympathy with the objects of our Society." The PLMA rejoiced, "our hearts are thus encouraged, and we are stimulated to a more lively zeal."[15]

Like Confederate cemeteries, the LMAs never intended Memorial Days to be exclusively local affairs. Rather, as had been the case with their circular campaigns and cemetery projects, the women saw memorial celebrations as an opportunity for all white southerners to extend their identity as loyal Confederates. Openly snubbing occupying Federal forces, LMAs directed city councils, newspapers, and businesses in encouraging

---

[15] Fredericksburg Ledger, June 18, 1869; Hodge, ed., Confederate Memorial Days, 4, probably taken from the Fredericksburg Harold, June 14, 1869; Winchester News, June 11, 1869; Southern Opinion, May 16, 30, 1868; Petersburg Index , June 10, 1868; PLMA minutes, June 13, 1868, LOV; Lynchburg Virginian, May 11, 1868, May 11, 1869; Richmond Daily Dispatch, May 30, 1868, Southern Opinion, May 23, June 13, 1868. The PLMA appears to have initially celebrated two different Memorial Days in their city. They decorated the graves at the Bethel burial grounds, also referred to as the fairgrounds, on May 16, as well as

the largest possible crowd for each celebration. Often, associations such as the Petersburg LMA requested that free transportation for visitors and floral arrangements be provided by the local railroads and express companies. Gen. William Mahone of Petersburg, his wife a member of the PLMA, agreed to issue round-trip tickets at half fare along any of his three railroads for anyone wishing to attend the memorial celebration at Lynchburg in 1869. The reduced rates appeared to have been successful, as locals reported a great number of strangers arriving to witness the celebration.[16]

But Confederates were not the only ones who felt compelled to honor their war dead. In the spring of 1868, former general John A. Logan, commander-in-chief of the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR), selected May 30 as "Union Memorial Day." He called on all Union veterans to organize ceremonies to decorate the graves of the Federal dead.[17] The Richmond Times Dispatch, disparaging the GAR as a "secret political society," fumed that the Federals had selected the same day reserved for Hollywood's celebrations. The Southern Opinion likewise seethed that the "memorial tributes paid the Federal dead is [sic] a miserable mockery and burlesque upon a holy and sacred institution, peculiar to Southern people, and appropriately due only to the Confederate dead." Some northerners agreed. The Philadelphia Sunday Dispatch (labeled by the Opinion as "radical") rebuked the GAR for modeling their celebration after the "rebel practice." The Dispatch declared that "the custom is intensely secessionist" and it "would

---

the June 9 celebration in Blandford cemetery. Once the bodies from Bethel had been reinterred in Blandford, the PLMA sponsored only June 9.

[16] PLMA minutes, May 30, 1867, LOV; Petersburg Index, May 12, 14, 1869; Lynchburg Daily Virginian, May 6, 11, 1869. The railroads included the Virginia and Tennessee, Southside Railroad, and the Norfolk and Petersburg.

[17] Blight, Race and Reunion, 71; Blair, Cities of the Dead, 69-76. Stuart McConnell, Glorious Contentment: The Grand Army of the Republic, 1865-1900 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 16, 25, 115,126, 180. According to Blight, observance of Federal Memorial Day grew in 1869 to 336 cities and

be better to adopt a form not founded upon a slavish imitation of rebel customs." Finally, the Philadelphia paper observed that Memorial Days were "merely to show that the living are still traitors at heart" resorting to floral offerings because they had been unable "to make Treason effective by force." They believed that the proper response to Confederate Memorial Days would be to treat them with contempt and allow them "to exhaust [their] spasmodick [sic] vitality without interference." The plan adopted by the GAR, they argued, would only keep alive the preposterous tradition.[18]

Nevertheless, the Union ceremonies took place as planned. On May 30, 1868, Union veterans across the nation followed Logan's orders and initiated memorial services in 183 cemeteries in 27 states—including Virginia. That day, Richmond's GAR branch held their services at the National Cemetery located two miles from the city where 6,200 Federal soldiers had been buried. Approximately three thousand people attended—primarily Federal officers and their wives, government employees, the newly appointed city officers, and "nearly all of the Richmond Radicals, accompanied by their families." Of those three thousand, the Daily Dispatch estimated that only 400 were white. The paper was not surprised that Confederate sympathizers failed to attend the event because Logan's order "was couched in words libeling us and insulting our own noble dead."[19]

Union Memorial Days, such as those held annually in Richmond and Winchester, were remarkably similar to those organized by Confederates.[20] Crowds gathered at the

---

towns in thirty-one states. He notes that in 1873, New York's legislature designated May 30 a legal holiday, and by the end of the century, every northern state had followed suit.

[18] Richmond Daily Dispatch, May 15, June 1, 1868; Southern Opinion, May 30, June 6, 1868; The Philadelphia Sunday Dispatch quoted in Southern Opinion, June 6, 1868.

[19] Richmond Daily Dispatch, May 15, June 1, 1868.

[20] To the contrary, William Blair argues that Union Decoration Days "contained features that made them distinctive." For example, he cites the fact that these ceremonies took place in conquered territory, drew together various regions on one common day of commemoration (as opposed to the variety of dates in the South), and they "had the stamp of authority of the government." (Blair, Cities of the Dead, 70).

cemetery (either on their own or via a procession), decorated graves with flowers and evergreens, and listened to orators discuss the merits of soldiers' patriotism and virtue. But there was one key difference between the celebrations of Confederates and Federals that historians have overlooked; where Confederate Memorial Days had begun and remained under the auspices of women, Union celebrations were the province of men, most often military men. It had been northern men, rather than women, who formed cemetery associations, such as the Antietam National Cemetery Association, and directed reburials. While unionist women certainly attended Federal Memorial Days, they played no role in organizing the events. Nor did Union orators pay tribute to women's wartime sacrifices and devotion to the cause, as was common rhetoric at Confederate exercises. The fact that the GAR *did not* encourage women to be the centerpiece of these so-called "mourning rituals" only bolsters the notion that Memorial Days were indeed fraught with political meaning. As the victors, Union soldiers were primarily responsible for honoring their war dead. Unlike ex-Confederate soldiers, Federals saw no reason to turn over their tributes to the feminine sphere.[21]

Even if Union soldiers emulated the practice of southern Memorial Days, as late as 1868 and 1869, some northerners continued to protest demonstrations of Confederate patriotism that appeared to be gaining rather than losing momentum under the LMAs'

---

[21] Richmond Daily Dispatch, May 31, 1869; Winchester Journal, June 5, 1868, May 28, 1869; New York Times, August 18, 1866; Blight, Race and Reunion, 71; Blair, Cities of the Dead, 69. Blight claims that in both the North and the South "women carried the primary responsibility of gathering flowers and mobilizing people...for Decoration Day ceremonies." But evidence from Virginia as well as Stuart McConnell's study of the GAR suggests that men were the primary impetus behind Union Memorial Days. In fact, the Northern Women's Relief Corp, a group of women who helped organize Memorial Day events, was not recognized by the GAR until 1881. McConnell notes that "'loyal women' could participate in the patriotic project, but only within a clearly delimited sphere. They were to inculcate patriotism in children; otherwise, they were to wait on the wishes of the ex-soldiers." Cecilia O'Leary concurs, noting that there were patriotic women's associations in the North as early as 1866, but they were excluded from the masculine culture of the GAR until 1883. (McConnell, Glorious Contentment, 183-85, 218-19; O'Leary, To Die For, 75).

direction. The New York Times disparaged the Petersburg Daily Enquirer for draping the newspaper in mourning on the city's Memorial Day, June 9, 1868. Petersburg responded in defiance: "the North may as well understand at once and forever, that no prosecution, however severe; no malignity, however envenomed. . . can withdraw the great Southern heart from its ceaseless ward and watch at the graves of those who vainly died that their people might be free." Neither Unionists nor ex-Confederates seemed ready to embrace reunificication and forgiveness.[22]

Not only did former Confederates claim their right to mourn their dead, but they also continued to insist that the actions of their LMAs were not treasonous. "We have no desire to connect these memorial tributes with the political agitations of the hour," the Daily Enquirer maintained. Lynchburg, too, continued to defend its memorial celebrations. Following the largest Memorial Day celebration to date in 1869, the local paper warned those who "scent treason in every breeze wafted from the South" that the demonstration was of "no political significance." A Fredericksburg paper pointed out that "there was no uncalled for demonstration such as flying of Confederate flags, or cemetery gates being dressed in mourning or high sounding speeches in eulogy of the soldiers or the cause in which they fell." Rather, the day was marked by somber silence. Petersburg's white residents, however, were less placating in their stance. Following the June 9, 1868, celebration, a city newspaper longed for southern unity in the face of Reconstruction, regretting that there was not yet a single Memorial Day for the entire South. In words that resonated with the very treason many had tried to dispel, the paper hoped that the South would never again celebrate July 4, "until our Lees and our Jacksons, instead of being stigmatized as 'rebels' shall have a place alongside Washington

[22] Petersburg Daily Express, June 15, 1868.

and Jefferson." Like Fredericksburg, the Petersburg paper saw June 9 as a day for solemn reflection. "With the heal of the oppressor on our necks," the paper concluded, "we have no use for a day of rejoicing now; but rather a day of mourning and humiliations." Clearly, LMAs' "mourning rituals" had infused the South with a lasting sense of Confederate identity that was not about to yield to northern criticisms even under Reconstruction.[23]

***

Throughout Reconstruction, Virginia's memorial movement remained firmly under the control of the state's middle- and upper-class white women. Women's leadership, however, did not preclude men from involvement in the movement. As the previous chapter explained, men had initially urged women within their respective communities to organize and had defended women's memorial work as explicitly non-treasonous. Between 1867 and 1870, middle- and upper-class white men continued to support the Ladies' efforts. Although the level of male-female cooperation varied significantly between the different memorial associations, a gender division of tasks developed within Lost Cause traditions that would substantially alter the very nature of public male-female relations in the South.[24]

---

[23] Fredericksburg Ledger, June 18, 1869; Lynchburg Daily Virginian, May 11, 1869; Petersburg Index, June 10, 1868; Petersburg Daily Express, June 15, 1868.

[24] Blair, Cities of the Dead, 97. Blair concurs that men accepted a secondary role to, or at the least, partnership with women in commemorative events during Reconstruction. He argues that "the fact that these rituals had originated through women's organizations became enormously helpful later when the movement toward reconciliation fondly remembered only the gentle hand that decorated the graves instead of rituals that helped forge a consensus on resistance during difficult political times."

In keeping with the notion that mourning belonged in the feminine realm (thus remaining ostensibly "non-political"), men tended to play supporting roles in early memorial activities. Most of the societies permitted men to serve as "honorary members" by the payment of dues, but reserved full membership exclusively for females. Several societies, including the HMA, offered honorary membership to specific groups of men, such as ministers or Confederate generals (and often their wives). In some instances, such as with the OMA, the women held that any person of good standing in the community might become a life member by payment of dues, but only active, female life members enjoyed the right to vote.

The women in these associations generally agreed that while men might aid their endeavors, offices should always be filled by women. Fredericksburg proved to be an exception to this rule, as Dr. Francis P. Wellford served as the association's treasurer from May 1866 through the mid-1870s.[25] But by far, the most popular function for men in early LMAs was that of advisory committee member. Men likewise offered legal, financial, and architectural advice to the LMAs. For instance, Capt. C. T. Goolrick served as the chairman of the FLMA's committee on Constitution and Bylaws. Likewise, Charles Dimmock helped the HMA plan their memorial pyramid and Henry D. Bird, Esq., designed the layout of Petersburg's Blandford cemetery. And in their most public role, men always provided the Memorial Day sermons. Former Confederate generals, state and local municipal officers, and ministers were the most recurrent orators on such occasions.[26]

---

[25] OMA minutes, Constitution, May 1, 1866, MOC; HMA minutes, May 14, 1866, MOC; FLMA minutes, Constitution, August 9, 1866, LOV; PLMA minutes, May 30, 1866; LOV.

[26] Foster, Ghosts, 38; FLMA minutes, June 15, 1866, LOV; HMA minutes, MOC; OMA minutes, MOC; PLMA minutes, May 7, 1868, LOV. FLMA's male advisory members in 1866 included: J. Horace Lacy,

Men frequently served as agents for the women's associations. Because Victorian morals and the doctrine of separate spheres held that it was unacceptable for women to speak in public settings, LMAs often appointed men to do so on their behalf. Typically, these men, who were relatives of the most active female members, served as liaisons between women and their community The LMAs selected men to do their bidding on several occasions. When the Oakwood and Hollywood groups discussed the possibility of union, each association selected men to write and present the proposals. The same held true during talks of collaboration between the Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania associations. Both the Fredericksburg and Petersburg societies chose men to act on their behalf during negotiations for cemetery land. Like the women they represented, these men were always from the upper echelons of society and were generally either church leaders or former Confederate military personnel.[27]

Initially, the Fredericksburg women had agreed that no man was to be admitted to any monthly or called meeting unless he was an advisory member or had been specially invited by the president or board of directors. Perhaps this was to dissuade members' husbands from attempting to usurp authority from the LMAs. Nevertheless, by May 1867 the women had relaxed their policy regarding men. "Any gentlemen in connection with the society," the women noted, "shall be admitted at all times." Still, the three men who comprised the cemetery committee, all of whom had been active advisory members of the

---

Capt. C.T. Goolrick, Dr. Francis P. Wellford, C.W. Braxton, and Edwin Carter. According to historian Jane Censer, some Georgia and Carolina LMAs turned over their business dealings to men. (Censer, Reconstruction, 197.)

[27] FLMA minutes, LOV; Lynchburg Daily News, January 15, 1866; PLMA minutes, LOV.

organization since its inception, were the only men who ever appear to have attended the FLMA's regular meetings.[28]

Men also aided LMAs in their fundraising endeavors. When the Fredericksburg women found themselves in "urgent need of funds" to continue their repatriation activities in the spring of 1868, they turned to Maj. J. Horace Lacy, husband of FLMA vice president Betty Churchill Lacy and prominent city resident. The association requested that Lacy represent them "wherever and whenever he may think the cause would meet with sympathy and support." He traveled first to Baltimore, where a southern sympathizer introduced him throughout the port city, enabling him to raise $2,000. His speaking circuit eventually took him as far north as New York and as far south as New Orleans. In the Crescent City, Lacy received endorsement of the women's efforts, garnering the signatures of prominent Confederate generals including Dabney H. Maury (Fredericksburg resident and FLMA advisory board member), P.G.T. Beauregard, James Longstreet, and Joseph E. Johnston, as well as of Jedediah Hotchkiss, Stonewall Jackson's celebrated cartographer. Surprisingly, Louisiana's predominately African-American legislature donated $5,000 for the cause. Lacy's efforts paid off handsomely for the FLMA, eventually raising nearly $10,000 that the association used to build a cemetery wall, monument, and gate.[29]

---

[28] FLMA minutes, May 3, 1867, LOV. The men of the cemetery included Dr. Francis P. Wellford (also treasurer for the FLMA), J. Horace Lacy, and C. W. Braxton.

[29] A. Wilson Greene, J. Horace Lacy: The Most Dangerous Rebel in the County (Richmond, Va.: Ownes Publishing Company, 1988), 21; Maj. J. Horace Lacy commission, L-541, Metal Case 3, MOC; "A Leaf from the Past: From the Records of the Ladies' Memorial Association of Fredericksburg. Va." pamphlet, CRRL. By 1870, Dabney H. Maury had relocated to New Orleans for a business venture. His signature appeared first on the impressive roster of ex-Confederate generals. Thirty-nine former Confederate officers signed the endorsement of Lacy. Lacy apparently owned a plantation in Louisiana, which allowed him to reside in the state while he collected money for the FLMA.

In addition to lecturing circuits such as Lacy's, men frequently offered their forensic talents more locally. In May of 1866 alone, the OMA requested that a Mr. Pleasants and a Mr. Farrar deliver addresses on topics near to the hearts of southerners, such as Farrar's talk on "Johnny Reb." Dr. Hunter McGuire, too, donated his oratory skills to the HMA in 1866 when he provided a benefit lecture on the life of Stonewall Jackson.[30] Occasionally, it was men who contacted the LMAs with strategies for raising money. In December 1866, Gen. Jubal A. Early, who had left the United States following the war, wrote to memorial associations in Richmond and Lynchburg offering to donate the proceeds of his memoirs about his campaigns. The Lynchburg LMA accepted his offer, and in a February 1867 circular requesting money advertised the publication of Early's second edition memoir for the benefit of the Ladies' Memorial Associations of Virginia.[31] Perhaps the most bizarre proposal was that made by W. Webb of the Old Dominion Soap Works. Webb contacted both the HMA and the OMA in the winter of 1866-1867 with a plan to increase the groups' bank accounts through the sale of "Branded Memorial Soap." No doubt the exact details of this fundraiser remain obscure because the LMAs thought it quite odd, rejecting the proposal at once.[32]

Finally, and perhaps most importantly to the women, men provided the arduous labor necessary for the disinterment and reburial of thousands upon thousands of Confederate dead. Although mid-nineteenth-century mourning rituals held that women were usually the ones to wash and dress the deceased, the women of the LMAs did not go so far as to handle the decaying corpses of soldiers. Rather, local men and young boys

---

[30] OMA minutes, May 12, 1866, MOC; HMA minutes, June 18, 1866, MOC.
[31] Lynchburg Ladies' Memorial Association broadside, 1867, UVA; HMA minutes, December 11, 1866, MOC.
[32] HMA minutes, December 11, 1866, MOC; OMA minutes January 15, 1867, MOC.

generally provided the labor of disinterring and reburying the dead. These tasks were grueling, given not only the condition of many of the bodies, but also the fact that the men did their best to identify which state, division, and company soldiers belonged to so that they might be buried together. In many instances, men volunteered their labor when local military companies assisted the LMAs. But the women also paid men to do the work; in 1866 the PLMA hired fourteen local men to haul the bodies, inter them, lay off cemetery plots, and mark and paint 500 headboards for the identified graves. Not only did these men bury the bodies, but they also performed general upkeep such as remounding sunken graves or weeding.[33]

Winchester provides the most striking example of male/female cooperation in the earliest years of the Lost Cause. In many ways, the relationship between men and women in Winchester mimicked other Virginia cities. For instance, the WLMA selected a committee of six men to superintend removal of bodies and they proceeded over Memorial Day activities. But the number of men involved in the reburial process appears to have been substantially higher in Winchester than in other Virginia cities. In early 1866, the women appointed eight subcommittees of five to eleven men each to search for graves around the city. In all, approximately forty men assisted the women on a continual basis (as opposed to those cities where large numbers of men only aided LMAs only in preparation for the first Memorial Day).[34]

More unusually, the city claimed both an independent women's society and a male-female association. Although Mary Williams and Eleanor Boyd had initiated the

---

[33] HMA minutes, MOC; PLMA minutes, May 7, June 13, 1868, LOV; Lynchburg Virginian, May 29, 1866;

[34] Morton, The Story of Winchester, 247-8; History of the Confederated Memorial Associations of the South, 316.

city's reburial efforts and had organized a Ladies' Memorial Association in the spring of 1865, Winchester's citizens held a public meeting in February 1866 at which they appointed a committee of the town's most prominent men to cooperate with the women. That spring, the men joined the WLMA to form the Monumental Association of Stonewall Cemetery (MASC). While the WLMA remained an independent organization from its inception, both Williams and Boyd served as vice presidents within the eleven-member MASC. The women and men appear to have worked harmoniously together, as no records remain indicating disputes between the sexes.[35]

Winchester's memorial associations, therefore, were qualitatively different not only from other Confederate organizations within Virginia, but from southern benevolent societies in general. While men and women had jointly been members of antebellum organizations such as orphan asylums, men had held the administrative authority in these groups. No other evidence exists pointing to cases in which both sexes had served as officers. Here men and women worked together, both partaking of the business aspects of memorial associations. Yet, in many respects, the relationship between the men and women reflected the organization of LMAs throughout the state. The women dictated the nature of Memorial Days, the reinterment process, and all other matters of bereavement, while the men spoke at public events and on behalf of the women.[36] As with every other

---

[35] Stonewall Cemetery Records, HRL; "Circular and Address of the Monumental Association of the Stonewall Cemetery,"1870, UVA; History of the Confederated Memorial Associations, 317; Delauter, Winchester in the Civil War, 94; The officers of the MASC included Judge Joseph H. Sherrard, president; Gov. F.W.M. Holliday, vice president; Capt. George W. Kurtz, vice president; Mary Williams, vice president; Eleanor Boyd, vice president; Capt. Lewis N. Huck, treasurer; Albert Baker, secretary; Lt. E. Holmes Boyd, executive committee; Col. William R. Denny, executive committee; Maj. Holmes Conrad, executive committee; Lt. H.K. Pritchard, executive committee. Of the nine male members, six appear to have had female relatives active in the WLMA.

[36] Evidence regarding northern white women's mid-nineteenth century associations suggests some cases of men and women working jointly together. For example, men and women sometimes served together as members of abolitionist societies, but women usually were merely auxiliaries. In 1833, after being denied the right to vote or sign the Declaration of Sentiments and Purposes of the American Anti-Slavery Society

memorial association, the Monumental Association in Winchester always attributed the idea of caring for the dead to their women. Winchester's men commended the noble manner in which the city's women had "performed their trust" and noted in 1869 that it was "peculiarly appropriate" that women were the "principal actors in this 'labor of love.'"[37]

Looking around at the joint cooperation of men and women in other Virginia communities, the Petersburg Ladies expected that they too would lead the memorial effort while men supported their endeavors. But the city's men had other ideas about how the commemorations should take shape, electing to organize one of the few exclusively male memorial organizations, the Gentlemen's Memorial Society, in May 1866. Despite the fact that the men called for a committee from the LMA to meet with them, they evidently did not help to inter the bodies on Petersburg's battlefields, and they refused to assist the LMA in their "work of love." The men, as it turned out, had wanted the women to act as a joint committee "for mutual aid." The Ladies were initially fond of the idea and repeatedly asked the men's group to aid in their cemetery work, but they would not submit to the role of auxiliary society—foreshadowing disputes that would occur between veterans and Ladies in the 1880s. President Margaret Joynes noted with extreme regret in December 1866 "the failure of the Gentlemen's Memorial Society to extend us

---

(which she had helped design), Lucretia Mott formed the Female Anti-Slavery Society. Soon thereafter, exclusively female anti-slavery societies began to form across the North and West, many in locales where male-dominated societies already admitted women to their meetings. On male and female abolitionists, see Scott, Natural Allies, 45-50. Numerous cases of male-female organizations suggest that in mixed-sex groups, men held executive control. For example, Judith Giesberg's work on the United States Sanitary Commission reveals that men controlled the executive board, but women usually controlled the twelve regional branches that administered an extensive network of 7,000 affiliated women's soldiers' aid societies. (Giesberg, Civil War Sisterhood, 5.)

[37] Winchester News, June 11, 1869; "Circular and Address of the Monumental Association of the Stonewall Cemetery," 1870, UVA.

aid which we had a right to expect from them in this cause."[38] She sadly commented that "patriotism and heroism appear entirely dead" among the men of the city. The memorial association would not be deterred by the men's lack of enthusiasm, subsequently vowing to "take the matter in hand; and persevere over every difficulty until its object is accomplished."[39]

Petersburg's LMA could not comprehend the lack of interest exhibited by the city's men toward Confederate memorial work. The women argued that the cares of business and demands of life in the postwar South could not excuse the "luke warmness of southern men" in the cause. "It is as much their duty to assist in the sacred undertakings as it is that of the ladies," the PLMA charged in the local newspaper. They pointed to other cities, such as Lexington, Winchester, and Richmond, where men and women united to advance their cause, believing that the failure of Petersburg's men would be a stain on the "high character" of the city. Nevertheless, the PLMA believed men's indifference only further strengthened the need for southern women to control the movement. The reasons why the Gentlemen's Association refused to cooperate with the PLMA remain uncertain. Perhaps the pressure from Union occupying forces prevented them from openly reveling in the Confederate past. Nevertheless, after the Gentlemen's Association failed repeatedly to support the women, the LMA invited individual men to become active and honorary members. In July 1867, the PLMA requested that the

---

[38] Petersburg Daily Index, June 10, 1868; PLMA Minutes, December 5, 1866, L●V; Censer, Reconstruction, 196.
[39] PLMA Minutes, May 30, 1866, June 13, 1868, LOV.

Gentlemen's funds be turned over to the women. Just under a year later, the men finally relented and presented a balance of $30.75 to the women's association.[40]

This unusual response among Petersburg's men may have arisen because of the city's history of male and female organizations. According to historian Suzanne Lebsock's study of antebellum Petersburg, the city's upper-middle-class white women organized and managed a variety of autonomous benevolent associations between 1811 and the late-1850s. Following religious revivals of 1858 and 1859, however, women lost their monopoly on organized charity, "as men reclaimed voluntary poor relief as a legitimate male concern." In nearly every type of association after 1859, from the Sons of Temperance to the Library Association, men ran the organizations while women played auxiliary roles. With a great many men enlisted in the army or focused on other governmental duties during the war, women returned to the helm of autonomous female organizations. In the postwar period, Petersburg's middle- and upper-class white men sought to resume control of organizations—or at least to form their own groups such as the Gentlemen's Memorial Association. Those women who had been most active during the war would have none of this and fought to retain their dominance in benevolent associations.[41]

With the exception of Petersburg, most former Confederate men whole-heartedly endorsed the Ladies' work. H. Rives Pollard's Southern Opinion, read throughout the South between 1867 and 1869, repeatedly offered praise for the devotion of the female sex and acknowledged the centrality of women to the Lost Cause. A July 1867 article

---

[40] Foster, Ghosts, 38; Petersburg Daily Index, June 7, 1867, June 15, 1868; Petersburg Daily Express, January 19, 1869; PLMA Minutes December 5, 1866, July 29, 1867, LOV.

[41] Lebsock, Free Women, 226-31. Lebsock notes that mixed-sex organizations led to two new rituals of female deference in the late 1850s: women increasingly used their husbands' names rather than their own

noted that "southern women were the most ardent of original secessionists, the most hopeful and indefatigable of belligerents, and to-day their submission is the most tardy and reluctant." The editor recognized that "*They* are now the pious custodians of all that is Confederate memory." As winter gave way to spring in 1868 and the third season of Memorial Days commenced, Pollard echoed the sentiment of many Petersburg LMA members: "Woman-- 'last at the cross, and earliest at the grave--' has been foremost in memorial work. Men have proved false to their Confederate professions, and have turned away from the neglected graves of their comrades, who unlike themselves, sealed their devotion with their lives; but women never!"[42]

Even the paper's masthead points to women's fundamental place in the pantheon of Confederate memory. On the extreme right, a woman kneels over the grave of a Confederate soldier, while standing beside her are two young children. All three appear to be visiting the grave of a loved one, as a wreath of flowers has been placed upon the mound. A Confederate cemetery appears over one side of the mourners, while a small village is visible above the woman's shoulder. On the extreme left, a battle is raging, replete with gun smoke and bodies reeling from wounds. Seated nearby is the Goddess of Fame, watching over the soldiers and recording their deeds of valor in a book. In the center of the picture looms a vignette of General George Washington, surrounded by the paraphernalia of war. Beneath the whole picture a scroll reads: "My Country—May she always be right; but right or wrong—My Country." While men are clearly visible in the

---

given names (example - "M. W. Campbell" became "Mrs. John W. Campbell"), and the question of female public speaking was settled in the negative.

[42] Southern Opinion, July 27, 1867, May 16, 1868, emphasis added. The Southern Opinion was published between June 16, 1867, and May 1, 1869. Owned and operated by Pollard until his assassination in December 1868, precipitated by an article he printed on November 21, 1868, the paper changed hands twice in its last five months of publication. Messrs. W. D. Chesterman and Company bought the paper in

illustrations of soldiers and Washington, the largest images in the print are those of the women. Furthermore, if read as a chronology of the war and its aftermath, women appear to unite the homefront and battlefront, as well as the war years and postwar years. As Pollard suggested in his editorial, the masthead conveys the notion that women were devoted Confederates from the beginning to the end.[43]

Desiring to make the Opinion an "organ for the promulgation" of information on the women's work, Pollard offered to print the LMAs' reports on Memorial Day celebrations, reinterments, and any other projects the women deemed worthy. The memorial associations took the request to heart, and reports began flooding the paper as the LMAs in Spotsylvania, Lynchburg, Winchester, Petersburg, Richmond, Raleigh, Tallahassee, Vicksburg, Louisville, and beyond sent notices of their work. During the 1868 memorial season, nearly every LMA in the South reported on their communities' memorial celebrations. Pollard published pleas for financial assistance from the LMAs (Petersburg being one of the most active groups on this front) and reported extensively on monument campaigns. The Opinion, therefore, served as an even more systemized link between the various women's organizations, helping them to gauge their own efforts against their peers and to make valuable contacts with like-minded women. While accounts of Confederate leaders and anecdotes about the war appeared in every edition of the paper, Pollard and his associates clearly viewed the LMAs as the centerpiece of early Lost Cause movement.[44]

December 1868 but sold it to D.S. Hardwick and Company in March 1869. J. Marshall Hanna, editor under Hardwick's ownership, chose to terminate the paper in May 1869, citing that its mission had been fulfilled.

[43] Southern Opinion, June 15, 1867. For those readers who might not comprehend the symbolism of the sketch, Pollard took the liberty of explaining its significance in the first edition.

[44] Southern Opinion, August 24, September 14, December 21, 1867, April 11, May 2, 9, 16, 23, 30, 1868. Anne Rubin interprets Pollard's intentions differently. Citing an incident in which the Ladies of King George's County, Virginia, hired a Connecticut firm to create a monument, the Southern Opinion expressed

Despite the diversity of male-female relations among Virginia's LMAs, the general pattern confirms that LMAs were not simply organized in the South to bolster southern white men's masculinity in the face of defeat, as historians LeeAnn Whites, Drew Gilpin Faust, Karen Cox, William Blair, and Kurt Piehler have argued. LMAs' primary objective was to honor the sacrifices and lives of those Confederate men who had fallen in battle. But if LMA women wanted only to reassure men of their virility, they would have played a more submissive role. While men certainly encouraged female-dominated memorial associations for their own political reasons, the LMAs never served as mere puppets for male ambitions. Neither did the women refrain from criticizing the men, including veterans, when they failed adequately to support the memorial associations. Above all, these women saw themselves as patriots performing vital civic duties for their communities and the larger South rather than purveyors of male confidence. LMA women were not only honoring those men who had fought for the South, but were securing their own legacy as devoted citizens and participants in the cause.[45]

Ladies' Memorial Associations, therefore, marked a pivotal transition in the gender relations of middle- and upper-class southern whites between 1867 and 1870.[46] In

---

its regret that the Ladies should obtain a monument from "living Yankees!" Rubin argues that Pollard used the opportunity to "subtly patronize women, implying that they were perhaps ill-equipped to make business decisions." (Rubin, A Shattered Nation, 239.) After reading the entire run of the newspaper, the incident cited by Rubin is the only example I have been able to document of Pollard critiquing the Ladies.

[45] For the argument that LMAs were dedicated to the "reconstruction of southern white men," see Whites, "'Stand by Your Man,'" 133-49; LeeAnn Whites, The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender, Augusta, Georgia, 1860-1890 (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995); Faust, Mothers of Invention, 252; Cox, Dixie's Daughters, 9-10; Blair, Cities of the Dead, 85; Piehler, Remembering the American Way, 63; Rubin, A Shattered Nation, 208-09, 234-39. For the argument that LMAs were more interested in patriotic endeavors, see Censer, Reconstruction, 202. Had the PLMA simply intended to reassure southern white men that they were no less masculine having lost the war, the women would not have publicly ridiculed the Gentlemen's Association for their failure to help or their lack of patriotism.

[46] On southern postwar gender relations, see Whites, The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender; Peter W. Bardaglio, Reconstructing the Household: Families, Sex, and the Law in the Nineteenth Century South

many cases, men supported LMAs financially and otherwise, and men certainly found a valuable political reason for doing so: supporting women's efforts allowed *all* former Confederates to honor their past. But as Anne Scott, Anastatia Sims, and Jane Censer have argued, middling and elite southern white women emerged from the war more active than at any previous time in their history. Married women along with their single daughters and nieces carved out a new space for women's activism. They solicited contributions from friends, local businessmen, and strangers throughout the region; they hired and managed men for reinterment projects; and they drew public attention to themselves when they organized and took center stage at memorial activities. Rather than returning to antebellum gender patterns, as Whites, Faust, and George Rable have posited, women of the LMAs proved determined to control the direction of their associations, expand their civic duties, and redefine the very nature of southern femininity.[47]

***

"Federal cemeteries have sprung up around the city, in sight of the very fields on which the Confederates fought so bravely," PLMA president Margaret Joynes pointed out in the fall of 1867. "They are adorned, so neatly and tastefully arranged," she continued, "that it makes one sad to look upon them and think how the bones of Southern men and

---

(Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995); Laura Edwards, Gendered Strife and Confusion: The Political Culture of Reconstruction (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997); Edwards, Scarlett, 117-86.

[47] Scott, Sims, and Censer argue for the Civil War as a watershed for southern white women. Scott, The Southern Lady; Sims, The Power of Femininity; Censer, Reconstruction. Rable, Faust, and Whites argue for changes in southern gender roles during the war; however, they believe that the postwar period marked

soldiers lie scattered among the weeds." But the South had no National Cemetery System, no government agency, and no designated organization to oversee the tremendous responsibility of caring for the nation's dead. Neither were the "restored" state governments of the former Confederacy likely to step forward and offer assistance in burying the dead under the conditions of Reconstruction. By necessity, Virginia and other states of the former Confederacy relied upon LMAs to raise funds for collecting and transporting remains, hiring burial crews, and securing appropriate locations for the new cemeteries. "To *us* history, which has no page for the unsuccessful, commits the guardianship of the name and fame of our departed brothers," Joynes claimed.[48] Memorial women were determined not to let their nation's dead rot in the woods and forests of the South.

By depicting LMAs as merely decorators of graves, historians have overlooked one of the Ladies' pivotal roles in the evolution of women's relation to the state. In the absence of a Confederate government LMAs acted as surrogate government agencies, or what Theda Skocpol has termed "shadow governments," to care for the defunct nation's dead. Elaborating on their skills of meticulous bookkeeping, petitioning, and networking acquired through wartime soldiers' aid societies, LMAs appointed committees to oversee reburial projects and monument building, recorded burial information, and provided a systematic finance plan for such projects. The Petersburg association, for example, hired fourteen local men and boys to search for the nearly 5,000 bodies from the surrounding battlefields, inter them, lay off cemetery plots, and mark and paint headboards for the

---

a retrenchment in such practices. (Rable, Civil Wars; Faust, Mothers of Invention; Whites, The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender.)

[48] PLMA Minutes December 5, 1866, July 29, September 4, November 1867, January 1868, LOV; Southern Opinion, November 16, 1867 (emphasis in original).

identified graves. The women of the Fredericksburg LMA asked those living on or near battlefields to help them identify graves. President Mary Gordon Wallace furthermore assigned a committee of six women to register and "preserve as far as possible the head boards and any other marks necessary to the identification of the graves of Confederate dead."[49]

Central to the women's work was the process of administering the reburial and identification of the dead. Most often, LMA officers selected a committee of women (although several associations appointed men to act on their behalf) whose primary responsibility was to hire men who would disinter, remove, and reinter the dead. An Alabama man, searching for his brother's grave in Fredericksburg, described in detail the process memorial associations had devised for reinterring hundreds of bodies: "Before the work of the removal was done, every Confederate grave in the whole country was marked by a stake made of locust wood and on which the numbers were burnt. When this was being done all information that could be found about each grave was carefully recorded in a book together with the number of the grave. When the remains were taken up, they were placed in boxes about 3 ½ or 4 feet long, and as soon as each box was closed, it was numbered the same as the stake which was established at that grave." The boxes and stakes were then transported to Fredericksburg where they were laid into newly dug graves, making sure that the box numbers matched the number on the stake, while the FLMA maintained all documentary records.[50]

---

[49] PLMA Minutes, July 11, July 18, October 12, 16, 1866, LOV; History of the Confederated Memorial Associations of the South, 288-90; FLMA Minutes, May 11, June 28, July 26, September 6, October 11, 25, 1866, LOV; Skocpol, Protecting Soldiers, 373-524.

[50] PLMA minutes, December 5, 1866, LOV. In September 1868 Maj. Robert T. Harper of Alabama traveled to Fredericksburg to place a stone and proper inscription on his brother's grave. When he arrived at Salem Church, where he had been told his brother rested, he found that grave appeared to have been emptied and then partly refilled. After inquiring at a neighbor's home, he learned that indeed, the FLMA

Providing information about the deceased to family members and loved ones throughout the South proved to be a significant quasi-bureaucratic function of LMAs. Mothers had frequently written to nurses during the war inquiring about their son's health, or in many instances, their burial. This practice continued through the 1860s as families feverishly wrote to LMA presidents in cities where their loved one had last been known to visit in hope of learning the whereabouts of a husband, son, or brother. T. B. Shepherd of Charleston, West Virginia, forwarded a letter to Mary Williams of Winchester in 1866 from a widowed mother wishing to retrieve the body of her young son. Three years later, Nancy MacFarland of the HMA received similar requests from desperate parents who lived throughout the South. One father writing from Austin, Texas, inquired as to whether his son had been buried in Hollywood. If so, he wished to send the HMA a contribution to help care for the grave so far from the young man's home. Having responded to hundreds of such requests, the HMA elaborated on this responsibility in 1869 by publishing The Register of the Confederate Dead. This pamphlet included the names and locations of those buried in the soldiers' section and sold for fifty cents in bookstores throughout the South.[51]

Even though historians have interpreted LMAs as "local organizations," the Ladies did not limit their reburial activities simply to the soldiers from their respective communities.[52] Associations were organized and run at the community level, but the initial focus of each was indeed on the remains of all Confederate soldiers, not just those

---

had supervised the removal and re-interment of his brother and hundreds of other Confederate soldiers into a lot adjoining the city cemetery. (Statement written by Maj. Robert T. Harper, June 1890, Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park, Fredericksburg, Va..)

[51] T.B. Shepherd to Mary Williams, April 17, 1866, Williams Family Papers, HRL; Mr. Woodward to Nancy MacFarland, December 18, 1869, MacFarland letter, VHS; Mitchell, Hollywood Cemetery, 74;

[52] See for example, Foster, Ghosts, 38-54.

from their own communities. LMAs saw themselves as representatives of the larger Confederacy and therefore placed the needs of their defeated nation above that of their towns and cities when it came to burying Confederate dead. It was not until after they finished the initial work of honoring the dead from surrounding battlefields that the LMAs began to look after men from their own cities lying in unmarked graves elsewhere. In their efforts to establish fitting resting places for the South's dead, the Ladies created *national* Confederate cemeteries.[53]

Just as the Union Burial Corps reinterred United States soldiers from every state in their "national" cemeteries, LMAs too laid the remains of soldiers from every Confederate state (as well as those from the Border States who fought for the South) in the same cemetery. Replicating the national Union cemetery in Gettysburg, the Ladies usually grouped soldiers from the same state together and designated another location for the unidentifiable remains. The LMAs did not discriminate in their devotion to the dead or provide preferential treatment to soldiers from one state over another. In fact, both the Winchester and Oakwood associations listed among their goals the erection a monument for each state of the South in their respective cemeteries. In the absence of a Confederate

---

[53] By 1867, the women were beginning efforts to "bring home" their communities' fallen brethren. After organizing formal Confederate cemeteries, both the FLMA and the PLMA embarked on a plan for the accomplishment of "one of the most imperious duties of our association." Each association appointed a committee to determine a list of those native sons who still lay buried on distant battlefields, "away from their loved homes," then to retrieve the soldiers' bodies. In keeping with the spirit of patriotism evident on Memorial Days, railroad officials agreed to provide free transportation of soldiers' bodies. On occasion, these retrievals were made at the appeal of a family member--as in the case of James K. Witherspoon, whose father requested that he be removed from a farm in Culpeper to the Fredericksburg cemetery. Petersburg, however, was one of the most active groups in returning soldiers home during the 1860s. By the PLMA's June 12, 1867, meeting, six bodies had been brought home and another forwarded to his family in South Carolina. Efforts to recover dead from Gettysburg and Antietam will be discussed in Chapter 4. (FLMA minutes, August 8, 1866, LOV; PLMA minutes, March 9, 1867, April 3, 1867, June 12, 1867, June 13, 1868, LOV.) LMAs in other locales employed similar methods, including the Raleigh, North Carolina Memorial Association. (Bishir, "A Strong Force of Ladies," 6-7.)

government to honor its dead, LMAs executed what the Petersburg Ladies had noted "would otherwise have been a nation's pride to perform."[54]

Historian Gary Gallagher has argued that during the war Robert E. Lee and his Army of Northern Virginia became the most important national institution in the Confederacy.[55] But even with the collapse of the Confederate state and military apparatus, white southerners looked for other unifying symbols to express the emotional bonds and sense of sectional identity that had been created by war. Under the strictures of Reconstruction, ex-Confederates could no longer wave their flags or wear their gray uniforms, but they could gather in Confederate cities of the dead to mourn. Not only did Confederate cemeteries offer white southerners a permanent, physical reminder of their cause, but they also allowed Lee and his army to maintain their vaunted position as a visible national symbol. Most of the soldiers buried in Virginia's Confederate cemeteries had belonged to the Army of Northern Virginia, and continued to be a source of pride and cohesion for the southern populace even as they lay in graves. As had been the case during the war, the Army of Northern Virginia served as a rallying point for white southerners in the postwar years largely because of the Confederate cemeteries created by Virginia's LMAs.[56]

The Ladies were well aware of how important Lee's army had been to the Confederate war effort, and so called on the entire South to provide support for their cemetery projects. Often, the LMAs targeted specific communities they believed owed a debt of sorts to their association. For example, in August 1868 the Petersburg association

---

[54] PLMA Minutes, May 6, 1866, LOV.
[55] Gallagher, Confederate War, 8-12, 163.
[56] Blair, Cities of the Dead, 50-52. On April 29, 1865, President Johnson lifted restrictions on trade in the former Confederacy, but as Bill Blair points out, he specified "gray uniforms and cloth" as an exception.

issued a circular in the Montgomery Mail (Alabama) pressing for aid. After reinterring the bodies of seven hundred soldiers in the Blandford Cemetery at a cost of nearly three thousand dollars, the PLMA reported that it was "entirely out of funds." The Petersburg women informed the Alabamians that many of their state's noble soldiers belonging to the 4th, 5th, 11th, and 12th Regiments remained in unsuitable graves. The Mail endorsed the PLMA's efforts, noting that they "should have helped them long ago." Less than a month later, however, the PLMA issued yet another appeal to the entire South. "We *must* have help, and where can we more properly seek it, than from the bereaved ones," they pleaded. Begging for aid, the PLMA asked only "that the families here represented take this matter in hand." Struggling for assistance, the memorial association pointed fingers not only at the apathetic members in their own community who failed to donate to the cause, but also at soldiers' families throughout the region.[57]

Calls for assistance and donations to LMAs continued well into 1867 and 1868. Not only did individuals and cities make substantial contributions to the women, but state governments also frequently furnished support to bury their dead. In the absence of a federal agency to direct interments, or re-interments as the case may have beeen, legislatures frequently funneled money through at least one LMA. The OMA most actively recruited state support for the 16,000 soldiers buried in Oakwood. Sometime in the fall of 1866, the women sent forth an appeal to every state of the South asking them to contribute the sum of $1,000 so that the "names and graves of your noble sons are saved from oblivion." "The Association is poor, the people of Richmond are poor, and the work to be done is for the honor and credit of the entire South," the OMA reminded everyone. The following January, the governments of South Carolina and Georgia

[57] Southern Opinion, August 29, September 12, 1868.

appropriated the requested amount to the Oakwood Association. By April, North Carolina had followed suit and sent their $1,000 and in September 1868, Mississippi donated $750. Municipal governments, such as Louisville, Kentucky, also contributed money to the various Virginia LMAs.[58] Curiously, Virginia's legislature does not appear to have contributed to the LMAs' work in the 1860s, probably because the House of Delegates and the Senate were both comprised of anti-secessionist Whigs and not inclined to support Confederate memorialization.[59]

Women of the LMAs pushed the boundaries of the domestic sphere outward to fill the space left vacant by the Confederate government, offering an efficient and bureaucratic method by which white southerners could honor their war heroes and identify their loved ones who had fallen on distant battlefields. In doing so, they were able to more fully enter public service under the banner as grieving mothers on behalf of deceased soldiers and their families. Historians of Progressive era women have considered the ways in which federations of women's clubs and mothers' clubs in the 1890s and early 1900s extended the moral values and motherly-caring of the home into the nation's public life through maternalist social policies such as mothers' pensions. While LMAs were certainly not reform organizations in the truest sense of the term, their efforts to coordinate national Confederate cemeteries made them much more central to

---

[58] "Appeal of the Ladies' Memorial Association for the Confederate Dead Interred at Oakwood Cemetery," 1866, MOC; OMA minutes, January 15, April 2, 1867, September 1868, MOC. Louisville sent $100 to the PLMA in July 1866. There is no indication that the HMA received contributions from state legislatures during the 1860s. The process of asking state legislatures to fund cemeteries occurred in the northern states as well--although women were not involved in these efforts. In August 1866, Maryland's General Assembly passed an act incorporating a National Cemetery Association for Antietam Battlefield. The state legislature subsequently appropriated $7,000 for the project and requested that other states do likewise. West Virginia, Maine, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, Minnesota, New Jersey, and Massachusetts all sent contributions totaling over $15,000. (New York Times, August 18, 1866.)

[59] Winchester Times, March 13, 1867; Smith, "Virginia during Reconstruction," 17. Smith notes that 95 of the 96 House members were "old time Whigs" while the Senate had a similar makeup. Despite the

the expansion of women's influence into electoral politics and government agencies than previous scholars have been willing to acknowledge.[60]

***

Beyond creating national cemeteries for the Confederate dead, the most state-like function performed by LMAs was the establishment of national monuments to their war dead. As early as the spring of 1866, members of various memorial societies began to discuss the possibility of erecting monuments or other suitable tributes within their newly refurbished cemeteries.[61] In order to raise enough money for such a grand project without appearing to solicit too much from the war-impoverished South, the HMA sponsored lecture series and at least six benefit productions. By far the grandest and most successful money-making venture undertaken by the HMA was the gala bazaar held in the spring of 1867. Even in preparation for the event, the HMA was careful not to overextend its call for aid. Noting that the association could not "afford to lose the time which private solicitations require," President Nancy MacFarland requested that the board of managers donate $154.10 from the treasury to purchase materials for the bazaar. "The committee has been anxious not to embarrass the cause by making too many appeals to the public for separate interests of the Association," MacFarland wrote. Nevertheless, contributions

---

legislature's reluctance to support Confederate projects, it did vote in March 1867 to protect Confederate cemeteries from destruction.

[60] Skocpol, Protecting Soldiers, 3, 20-21, 50-51; Mary E. Odem, Delinquent Daughters: Protecting and Policing Adolescent Female Sexuality in the United States, 1885-1920 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 8-37. Maternalist legislation includes laws enacted to restrict women's hours of employment or minimum-wage laws and special safety regulations for women. Skocpol argues that "such labor laws were premised on the idea that women workers needed extraordinary protection as actual or potential mothers."

for the event came not only from throughout the South, but from Confederate sympathizers in New York, Canada, England, and France.[62]

At noon on April 23, 1867, the bazaar opened to the public in grand style. War mementos and other donated articles filled two floors of a Richmond warehouse owned by Col. Robert G. Morris. Tables representing each of the former Confederate states had been "pillared and canopied with flowers and entwining evergreens" and outfitted with items for purchase such as fancy needlework, letters written by Confederate generals, inkstands carved from bones of horses killed in battle, and paintings. HMA members sold raffle tickets for special prizes, including buttons from Stonewall Jackson's coat, a piano, a miniature house, the "Buckeye Reaper," and other agricultural implements. The warehouse's third floor had been reserved exclusively for refreshments and dinners. Young Virginia women served as the waiters in the restaurants that offered sumptuous dishes such as mock turtle soup, roast lamb, lobster salad, and strawberry cream.[63]

The bazaar was such a sensation that the HMA extended it for two weeks. When throngs of people arrived for the final auction, many had to be turned away for lack of space. Not only had the event appealed to so many people, but it also had been even more financially successful than the HMA ever imagined—eventually earning more than $18,000. Even though Union officials had helped dampen Richmond's multiple Memorial Day celebrations in 1867, the bazaar's popularity revealed how deep Confederate sympathy—and women's control of the movement—still ran. When the bazaar finally closed on May 8, the Richmond Whig proudly noted the HMA's achievement: "In every

---

[61] HMA minutes June 10, 1867, MOC; Thomas H. Ellis to Mrs. C.S. Barney, May 18, 1866, HMA Correspondence files, MOC.
[62] HMA Executive Committee to Managers, February 1867, Correspondence files, MOC; Mitchell, Hollywood Cemetery, 72.

respect it was a success, and affords new evidence of the influence and zeal of woman." The bazaar's success, coupled with other less grandiose fundraising efforts, allowed the women of the HMA to embark on their proposal for a monument to the Confederate dead, yet another new outlet for women's postwar patriotism.[64]

During the antebellum period, all-male groups most frequently led efforts to erect monuments to national heroes or battlefields, although women, on occasion, did aid men in their memorial endeavors. The Continental Congress had first proposed an equestrian statue to George Washington in 1783, but it was not until September 1833 that the Washington National Monument Society was chartered by Congress under the leadership of Chief Justice John Marshall. After years of faltering and limited success, a group of women organized to help the cause under the name the Ladies' Washington National Monument Society. While the Ladies' proved incapable of saving the Washington Monument, in other instances they were more successful.[65] For example, Bostonian women organized a fair in the 1840s to raise the necessary funds to finish the obelisk to the battle of Bunker Hill, although they immediately relinquished their earnings to the all-male group in charge of building the monument. As Kurt Piehler has demonstrated, even in memorial work, northern antebellum women frequently remained subordinated to men.[66]

---

[63] Mitchell, Hollywood Cemetery, 72-73; Coski and Feely, "The Founding Generation of the Confederate Museum," 130-63; Richmond Whig, May 1, 2, 7, 13, 1867; Richmond Times May 1, 1867.
[64] Mitchell, Hollywood Cemetery, 72-73; Coski and Feely, "The Founding Generation of the Confederate Museum,"130; Richmond Whig, May 1, 2, 7, 13, 1867.
[65] Piehler, Remembering the American Way, 30-32. The Washington Monument was built in two phases, 1848-56 and 1876-84.
[66] Piehler, Remembering the American Way, 3;.Michael Kammen, Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture (New York: Vintage Books, 1993), 55. Kammen points out that debates over private versus state money often surrounded the erection of antebellum monuments due to the "democratic ethos" of a people's republic: "If people wished to commemorate an anniversary, celebrate a battle, or save a historic site, they would have to take the initiative."

In the South, and specifically in Virginia, middle- and upper-class women initiated at least one monument prior to the Civil War. A group of women who supported the Whig party organized at Richmond in December 1844 under the auspices of the Virginia Association of Ladies for Erecting a Statue to Henry Clay. Although men could make donations to the project, women alone served as officers and collectors. At least 2,236 Virginia women acted as subscribers to the project, raising $5,000 for the marble statue. On April 12, 1860, the eighty-third anniversary of Clay's birth, the women unveiled their statue in Richmond's Capitol Square. The reasons why southern women began to take the reins of monument building in the antebellum period remain uncertain. Nevertheless, their success laid the foundation for women to be seen as the "natural" leaders of memorial projects.[67]

This regional pattern of monument building continued during Reconstruction. Like Federal cemeteries, most Union monuments were built by citizen groups, state or local governments, or veterans' organizations with the aid of women's organizations.[68] At least two examples exist of southern veterans erecting a monument to their fallen comrades. In the spring of 1866, an association of officers and cavalry of the late Army of Northern Virginia organized to erect a marble bust at the grave of Gen. J.E.B. Stuart. The bust was unveiled a month later at the HMA's inaugural Memorial Day. Captain

---

[67] Varon, We Mean to be Counted, 88-93. Although women from Boston and Vermont contributed to the Henry Clay monument, the primary impetus and organization for the monument occurred within the South. The Clay monument remained in Richmond's Capitol Square until 1930, when it was removed to the Old Hall of the Virginia House of Delegates. Virginia's white women also formed the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association (MVLA) in 1854 to help restore and protect the home of George Washington. A discussion of this group was omitted from this chapter because while the MVLA might be considered a memorial group, it did not erect a monument as such. For more discussion of the MVLA, see Varon, We Mean to be Counted, 124-36.

[68] Piehler, Remembering the American Way, 61. As historian Gaines Foster has pointed out, most of the earliest monuments incorporated themes of bereavement and therefore appeared best suited for placement in cemeteries. More than 90 percent of early memorials (1860s-1880s) had some funeral aspect in either

Whipple's Company (Leon Hunters) of the 5th Texas Regiment erected a monument of white marble to their captain in Oakwood Cemetery in the spring of 1868. At least one monument was erected by a foreigner. In 1875, a British admirer donated a life-size statue of Stonewall Jackson that was placed on the State House lawn in Richmond. But overwhelmingly, in the South, LMAs were the primary impetus behind Confederate memorials in the 1860s and 1870s. Middle- and upper-class women of the LMAs publicly claimed that monument building was clearly an extension of the feminine sphere into the public domain. No longer would men alone choose the setting, design, and dedication of monuments. Tributes to the war dead naturally belonged in cemeteries; therefore LMA women declared that they would have total control of such projects—with men to aid them, rather than vice versa.[69]

In the spring of 1867, the HMA requested that engineer Charles H. Dimmock submit a design for a memorial to be completed for less than $15,000 and constructed "as far as possible" with material and labor exclusively from the South. Dimmock eagerly undertook the task, but informed the women that their fund was insufficient for a cut-stone monument or memorial chapel. Rather, he suggested erecting a ninety-foot pyramidal structure of large blocks cut from James River granite. Springing from the base, he envisioned ivy, climbing roses, and other creeping plants that would "soon give a grace beyond the reach of art." The granite was to represent the unwavering virtue of the soldiers, while the tendril and rose would be emblematic of woman's love. The HMA resoundingly agreed to the proposal, and suggested that the pyramid rest on a hill

---

design or placement. For example, most monuments were a rendition of a classical obelisk often with an urn or drape on it. (Foster, Ghosts, 40-41.)

[69] Mitchell, Hollywood Cemetery, 71; Richmond Times, April 26, June 1,1866; HMA minutes, June 10, 1867, MOC; Foster, Ghosts, 40-41; Richmond Daily Dispatch, May 11, 1868; Foster, Ghosts, 59. While

overlooking the entire Soldiers' Section. There it would no doubt be the first thing visitors saw upon entering the burial ground.[70]

At a small ceremony attended by the HMA officers and a few Masons, the pyramid's cornerstone was laid on December 3, 1868. The women placed a variety of Confederate relics and symbols in the stone: the first Confederate flag made in Richmond; Confederate insignia; Confederate money and postage stamps; a fragment of the coat worn by Stonewall Jackson the day he was wounded; photographs of Jefferson Davis and Confederate generals; and many other similar objects. Finally, the women placed a copy of the Bible, the Virginia Masonic textbook, the Richmond Daily Dispatch, the State Journal, and the records of the HMA into the cornerstone. After nearly a year of construction, the pyramid's capstone was ready for placement on November 6, 1869. The HMA subsequently adopted the pyramid as the symbol of their association, and an engraving of the monument appeared on their stationary and on the frontispiece of the Register of the Confederate Dead.[71]

While the HMA's granite pyramid might have been the most spectacular of the early Confederate monuments, it was not the only one erected—or at least discussed—by Virginia's LMAs in the 1860s. As early as August 1866, the Fredericksburg women agreed that a primary objective of their organization would be the procurement of a memorial to honor the Confederate dead, though serious work on the monument did not begin until 1873. Petersburg remained focused on the reburial of soldiers throughout the

---

men formed the basis of the Stuart Memorial Association, they relied on the Hollywood Memorial Association for assistance.

[70] Charles Dimmock to Mrs. Dr. Batton, June 28, 1867, HMA Correspondence files, MOC; Mitchell, Hollywood Cemetery, 73; HMA minutes, June 10, 1867, MOC. Like most early Confederate monument efforts, the HMA believed that the most natural and obvious location for a memorial was within the cemetery. In fact, no other site was even suggested.

[71] Mitchell, Hollywood Cemetery, 73-74.

1860s, but after acquiring the deed to the Blandford property in 1868, the PLMA proposed constructing a monument to overlook the graves. They also failed to acquire sufficient funds for many years. After Lynchburg's LMA had refurbished the graves and enclosed the cemetery with a wall, the association purchased a monument and dedicated the cornerstone in May 1869. When completed, the memorial pillar was composed of fourteen marble blocks representing each of the states whose dead rested in the cemetery.[72]

The women of the OMA also discussed the possibility of a monument in September 1868 after receiving substantial donations from the states of Georgia and Mississippi. Perhaps competition with the HMA sparked their vigorous pursuit of the monument, but regardless, the OMA envisioned a different style of memorial—one constructed exclusively of marble. Their ostentatious designs proved impossible to fund without additional support, so in April 1870 the OMA appealed to each state that had not contributed to their association as well as the members of the Virginia legislature. Although it remains unclear how many states or individuals sent contributions, by the following spring the OMA had garnered enough money to lay a cornerstone for a 25-foot granite (not marble) shaft, and the monument was officially dedicated in May 1872.[73]

***

[72] FLMA minutes, LOV; PLMA minutes, LOV; Lynchburg Virginian, May 7, 1868, May 11, 1869; Baber and Moore, Behind the Old Brick Wall, 26-27. The LLMA corresponded with the HMA regarding the Hollywood monument in the spring of 1869; the correspondence no longer appears to exist.
[73] OMA minutes, September, October 18, 1868, January, April 19, 1869, April 4, May 24, 1871, May 10, 1872, MOC.

Women's efforts to lobby city councils and state legislatures and erect monuments on behalf of the Confederacy indicated a marked departure in southern women's relationship to the state. White women North and South had enjoyed the right to petition the state legislatures since the 1780s, even though they could not vote or hold office. Many taxpaying widows had exercised this right as individual proprietors, in order to protect their personal property. But women had also turned to this tactic for their benevolent and reform work. The Lowell Female Reform Association circulated petitions calling on the Massachusetts legislature to establish a ten-hour work day for women. Female members of anti-slavery societies had used petitions to seek the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and citizenship for black inhabitants of Pennsylvania. Historian Lori Ginzberg has demonstrated that through petitioning, "women sought political access and obtained significant political favors in a manner that generally excited little public attention."[74]

During the Civil War, countless southern white women continued to extend the feminine sphere of domestic concerns when they wrote to and petitioned the Confederate government, and President Davis in particular, demanding aid and protection. Women's letters frequently apologized to the government official for writing, often noting that male family members would have written had they been available. As Drew Faust points out, women's writings in these circumstances proved to be an explicit and bold claim to public voice and political identity.[75]

---

[74] Ginzberg, Women and the Work of Benevolence, 80-88. For antebellum women and petitions to the government, see also, Scott, Natural Allies, 45, 48, 50-52, 73; Lebsock, Free Women, 196.

[75] For examples of Confederate women's wartime appeals to the government, see Faust, Mothers, 162-63, 193-94; and Rable, Civil Wars, 74-75.

In the postwar period, Confederate women not only continued the tradition of writing to government officials, but they also expanded their requests beyond the needs of the individual or benevolent society. What was new and different about LMAs' political activism was that they claimed to be representatives of an entire southern "nation." Where wartime women had humbly sought food relief or their husbands' pardon, LMA women were more assertive in their requests for assistance. Gone was the apologetic tone, and in its place circulars that invited states to join ranks with the LMA in this "sacred duty" for the Confederacy. Cemeteries were public statements about the community's relationship with the Confederate nation, and if the southern states and cities refused to cooperate in the LMAs' endeavors, their devotion to the cause might be questioned. These women believed that their wartime efforts, coupled with their memorial work, endowed them as devoted members of the Confederate nation and entitled them the privileges afforded citizens to demand state support of their activities. As they had done in petitions to Congress and soldiers' aid societies during the war, LMA women continued their role as vocal activists on behalf of the defunct Confederate state.[76]

Memorial women were able to venture into the public sphere for two reasons. First, southern white women of the LMAs employed strategies that were more acceptable to the southern male populace than those of some northern women, such as Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who had intensified their fight for woman's suffrage following the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment.[77] Southern white men

---

[76] "Appeal of the Ladies' Memorial Association for the Confederate Dead Interred at Oakwood Cemetery," 1866, MOC.

[77] The Fifteenth Amendment, which guaranteed that the right of citizens to vote "shall not be denied or abridged by the Untied States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude," was ratified in 1870. The amendment, however, ignored women even though many had contributed to the abolitionist movement. Ultimately, the amendment caused a split in the woman's movement. Those who supported suffrage but opposed the amendment because it excluded women, such as Susan B. Anthony and

believed that allowing women to "dabble in politics" would "soil their skirts." An article from the Wilmington Star reprinted in Winchester claimed that "we [white southern men] believe it would be the beginning of national decadence whenever the women of the country turned to politicians" as it would signal the degradation of the female sex. "We respect and reverence the fair gentle women of the South far too much to ever favor any change that shall rob them of any of their glory or benign power or loveliness."[78] But these men found no such signs of rebellion against male hegemony from memorial women. Rather, they saw LMAs as "gigantic agent[s] of benevolence." Organizing cemeteries, directing fundraising ventures, and erecting monuments were entirely appropriate forums for woman's influence, as opposed to women's efforts to vote. As one Richmond newspaper noted: "These efforts make no noise. They are silent, but full of power."[79]

Second, LMAs claimed to be representatives of the Confederate nation—a nation that no longer existed in a political or physical sense. Just as having women organize Memorial Days offered little "threat" to the United States government, they posed little threat to ex-Confederate males' political ambitions. How could women possibly exceed their acceptable political boundaries when no nation existed in the first place? But the lack of a "real" Confederate nation did not diminish LMAs' influence on the state governments of North Carolina, Alabama, and others. Rather, as illustrated by the substantial sums of money the LMAs acquired from such states, women had clearly entered the world of lobbying government officials and agencies, foreshadowing the

---

Elizabeth Cady Stanton, formed the National Woman Suffrage Association. Those who supported the amendment as it was and believed that they should focus on suffrage in the states, such as Lucy Stone and Alice Stone Blackwell, formed the American Woman Suffrage Association.

strategies their daughters and granddaughters would employ in the Progressive era of the late nineteenth century.

***

Even while Memorial Days continued to draw thousands of Confederate sympathizers to cemeteries, participation in memorial work among Virginia women had begun to decline by 1868-69. The OMA, which had claimed upwards of 300 members in 1866, recognized by 1868 that the interests of the living absorbed most white Virginians much more than the care of the dead. "The public feeling on the subject naturally declines with the lapse of time," they admitted. During 1866, an average of twelve members had attended the monthly meetings of the FLMA, but by 1868 that number had dropped to nine. By January 1869, the PLMA began to note a decrease in popular support among middle- and upper-class women of their city. President Joynes implored southern women to forever remember those who "vainly died for southern independence," and lamented "that more of the ladies of our city do not lend the aid of their presence and their purses to our sacred undertaking," More than two hundred of Petersburg's most prominent women had been enthusiastic about memorial work in 1866, but during the next few years the association gradually began to lose momentum.[80]

Not only did the number of women active in associations dwindle, but the frequency and urgency of their meetings also decreased. When the memorial associations had first organized in 1865 and 1866, they met at least once a month if not more often.

---

[78] Winchester Times, June 23, 1880. While this article did not appear until 1880, it is representative of sentiment among the five communities in the 1870s as well. It was selected because of its vivid quotes.
[79] Richmond Times, April 13, 1866.
[80] PLMA minutes, January 16, 1869, LOV.

But by 1868 and 1869, most of the associations were meeting only in April and May to make arrangements for their memorial celebrations. At least a few LMA members believed that their only objective was to create and preserve Confederate cemeteries. Ida L. Dodge, first secretary of the Lynchburg LMA, had packed away the group's minute book upon moving in 1867 or 1868, as she supposed that "all official action of the association was at an end." As the women completed projects such as reinterments, monuments, headboards, and cemetery walls, they found less need for regular meetings. Without a project at hand, many LMA members simply found other, more pressing issues to fill their time.[81]

Competition between Richmond's three associations for funding and support may have accounted for some of the demise in popular appeal in the capital city for at least two of the LMAs. With only a handful of graves to decorate and a very specific membership base, the Hebrew Memorial Association attracted very little attention on its Memorial Days. Only a few days before their 1868 memorial tribute, the OMA women pleaded with the people of Richmond to join in their procession. "There are fourteen thousand very lonely graves at Oakwood Cemetery" in need of floral tributes, they reminded the city.[82] Nevertheless, only two to three thousand Richmonders participated in the day's events. "The procession was not a long one," the OMA noted, "for the ladies

---

[81] Richmond Daily Dispatch, May 5, 1868; Ida L. Dodge to Carrie Warwick, May 15, 1869, Ladies' Memorial Association Collection, Jones Memorial Library, Lynchburg, Va. [repository hereafter cited as JML]. Oakwood continued to meet on a monthly basis through 1872, when they too met only once or twice a year to plan for Memorial Day. (OMA minutes, MOC.) No minutes remain for the Winchester LMA, so it is impossible to determine the frequency of meetings. More than likely, however, they too met less often. HMA's minutes ended abruptly in the spring of 1868, but other evidence, including newspaper accounts and correspondences, suggests that the women of this association remained active in other venues, such at the Ladies' Lee Monument Association and the Gettysburg dead project, to be discussed in the next chapter.

[82] "Appeal of the Ladies' Memorial Association for the Confederate Dead Interred at Oakwood Cemetery," 1866, MOC. The estimated number of Confederate graves in Oakwood had dropped from 16,000 in 1866 to 14,000 by the spring of 1868. It is possible the number was reduced when Union officials removed the bodies of Federal soldiers from the cemetery.

of other parts of the city seem strangely to have forgotten the thousands of dead at Oakwood." In comparison, Hollywood's annual tribute did not fail to attract a bustling crowd of all ages and classes, sometimes in the range of twenty thousand.[83]

Although not the first LMA to organize, by 1870 the HMA had become somewhat of the "flagship" memorial association for the state. On top of drawing enormous crowds to its memorial celebrations, the association had managed to pull off an elaborate fundraising bazaar that netted more than $18,000 while other LMAs desperately begged for funds. The Ladies had overseen the reburials for twelve thousand Confederate soldiers—at that date, the second largest burial ground for soldiers in the state. Moreover, their cemetery served as the final resting place for several Confederate generals, including J.E.B. Stuart, A.P. Hill, and John Pegram.[84] Finally, the HMA had erected a spectacular monument to the Lost Cause in the state's most preeminent cemetery. The HMA's location in the former capital of the Confederacy gave it a degree of exposure and political connectedness that might not have been available to women in cities such as Lynchburg or Winchester. Likewise, the overwhelmingly elite status of HMA members no doubt helped contribute to their success. While each of the other LMAs had performed many of the same tasks, the size and grandeur of the HMA's efforts increasingly

---

[83] Richmond Daily Dispatch, May 5, 9, 11, 30, 1868, May 11, 1869.

[84] Twenty-six Confederate generals are now buried in Hollywood Cemetery. Confederate generals killed in battle and interred in Hollywood during the war included: James Jay Archer, Richard Brooke Garnett, David Rumph Jones, John Pegram, John Caldwell Calhoun Sanders, William Edwin Starke, and J.E.B. Stuart. Additional generals were buried in Hollywood after the war: Joseph R. Anderson, Robert H. Chilton, Philip St. George Cocke, Raleigh E. Colston, John R. Cooke, Henry Heth, Eppa Hunton, John D. Imboden, Edward Johnson, Samuel Jones, Fitzhugh Lee, Thomas M. Logan, George E. Pickett, William "Extra Billy" Smith, Isaac Munroe St. John, Walter H. Stevens, William R. Terry, R. Lindsay Walker, and Henry A. Wise. Several other generals were interred in Hollywood before being reburied elsewhere, including: Lewis Addison Armistead, Archibald Gracie, Jr., John Gregg, John Hunt Morgan Elisha Franklin ("Bull") Paxton, and Leroy Augustus Stafford. (Richard Owen and James Owen, Generals at Rest: The Grave Sites of the 425 Official Confederate Generals [Shippensburg, Penn.: White Man Publishing, 1997]: 262-78.) According to Mary H. Mitchell, Lt. Gen. Ambrose Powell Hill was buried in Hollywood

overshadowed their sisters throughout the state—a fact that would become of mounting importance during the next two decades.

***

As the conditions of Reconstruction in Virginia eased, the state's white men began to seek a larger role for themselves within the Confederate memorialization effort. In the spring of 1869, a handful of former Confederate military leaders issued a call for a meeting to discuss the establishment of a Confederate historical society to shape how future generations would understand the war. Dabney H. Maury, a Virginian and supporter of Fredericksburg's LMA who had moved to New Orleans following the war, suggested the establishment of a society in the Crescent City that would collect and preserve papers "valuable in preserving the true history of the causes, events, and results" of the late war. Maury, Richard Taylor, Braxton Bragg, and several others formally organized the Southern Historical Society (SHS) in late April 1869. The men appointed Benjamin Morgan Palmer president, Dr. Joseph Jones secretary-treasurer, and selected other prominent Confederates as vice presidents of each southern state. Although the SHS had a regional scope, Virginia held a powerful base, as a substantial number of the members hailed from the Old Dominion—including Maury, Governor John Letcher, General Fitzhugh Lee, General Thomas T. Munford, Reverend J. William Jones, and General Jubal A. Early.[85]

---

for twenty-four years, from 1867 t0 1891, before his remains were reinterred outside of Richmond where his former soldiers erected a monument in his honor. (Mitchell, Hollywood, 60-62.)

[85] Dabney H. Maury, "The Southern Historical Society: Its Origins and History," SHSP, 18: 349-65; Foster, Ghosts, 50-51. State vice presidents included Robert E. Lee, Wade Hampton, D.H. Hill, and John C.

While the LMAs' primary mission was to honor fallen soldiers and preserve their heroic memory, the SHS's expressed purpose was to craft the "true history of the war." Women had called for financial contributions to fund their cemeteries, but these ex-generals requested both material support and military accounts of the Confederate war effort. Although the SHS mailed six thousand circulars across the South, during 1869 the society gained little support outside of New Orleans. After several months, fewer than a hundred members had joined, and by early 1870 only forty-four members had contributed dues.[86]

Two factors converged in 1870 that helped to stimulate the efforts of the SHS. First, after five years of military occupation, on January 26, 1870, the Commonwealth of Virginia was readmitted to the United States of America and Federal troops were withdrawn from the state. Richmond's city council rejoiced at the receipt of news that the state was to be readmitted, ordering a one hundred-gun salute in honor of the event. The following day, Gen. E. R. S. Canby directed all military commissions acting under the Reconstruction act to be dissolved, all citizen prisoners turned over to state courts, and all civil officers appointed under the provisional government to vacate their seats upon election of new officials. With the formal end of Reconstruction, Virginia's white men began more openly and forthrightly to claim that it was *their* duty and obligation to honor the likes of Jackson and Lee. They no longer needed to leave the task of praising the Confederacy to women. Second, and most important, the death of Robert E. Lee on

---

Breckinridge. Foster notes that two other male Confederate organizations formed in 1869: the Confederate Survivors' Association of South Carolina, and the Confederate Relief and Historical Association of Memphis. He argues that both of these societies operated locally and quickly disappeared. The SHS, on the other hand, eventually became vital to the Lost Cause.

[86] Foster, Ghosts, 50-51; Maury, "The Southern Historical Society."

October 12, 1870, ignited an outpouring of Confederate sentiment among many of the state's elite men.[87]

Even as some LMAs experienced a decline in participation during 1868 and 1869, memorial tributes became more elaborate with the erection of cemetery walls, headboards, and ultimately, monuments. Memorial Days, which had never been exclusively about mourning, were moving beyond eulogies of the dead into a more celebratory phase. But most significantly, the struggle over how to remember the Civil War was no longer merely a battle between Unionists and ex-Confederates. As the state's white men regained their political clout free from the cries of treason, a tense and sometimes bitter contest over Confederate memory ensued between Virginia's white men and women.

[87] New York Times, January 26, 28, 1870. See chapter 4 for discussion of Lee Monument controversy.

Chapter 4
"A Rather Hardheaded Set": Challenges for the Ladies' Memorial Associations, 1870s - mid-1880s

On the night of October 12, 1870, a brief and solemn telegram reached Richmond and other cities across the region announcing the death of Robert E. Lee.[1] The news of his passing unleashed a deep wave of mourning throughout Virginia and the South not experienced since the surrender at Appomattox six years earlier. In Lexington, where Lee had been residing and serving as president of Washington College, people had been whispering for weeks that the general was fading. With his death confirmed, businessmen closed their shops, draping their doors in mourning crape, while citizens of all classes "wept together." Schools sent children home, and both the college and the Virginia Military Institute suspended classes until after the funeral. "Even the freedmen left their work, and all mingled in common grief," a correspondent from Lexington reported.[2]

The shock of the general's death reverberated across the state. Richmond papers described their entire city as "shrouded in gloom." The Common Council, which had assembled for its annual meeting, immediately suspended all business and the bells on all public buildings were to be tolled from sunrise to sunset the next day. Theaters, the Academy of Music, and other places of amusement closed for the night. Flags were displayed at half-mast on the ships in the harbor and all public buildings except the Custom-House. Men, women, and children, including Fredericksburg's Lizzie Alsop,

---

[1] Thomas L. Connelly, The Marble Man: Robert E. Lee and His Image in American Society (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1977), 11-12; Richmond Daily Dispatch, October 13, 1870.
[2] Petersburg Index, October 13, 14, 1870.

gathered in citizen groups to take some action in mourning their great leader. In Lynchburg similar observances occurred, while the paper noted its loss for words: "the language of eulogy is barren when a character so grand, so exalted, so stainless as that of General Lee arises at rare intervals to adorn our humanity."[3]

Lee's death, of course, invoked similar reactions well beyond the borders of the Old Dominion. In Atlanta, both houses of the Georgia legislature adjourned for several days to attend the obsequies in honor of Lee. Bells tolled for hours in the streets of Memphis following the sad news. New Orleans's editors dressed their papers in mourning and flags throughout the city were flown at half-staff, many draped in black. White southerners in Selma, Alabama, called his death a "national calamity." Even some northern papers appeared to sympathize with the ex-Confederates' loss. The New York Tribune admitted that Lee "was not absolutely without honor and even affection in the North," while the New York World remarked that his death brought "a chord of profound and sincere regret in the hearts of Americans of all sections and of the most diverse public opinions."[4] But as they would do for the next three decades, Virginians claimed that *they* held a special place in the loss of Lee and the cult of Confederate memory. "Nowhere will his loss be mourned with such profound grief as in this State," one Richmond newspaper proclaimed.[5]

In many ways reminiscent of 1865 and 1866, this period of deep mourning inspired former Confederates to honor their past. But with the immediate threat of Union

---

[3] Richmond Daily Dispatch, October 13, 1870; Lizzie Alsop diary, October 14, 1870, Wynne Family Papers, VHS; Petersburg Index, October 14, 15, 1870. The Collector of Customs refused to lower the flags to half-mast. The Richmond Daily Dispatch (reprinted in the Petersburg Index) noted that this was "in striking contrast with that of the proprietor of the Union (colored) Hotel, who half-masted his flag from daybreak to sunset."

[4] Petersburg Index, October 14, 1870; Richmond Times Dispatch, October 15, 1870.

[5] Richmond Times Dispatch, October 14, 1870.

troops removed and some vestiges of reunion apparent, southern white men were not content simply to follow women's lead in memorializing Lee. They had agreed that it was both politically and socially expedient for women to lead the memorial movement in the first years after the war, but Confederate veterans—especially officers—saw Lee's death as the first real opportunity to glorify their war effort and honor their own martial spirit. Former officers such as Jubal A. Early, William N. Pendleton, and Bradley T. Johnson believed that men rather than women should lead this effort. Men, not women, were best equipped to protect and pay tribute to the great general, they claimed. The Ladies' Memorial Associations, despite a decline in popular support in recent years, saw the men's newfound quest for more authoritative roles as an intrusion into the sphere they had so arduously and exhaustively carved out for themselves—and refused to surrender so easily.[6]

Having toiled for five long years in their memorial work, a handful of Virginia's middle- and upper-class white women refused to relinquish their status as policy shapers of memorialization and protectors of the Confederate past. During the 1870s, the battles over the Lost Cause evolved from tensions between federal officials and Confederate sympathizers into more intimate rivalries between southern white men and women who competed to control Confederate memory. Through wartime associations and their early years of memorial work, LMA women had proven their dedication to the Confederate cause. But more important, *they* had organized Memorial Days, directed reinterments, raised funds for monuments, and made celebrations of the Confederacy tolerable if not palatable to Union troops and the northern populace alike. They had invested precious time and energy in this work, creating networks of likeminded females and an outlet for

[6] For discussion of Lee's death stimulating renewed interest in the Confederate past, see Foster, Ghosts, 57.

women beyond the domestic sphere. Why should they be asked to abandon their positions of leadership and surrender their organizations?

As Virginia's Reconstruction came to an end in 1870, the feminine image of passivity and non-partisanship was no longer necessary to skirt charges of treason, thereby providing an opportunity for the veterans to more openly to celebrate the Confederacy. LMAs had supported men's efforts to dictate the tenets of the Lost Cause through speeches and writings (even providing occasions such as Memorial Days for them to do so), but some of the most prominent Ladies balked at men's attempts to dominate Confederate traditions that had originated under their guidance, such as monument building and reinterments. Even as the memorial associations began to lose popular interest among the state's women, a handful of dedicated LMA leaders rebuffed men's efforts to control the Lee monument and Gettysburg reinterment projects. Their efforts forever altered the course of the Lost Cause by ensuring that women would remain central to the Confederate traditions (and transmission of those traditions to the next generation) during the last years of the century.

***

While the initial reburial and memorialization efforts of the LMAs in 1865 and 1866 may have caused tension between the defeated Confederates and victorious northerners, Lee's death unleashed its own set of bitter disputes among former Confederates. The first of these debates, where the general's body should lie in rest, arose within forty-eight hours of his death. Richmonders presumptuously believed that

their city should receive the body because so many of the Confederacy's heroes already lay in Hollywood Cemetery. On October 13, the City Council appointed a committee of seven men to work with the General Assembly to request the burial of Lee in the city.[7] Even more fractious was the competition among several groups organized to erect a monument to the general. Although men (including some Confederate generals) had served as non-voting members of the LMAs since 1866, Lee's death opened the door for male-only Confederate societies, leading several of the Confederacy's most prominent generals to challenge the women they had so arduously supported throughout the previous five years.[8]

On the day of Lee's death, a group of ex-Confederates met in Lexington to form an organization to erect a suitable monument over his tomb. The executive committee was comprised primarily of former officers from the Army of Northern Virginia, representing locales from across the state, including William N. Pendleton, William Preston Johnston, William Allan, F.W.M. Holliday, John S. Mosby, Robert Stiles, Bradley T. Johnson, and Charles S. Venable. Hoping to attract representatives from each state of the Confederacy to form associations, the group wished to erect an equestrian statue on the college grounds, a bust in the chapel, and a recumbent statue on Lee's tomb. Mary Custis Lee, the general's widow, supported the efforts of the Lexington association and quickly put an end to disputes over his burial by agreeing to have him interred at the college.[9]

---

[7] Richmond Daily Dispatch, October 13, 1870; Petersburg Index, October 14, 1870

[8] Gaines Foster argues that male Confederate societies did not organize during Lee's lifetime "not only because of his potential opposition but because they would not and could not usurp his leadership." (Foster, Ghosts, 51.)

[9] Richmond Daily Dispatch, October 20, 1870; Foster, Ghosts, 52.

The women of Hollywood Memorial Association, claiming to be the guardians of Confederate memory, wasted no time in initiating their own organization to memorialize Lee. Only a week after his death—and prior to the publication in Richmond papers announcing the Lexington association—HMA members Nancy McFarland, Sarah Randolph, Mary Adams Randolph (former president of the Richmond Ladies' Association), Henrietta Watkins Lyons, Mrs. William Brown, and Elizabeth (Lizzie) Byrd Nicholas issued a circular proposing that a bronze equestrian monument to the general be erected in Hollywood Cemetery where thousands of his soldiers slumbered. Even if Lee's family chose to inter his remains elsewhere, the HMA believed that the cemetery overlooking the James offered the most fitting locale for an eternal tribute. Relying on the same strategies they had employed to raise money on previous occasions, the HMA issued a South-wide circular calling on congregations throughout the region. The women invoked the spiritual nature of their cause, asking that on days of religious worship, every congregation in the South, Christians and Jews, make their contribution to this worthy endeavor.[10]

The elite and formidable Sarah Nicholas Randolph served as the secretary and spokeswoman for the HMA's committee on the Lee monument. Randolph, great-granddaughter of Thomas Jefferson and granddaughter of former Virginia governor Wilson Cary Nicholas, was a member of one of Virginia's oldest families and an exemplar of white southern womanhood. She was born at her family's home of Edge Hill in Albemarle County in 1839 to Thomas and Jane Randolph. During the Civil War, with

---

[10] Richmond Daily Dispatch, October 21, 25, 1870; "The Monument to General Robert E. Lee: History of the Movement for its Erection," SHSP 17:185-205. The officers of the Ladies' Lee Monument Committee were Nancy MacFarland, president; Mary Adams Randolph, Henrietta Watkins Lyons, and Mrs. William Brown, vice presidents; Elizabeth Byrd Nicholas, treasurer; and Sarah Nicholas Randolph, secretary.

the family in financial straits, Sarah, her mother, and sister opened the Edge Hill School for Girls catering to Virginia's wealthiest daughters. She chose never to marry, but along with running the school, she followed in her father's footsteps by writing histories. Throughout the 1870s, she published several popular works including her most famous title, The Domestic Life of Thomas Jefferson.[11]

The social standing of Sarah Randolph and her fellow members of the HMA gave them the clout to enter into the fray over the Lee monument. In utter accord with their previous calls for aid, the women published a list of more than a hundred prominent Confederate leaders and soldiers, including nearly every member of the Lexington association, they wished would "*act as assistants*" to their committee. Even prior to an inquiry, let alone an acceptance, the HMA "appointed" these men "to assist in the work by collections and otherwise." Clearly, the women of the HMA believed that a memorial to Lee fell under their domain, and that the men should support the women's efforts just as they had done for the past five years. Notably present on the list of "assistants" was Jubal Early of Lynchburg.[12]

An irreligious and often profane man known by many to be eccentric, Early was perhaps the most outspoken and unreconciled figure of the Lost Cause. Born to a family of means in 1816 near Rocky Mount, Virginia, Early graduated 18th in his class at West Point. Following graduation, he served in the Seminole and subsequently the Mexican

---

[11] American National Biography, 24 vols., John A. Garraty and Mark C. Carnes, general eds. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999) [source hereafter cited as ANB]18: 136-37. Randolph's other more popular works included a piece on Martha Jefferson Randolph in Mrs. Wister's Famous Women of the Revolution (1876) and The Life of Stonewall Jackson (1876). Her uncle, George Wythe Randolph, had served as the secretary of war for the Confederacy and her aunt, Mary Randolph, was the president of the Richmond Ladies' Association during the war. Karen Cox incorrectly identifies Sarah Randolph as Janet Randolph. (Cox, Dixie's Daughters, 13.)

[12] Richmond Daily Dispatch, October 21, 25, 1870, emphasis added. Four days later, the HMA added nine more men to their list of gentlemen.

wars but spent most of his time practicing law and won election to one term in the Virginia legislature. When the secession crisis commenced, Early was staunchly in favor of union in the hope of avoiding war, but he acquiesced to join the Confederacy once Virginia seceded in April 1861. He immediately accepted a colonel's commission in the Virginia militia, and during the war he steadily rose to the rank of lieutenant general. But after a failed campaign in the Shenandoah Valley during the fall of 1864, Lee sent a very gentle letter relieving Early of his command in March 1865, citing negative public opinion regarding the faltering general. Having missed the surrender at Appomattox, Early traveled to Cuba, Mexico, and eventually Canada in a self-imposed exile before returning to the United States in 1869.[13]

Despite the fact that Lee had removed him from his command, Early was moved by the general's passing and wished to honor him in some grand way. He had been unable to attend the funeral in Lexington because of pressing legal business and had written to Pendleton expressing his regret, but he recognized Lee's death as a public loss. "His fame belongs to the world, and to history, and is beyond the reach of malignity," Early wrote in late October. He hoped to launch a public display of admiration while simultaneously promoting his own interpretation of the war. As with both the Lexington association and the HMA, Early's primary objective was to build a grand equestrian monument to the general. But like the HMA, he believed that the most suitable location for such a tribute

---

[13] Charles C. Osborne, Jubal: The Life and Times of General Jubal A. Early, CSA, Defender of the Lost Cause (Chapel Hill, N.C.: Algonquin Books, 1992), xiii, 6-9, 18-21, 34-52, 390, 402-13. Historians Gary W. Gallagher and Gaines Foster have demonstrated that while Early's efforts in controlling the public memory of the war were very persuasive, many white southerners refused to embrace his more elitist and nostalgic views. (Gary W. Gallagher, Lee and His Generals in War and Memory [Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1998], 200-02 and Foster, Ghosts, 60-61.) Early refused to take the amnesty oath to the United States government; however, he returned to the country after President Andrew Johnson issued an unconditional amnesty that ultimately pardoned all combatants against the U.S. during the war.

was none other than the former Confederate capital, and therefore felt no need to join forces with the Lexington association.[14]

Just days after the Hollywood women met and issued their appeal to the veterans for assistance, the former Confederate general published a call in the newspapers soliciting support for his project from the men who had served in Lee's army. Acting with haste to preempt the efforts of both Pendleton's group and the HMA, Early invited the veterans to meet during the state fair on November 3 and 4 to form two complementary organizations: one to sponsor a monument (to be called the Lee Monument Association) and another to perpetuate the veterans' legacy, the Association of the Army of Northern Virginia (AANVA).[15] In rhetoric no doubt aimed at Randolph and the other women of the HMA committee, Early believed that any effort to honor Lee should emanate from those who had fought under the general. "A sacred duty devolves upon those whom. . . he led so often in battle," Early claimed, though he had no intentions of confining the contributions to veterans alone, encouraging all those who "admire[d] and revere[d] true greatness" to donate.[16] Approximately one hundred and fifty veterans from across the

---

[14] Jubal A. Early to Gen. William N. Pendleton, October 24, 1870, William N. Pendleton Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, [collection hereafter cited as SHC; repository hereafter cited as UNC]; J.A. Early, October 24, 1870 printed in Richmond Daily Dispatch, October 26, 1870.

[15] Apparently, Bradley T. Johnson and several of his fellow officers in the Army of Northern Virginia had been contemplating a veterans' organization just prior to Lee's death. In a letter dated October 25, 1870, Johnson asked Early to serve as the president of the Association of the Army of Northern Virginia. Johnson and his comrades had been planning the association for "some months" and had considered Lee for the presidency. But with Lee's passing, Johnson asked Early to take on the role. The group would serve to "preserve our old friendship, to collect materials for the history of the Army, and to cherish the names and fame of our dead comrades." Johnson suggested that Early might fuse his desire for a Lee monument association with this veterans' group. (Bradley T. Johnson to Jubal A. Early, October 25, 1870, Jubal A. Early Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. [repository hereafter cited as LC].)

[16] Richmond Daily Dispatch, October 24, 28, 1870, November 4, 1870; J.A. Early, October 24, 1870, printed in Richmond Daily Dispatch, October 26, 1870; Jubal A. Early to Dabney H. Maury, December 14, 1870, item #50, Goodspeed's Catalogue 592 (Boston, Mass.: Goodspeed's Book Shop, n.d.), 11. Massachusetts. Kirk Savage argues that "Jubal Early's group sought contributions only from the veterans who had actually fought under Lee's command." While Early certainly only wanted to include members from this "band of brothers," he was more than open to receiving contributions from any source willing to

state attended the meeting, electing Early president of both the AANVA and Lee Monument Association.[17]

Although Early also agreed to serve on the Lexington board, an intense and well-documented competition raged between the two male organizations for several years over the placement of the monument. Despite this fact, Early thought of himself as the spokesperson for all things Confederate and resented any other effort to memorialize Lee, including the Lexington memorial and a similar project underway in New Orleans. Rather than encouraging white southerners to dot their landscapes with memorials to the famed general, Early preferred there be only "one grand Confederate Monument" situated in the heart of Richmond—one that was under his control. For this reason, Early and members of the AANVA invited the HMA to "act with them" in collecting contributions. The women promptly agreed and formed auxiliary committees throughout the South—on the condition that they were equal partners in the endeavor.[18]

But Early and his associates had other plans. If the men could keep the women close enough, they would not best the veterans' efforts to honor Lee. The AANVA and Lee Monument Association certainly knew how successful the HMA and other LMAs had been in raising funds for their cemeteries and other projects; their networks and money-generating capabilities must have been attractive to the men. But the HMA

---

donate, evident in later attempts by the group to canvass the entire South (see remainder of chapter). (Savage, Standing Soldiers, 136.)

[17]Osborne, Jubal, 440-41; Foster, Ghosts, 52-53. Early was elected president of the temporary Lee Monument Association, but later in the meeting, the group elected Jefferson Davis as the permanent president.

[18]Jubal A. Early to Dabney H. Maury, December 14, 1870, item #50, Goodspeed's Catalogue 592 (Boston, Mass.: Goodspeed's Book Shop, n.d.), 11; "To the Survivors of the Army and Navy of the Confederate States and to all the admirers of the Character of the late General Robert E. Lee, wherever they may reside," November 1870, Lee Monument Association Records, LOV. For discussion of the Lee Monument Association (Early) and Lee Memorial Association (Lexington group), see Foster, Ghosts, 52-53, 88-89, 98, 100-03, and Osborne, Jubal, 442-43.

women were not nearly so naïve and passive as the men expected. Even though the women agreed with Early on several counts, including that the monument belonged in the former capital, they proved an especially troubling thorn in the side of the former rebel commander, demanding full recognition and cooperation throughout the process. By 1871, a bitter and often cantankerous rivalry arose between the HMA (recasting themselves as the Ladies' Lee Monument Committee) and Early's Lee Monument Association, a rivalry enduring for nearly two decades.[19]

***

Relying on the network of women's associations (most importantly the LMAs) as well as churches, the Ladies' Lee Monument Committee's (LLMC) South-wide fundraising campaign was off to a rapid start in the fall of 1870. Along with their request for weekly donations to the cause, the women appointed Sunday, November 27, as a Memorial Day for General Lee and requested that the nearly 25,000 congregations in the South take up collections for their monument. Notably, a week later, a Richmond newspaper printed the exact appeal with the heading: "To the Women of the South." If Early's association called upon veterans' masculinity by invoking the martial spirit of camaraderie and loyalty, the women, too, could employ gendered notions in their pleas for support by calling on mothers and churches alike.[20]

---

[19] Sarah N. Randolph to General Jubal A. Early, Richmond, March 13, 1871, Lee Monument Association Records, LOV.

[20] Connelly, The Marble Man, 45; Circular "Monument to General Lee," October 19, 1870, Lee Monument Association Records, LOV; Richmond Daily Dispatch, October 25, 1870; "To the Survivors of the Army and Navy of the Confederate States and to all the admirers of the Character of the late General Robert E. Lee, wherever they may reside," November 1870, Lee Monument Association Records, LOV.

Much to the chagrin of "Old Jube," as Early was often called, the women immediately began receiving contributions from across the nation. Thomas F. Davis, a bishop from South Carolina, wrote to encourage the LLMC's endeavor even before Early inaugurated the AANVA. Davis had received the circular by the end of October and had immediately forwarded the announcement to the diocese in Charleston, asking them to endorse the effort. A little girl from New York earned the honor of making the first official contribution during the first week of November when she sent the women a gold dollar. Savannah, Georgia, alone sent $3,000 to the HMA.[21]

But by January, momentum had waned and donations slowed to a trickle. Doubly discouraging to the LLMC was the lack of experience on the part of men representing the soldiers' association. In two months time, the men had raised little-to-no money (as compared to several thousand dollars collected by the women), and the LLMC was growing impatient. Randolph, McFarland, and several other women approached some of the most judicious and high ranking men of the city (including many of their kinsmen) and determined that it was in the LLMC's best interest to appoint an agent who would canvass the South on their behalf. The women chose B. Frank Moore, a move that touched off an episode indicative of Early's vindictiveness and desire to monopolize the monument undertaking.[22]

In February 1871, Moore received his instructions from the LLMC and set off on a tour of the Deep South. He arrived first in Mobile, Alabama, a city that had generously supported the HMA and other Virginia memorial projects for the past five years. But

---

[21] Richmond Daily Dispatch, November 8, 1870; Osborne, Jubal, 443-44; Jubal A. Early to Governor F.W.W. Holliday, March 11, 1878, Lee Monument Association Records, LOV.

[22] Sarah N. Randolph to General Jubal A. Early, Richmond, March 13, 1871, Lee Monument Association Records, LOV.

upon arriving in the city, he found that his efforts had already been hampered by an unfortunate or "rather imaginary" conflict. Apparently, Mobile's auxiliary committee to the Lee Monument Association had not been informed that Moore was representing the LLMC on behalf of the Monument Association and considered his presence unwelcome. Rather than creating undue controversy, he abandoned his canvass of the city and traveled on to Galveston, Texas, where he managed to solicit a thousand dollars for the statue before heading northwest to Houston. There he learned that the Galveston News (and more than likely other newspapers such as those in Mobile) had just published a card from Early warning of imposters, such as himself, who were traveling the South collecting money under the false pretences of representing the Lee Monument Association. Galveston residents were irate. Believing that they had been duped, they demanded that he explain his connection to the association. When Moore returned to Houston, people there were equally angered, declaring that they would not give one cent until Early himself clarified the matter.[23]

Although Moore managed to clear his name in Texas, Early's letter to Galveston and other southern cities revealed his tense relationship with the women's organization. Not only had he implied that men such as Moore were not connected with his association, but he also had outright denied affiliation with the LLMC—even after inviting them to cooperate with the Monument Association and AANVA in November. The women were outraged. Sarah Randolph quickly fired off a spirited letter to the general demanding he rectify the situation. "We have over seven thousand dollars in hand," she reported. "I think, General, that we have done well, for the times, with the work with which you have

[23] Sarah N. Randolph to General Jubal A. Early, March 13, 1871, Lee Monument Association Records, LOV.

entrusted us," she flatly noted. The women had accomplished such a feat by hard work, patience, and perseverance, and they believed it insulting to have their efforts thwarted by the general. Randolph insisted that Early publicly acknowledge that the LLMC was working jointly with his organization and that the money was to go toward erecting a single monument. Moreover, she took the liberty of preparing a card to be published by Early explaining Moore's connection and underscoring the women's affiliation with the Monument Association.[24]

Early refused to accommodate the women. Rather than sending the card Randolph had written for him, he sent his own version to the Galveston News. In his letter, he neglected to endorse Moore and cautioned would-be contributors against persons pretending to act in the name of the monumental association. He also asked prospective contributors to recognize the distinction among his group, the Lexington group, and the "project of the Ladies of the Hollywood Memorial Association." In an obvious slight to the women, he even declined to recognize the name "Ladies Lee Monument Committee," choosing instead to identify them by their earlier memorial work alone. He even went so far as to blame the "inconsiderable sum" raised by the Lee Monument Association on the "misunderstanding" generated by the LLMC. But most poignantly, Early revealed the true nature of the dispute: "over the operations of the Ladies Hollywood Association I have not [sic] control whatever." Early's efforts to sabotage the LLMC did not end there. The Monument Association employed its own professional agent to canvass the South and eventually hired a spy to attend the women's meetings and report on their plans. For

[24] "To the Survivors of the Army and Navy of the Confederate States and to all the admirers of the Character of the late General Robert E. Lee, wherever they may reside," November 1870, Lee Monument Association Records, LOV; Sarah N. Randolph to General Jubal A. Early, March 13, 1871, Lee Monument

the next fifteen years, the fires of hostility between Early and the women burned intensely as the agents for competing associations worked towns and cities throughout the South.[25]

***

Beyond the obvious and blatant attempts of the AANVA and Monument Association to undermine or at least control the LLMC's efforts, Early's feelings about women, and theirs about him, were complex and often contradictory. A life-long bachelor (though he had a common-law wife and several illegitimate children), he had been known among many female circles as a misogynist. Ellen Bernard Fowle Lee, the nineteen-year-old wife of Fitzhugh Lee, noted that she had always believed him to be a "woman hater." Early later explained that he was not, nor had he ever been, such a thing. During the war, he had objected to officers bringing their wives into camp, believing that it fostered a sense of dissatisfaction among the soldiers who witnessed the lavish lifestyle of many wives while their own were at home toiling for the necessities of life. He also believed that women who ventured into camp, even officers' wives, placed themselves on the same social standing as a camp follower, that is, prostitute. "Besides," he noted years later, "I really thought they had better be at home working and praying for those that were fighting for the common cause, and ministering to the wants of the families of the poor

---

Association Records, LOV. Moore had collected three to four thousand dollars on his tour, not included in the LLMC's estimate of $7,000 on hand.

[25] Jubal A. Early to the Editor of the Galveston News, March 17, 1871, copy in Lee Monument Association Records, LOV; Newspaper clipping from the Richmond Times, undated, but probably 1880, Jubal Early Papers, LC. As of April 29, 1871, Moore still had not seen Early's retraction. (Sarah N. Randolph to General Jubal A. Early, April 29, 1871, Lee Monument Association Records, LOV; Connelly, The Marble Man, 45; Osborne, Jubal, 443-44.)

soldiers." Like many white southern men, he believed that the archetype of southern womanhood was represented by the "pure and devoted women who follow[ed] with their prayers the armies of the Confederate States through all their struggles and trials." [26]

Although many women openly questioned his attitude toward the female sex, those in his hometown of Lynchburg felt differently. They repeatedly expressed a great fondness for the general they believed had saved their city from destruction in the summer of 1864.[27] When Early first returned to the city in 1869, the LMA asked him to deliver the Memorial Day address, although he ultimately declined. In the summer of 1871, the women of Lynchburg's Methodist Protestant Church held a ceremony honoring Early. They anointed him "the defender of the mothers and the protectors of the daughters" of the city and presented him with an ornate gold-headed cane.[28]

If Lynchburg's women praised Early's wartime contributions, he, in turn recognized women's importance to the Confederate tradition. As mentioned in the previous chapter, in 1866 Early offered to donate the proceeds of his memoirs recounting his campaigns to memorial associations in Richmond and Lynchburg. He thanked the women of Winchester for their "patriotic attention" to his fallen comrades, noting that wherever he may wander, he would carry with him "the knowledge that my countrywomen. . . remain true to the memories of the dead." He contributed to various LMA efforts to mark soldiers' graves, sending at least fifty dollars to the Fredericksburg association. In 1872, on the anniversary of Lee's death, he heralded women's special

---

[26] Edward Younger, ed., The Governors of Virginia, 1860 - 1978 (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1982), 112; Fitzhugh Lee to Jubal A. Early, March 15, 1872, Jubal A. Early Papers, LC; Jubal A. Early to Miss Emma Cameron, March 7, 1880, UVA; Osborne, Jubal, 73; Jubal A. Early to Hon. W. F. Slemons, May 22, 1878, Tucker Family Papers, SHC, UNC.

[27] For details on the battle of Lynchburg, see Osborne, Jubal, 254-60, and Blair, Virginia's Private War, 119.

ability to instill Confederate pride in the next generation. At the second annual address of the Southern Historical Association in 1874, he referred to the women present as "conspirators with the society in the new rebellion it [the SHS] was accused of fomenting." Several years later at Winchester's memorial celebration, he claimed that "there were no truer adherents of the cause than the ladies of Valley." Clearly, Early understood the vital role southern white women had played in the sustaining the memory of the rebellion both during and after the war.[29]

Why then did he find issue with the women of the LLMC if they were integral to the Confederate cause and capable of generating so much money? Although part of the answer lies in the previously stated notion that Early simply wanted to dictate every facet of the Lost Cause, save perhaps Memorial Days, the underlying reasons are far more complex. First, with the passing of Lee and the end of Reconstruction, the Lost Cause, and the Lee monument in particular, became an outlet for all Confederate men to reclaim their honor and manhood. As historians including Bertram Wyatt-Brown have pointed out, for white southern men raised in the cultural of honor, the Civil War became a test of manhood. Writing home to their loved ones, soldiers filled their letters with passages about courage, bravery, valor, and (even more frequently) about courage. Honor, it seems, was often valued more than life itself, giving way to the frequent utterance among soldiers (of both sides) "death before dishonor."[30]

---

[28] Lynchburg LMA minutes, April 6, 1869, JML; Charlottesville Weekly Chronicle, June 9, 1871; New York Times, May 30, 1871.

[29] Lynchburg Ladies' Memorial Association broadside, 1867, UVA; HMA minutes, December 11, 1866, MOC; Staunton Valley Virginian, October 17, 1866; Nannie Seddon Barney to Gen. Early, December 4, [1870s], Jubal A. Early Papers, LC; New York Times, January 22, 1872; New York Times, October 28, 1874.

[30] Bertram Wyatt-Brown, Honor and Violence in the Old South (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 27-29. For more discussion of manhood / masculinity among both Union and Confederate soldiers during and after the Civil War, see James M. McPherson, For Cause & Comrades: Why Men Fought in the

Indeed death appeared to be the most honorable position for Confederate soldiers by April 1865; the immediate focus on cemeteries and Memorial Days rather than the welfare of veterans gave proof of that. With battlefield defeat and the implementation of Reconstruction, ex-Confederate men had not only been denied much of their previous wealth and political positions, but also felt humiliated by their loss to northern soldiers, the emancipation of their slaves, their impoverished financial conditions, and Republican control of state and local politics. Their honor, their manhood, had been called into question. Early urged all former Confederate soldiers and sailors to tell the world that they were not "ashamed of the principles for which Lee fought and Jackson died" and implored them to "perpetuate the honors of those who have displayed eminent virtues and performed great achievements" during the war.[31] As Gary Gallagher has demonstrated, in Early's interpretation of the war, Lee and the Army of Northern Virginia "set a standard of valor and accomplishment equal to anything in the military history of the Western world until finally, worn out but never defeated, they laid down their weapons at Appomattox." Ex-Confederate soldiers, then, could take pride in their battlefield performance, admitting defeat only at the hands of overwhelming odds.[32]

Second, Early's desire to control the Lost Cause stemmed from more personal reasons. The war had been fought by men, and so then should the postwar battles be led

---

Civil War (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 6, 13, 25-31, 76-78; Stephen W. Berry, II, All that Makes a Man: Love and Ambition in the Civil War South (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 9-10, 171-73; Reid Mitchell, Civil War Soldiers (1988; reprint, New York: Penguin Books, 1997), 17-18, 42; Foster, Ghosts, Whites, The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender, 160-224, Bardaglio, Reconstructing the Household, 129-36, and Edwards, Gendered Strife and Confusion, 111-19.

[31] Jubal A. Early, Lynchburg, Virginia, October 24, 1870, reprinted in the New York Times, October 28, 1870; "To the Survivors of the Army and Navy of the Confederate States and to all the admirers of the Character of the late General Robert E. Lee, wherever they may reside," November 1870, Lee Monument Association Records, LOV; Winchester Times, June 7, 1889, Jubal A. Early Papers, LC. Gary W. Gallagher asserts that Early "found only honor in the Confederate performance against daunting odds." (Gallagher, Lee and His Generals, 208.)

[32] Gallagher, Lee and His Generals, 199.

by men. With the passing of Lee, who better to lead the movement than one of his most trusted generals who had served with Army of Northern Virginia throughout the ordeal? But Early had been dismissed from the Confederate army by the very man he sought to pay tribute. Having failed in his final mission as a general during the war, he needed to launch a successful campaign in the postwar period to vindicate himself, to regain his own military reputation and therefore his pride, honor, and manhood. Where other ex-Confederate generals turned to business, such as John Imboden; to politics, such as John Brown Gordon, and Fitzhugh Lee; or to both, such as William Mahone, Early positioned himself as the most commanding authority on the Lost Cause.[33] He surrounded himself with veterans, whom he could lead in his battle to venerate the name of Lee, thereby "return[ing] to an undefeated Confederacy" and claiming the nobility of honor he insisted had never been lost.[34]

While women might be especially well-suited for organizing Memorial Days and honoring the common soldier, Early did not believe they were fit to lead the most important Lost Cause task, that of honoring Lee. As he had indicated in numerous speeches, he believed that women were best as auxiliaries to men's efforts. Because they had not participated in camp life or engaged in battle, they should not, he believed, be able to dictate the grandest and most public tribute to the Confederacy's greatest hero. But the women of the LLMC refused to acquiesce to such a position. In fact, Early described Randolph and her fellow members of the LLMC as "a rather hardheaded set" and refused

---

[33] On the postwar careers of Confederate generals, see William B. Hesseltine, Confederate Leaders in the New South (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1950). For a discussion of Early's influence over the Lost Cause, see Gallagher, Lee and His Generals, 199-226, Foster, Ghosts, 47-62, Connelly, Marble Man, 43-61, and Osborne, Jubal, 429-53.

[34] Quote from Foster, Ghosts, 60-61. Although Foster claims that Early and the AANVA ultimately were not successful in mobilizing the entire South in the way the United Confederate Veterans did in the 1880s

to cooperate with them even after they promised to contribute their funds to his project. If women controlled the monument project, then whom would he lead to regain his stature as a great general? Would his "troops" consist of an army of women? And could women vindicate the martial spirit of the Confederacy that he so desperately wanted to restore? Allowing women to lead Confederate traditions after Reconstruction when the political climate no longer dictated a "feminine" response could serve only to emasculate the veterans. Confederate men could salvage their reputation as courageous, loyal men if only they could re-unite for the postwar battle over memory—without the ever present intrusion of women's groups.[35]

But even with some female supporters, the divisiveness between Early's group and the women of the LLMC managed to slow the Lee monument's progress to a near standstill in the late 1870s. The difficulties became so great that when Confederate veteran James L. Kemper was elected governor in 1875, Early relented and handed over his insufficient funds to the governor's newly created Monument Association. Even with this reorganization, neither the men nor the women would relent. In 1876, Col. Samuel Bassett French, who directed the Monument Association's Board of Managers, initiated a town-by-town canvass of the entire South. French requested that every southern mayor provide a list of prominent local citizens "who would likely give an earnest support." The mayors were then asked to "lay out your city into numerous and convenient divisions, and appoint canvassers for each." The Monument Association, with its supposed focus on the martial-spirit and veteran patronage, also continued to invoke maternal sentiment to

---

and 1890s, this does not diminish the nature of the gender battles that took place in Virginia between 1870 and 1890.

[35] Papers included with a letter from Jubal A. Early to Governor F.W.W. Holliday, March 11, 1878, Treasurer's Office Inventory, Lee Monument Association Correspondence, LOV; Osborne, Jubal, 443.

win support for its cause. In January 1878, as fund-raising efforts slowed, the men called on the "daughters" of the South for support. Once again, they requested that women be appointed in every southern city and town to solicit subscriptions. The association also recommended that on the night of January 19, the anniversary of Lee's birth, "tableaux, balls, musical soirees, dramatic representations, feasts, or some like entertainment" be given by the women. But even without such grand schemes, throughout the 1870s the LLMC continued to collect donations for the project.[36]

Disputes over fundraising proved to be only a skirmish in the male/female war over Lee's monument; the real battles unfolded over the statue's design.[37] Early and the men preferred the selection of Edward Valentine, a Virginia sculptor who had crafted the recumbent Lee statue at Lexington. Randolph and the women, on the other hand, favored French artist Jean Antoine Mercié. The LLMC wanted to the monument to be a piece of art, reflecting the greatness of southern culture.[38] "We cannot forget that the fine equestrian statues now existing have been produced by the highest efforts of matured genius, and that such monuments must ever be the noblest and most elaborate form of sculpture," they insisted. In a moment that appeared to invoke "traditional" gender codes,

---

[36] Savage, Standing Soldiers, 137; New York Times, January 9, 1878; Bassett French to Mayor of Mobile, Alabama, December 18, 1875, and circular (n.p., n.d.), both in Walthall Papers, Mississippi Department of State Archives, quoted in Connelly, Marble Man, 46; Minutes of the Lee Monument Association, February 2, 1877 to May 4, 1877, Lee Monument Association Records, LOV; Samuel Bassett French Letterbooks, MOC.

[37] Kirk Savage claims that "The issue of art was so pivotal for the women's committee that it led to a painful public breach between the women and the governor's association." While I agree that this dispute was by far the most public and tense of the debates between the men and women, tensions had been present since 1870, as the previous portion of the chapter demonstrates. (Savage, Standing Soldiers, 140.)

[38] The LLMC's focus on art and culture stemmed from their desire to recast the South as civilized place. Fitzhugh Brundage argues that women monopolized the fields of history and public culture in the 1880s and 1890s in part so that they could claim for themselves "the work of recording and narrating the progress of civilization." He demonstrates that southern women, in particular, turned to the historical work such as monument building "as an antidote to the pejorative and dismissive portraits of the region and its past propagated by nonsoutheners." (Brundage, "White Women and Historical Memory," 119-121.) For a discussion of women, gender, and civilization, see also Gail Bederman, Manliness & Civilization: A

the LLMC noted that they were "anxious. . . to hold our opinion and judgment in the matter subservient to your own." But, they continued, rebuffing any pretense of female passiveness, "we cannot do so without betraying the trust which has been confided to us by the contributors of the sums in our hands." Randolph and her cadre insisted, yet again, that *they* were the true and undisputed leaders of the memorial effort, and would submit to no man, including the governor. "Better no monument at all than an inferior one," they concluded.[39] Even as Confederate veterans in New Orleans managed to complete and dedicate a memorial to Lee in 1884, the LLMC continued to forestall the Richmond project. Rejecting nearly every design model and refusing to relinquish their funds, the women refused to cede their authority over the public representations of the Lost Cause. But Early and his men would not be alone. Yet another group of veterans would seek to impose themselves on what the women saw as their most sacred work, that of Confederate cemeteries.[40]

***

As they had demonstrated with the Ladies' Lee Monument Committee, the HMA proved capable of transforming its objectives from cemeteries and monuments to the

---

Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

[39] Ladies' Lee Monument Association to his Excellency the Governor of Virginia and the members of the Lee Monument Association, Richmond, March 3, 1877, Minutes of the Lee Monument Association, February 2, 1877 to May 4, 1877, Lee Monument Association Records, LOV; Osborne, Jubal, 451; Foster, Ghosts, 98-100; For more detail on the various design competitions and frustrations, see Savage, Standing Soldiers, 138-47.

[40] The New Orleans monument to Lee was dedicated on February 22, 1884. According to Gaines Foster, fundraising efforts (independent of those in Virginia) had begun in 1870 but not proved successful until the end of the decade. As opposed to the recumbent statue of Lee at Washington and Lee College, the New Orleans statue featured the general standing on the top of a pillar. (Foster, Ghosts, 91-92.)

common soldier to grand memorials such as the one to Lee in an effort to maintain control over Confederate traditions. Men might have legitimate reasons for competing with women in the erection of monuments infused with so much military significance, but the women of the memorial associations insisted that cemeteries remain their province alone. As such, the Hollywood Memorial Association's elaborate project of relocating Virginians who had fallen at Gettysburg back to their native soil was one arena in which the women believed they had exclusive domain. As with the Lee monument debate, Virginia's white men and women again clashed when men attempted to influence the project.

Concern for the Confederacy's dead had persisted among the southern populace well into the 1870s. Although most white southerners felt comfortable that the dead resting within their own region had been well tended to, questions regarding the status of those reposing on northern battlefields, specifically Antietam and Gettysburg, had begun to surface as early as 1867. Reports of Confederates "rotting far away in a strange land and foreign soil" flooded southern newspapers. According to the Charleston Mercury, a South Carolinian who had relocated to Alexandria, Virginia, volunteered to remove the bodies of South Carolina soldiers from Sharpsburg (Antietam), and suggested that Virginians should do the same. "Her gallant sons lie mouldering far and wide in neglected and almost forgotten graves," he lamented. The soldiers, he insisted, had wished to "live and die in Dixie" and "should at least be sepulchered in her soil." The Southern Opinion concurred: "The whole South has sons at Gettysburg and Sharpsburg, in the midst of an unsympathetic people. Shall we not rescue them from the foe?"[41]

[41] Charleston Mercury quoted in the Southern Opinion, July 6, 13, 1867.

Adding to this issue was the elaborate dedication of the national cemetery and a monument at Sharpsburg, Maryland, on September 17, 1867, the fourth anniversary of the battle of Antietam. President Andrew Johnson, the governors of numerous northern states, members of various foreign legations, and a great many veterans and civilians attended the elaborate celebration. In full Masonic ritual, the cornerstone of a monument to the common soldier was laid, followed by speeches by Johnson, Governor Swann of Maryland, and others. Though the spectacle did not differ substantially from those held in southern communities honoring dead Confederates (except that, as with Memorial Day celebrations, women took the lead in the South and not the North), former Confederates decried the commemoration. "The melancholy reflection that must arise in every right Southern mind is that the brave Confederates who fell in this same fight of Antietam have no part in the cemetery, were unhonoured in the ceremonies, and are not commemorated by the monument," complained the editor of the Southern Opinion (though failing to mention that Federal soldiers had received similar treatment, or lack thereof, by ex-Confederates). In a bit of revisionist history, or selective memory at the least, the former Confederates claimed that the South's dead "were the victors on this field of Antietam or Sharpsburg" and should therefore be honored. A year later, the remains of Confederates continued to lie scattered through the fields and woods surrounding the Maryland town.[42]

Gettysburg particularly troubled former Confederates. In 1867, the small Pennsylvania hamlet still bore the signs of the three-day battle in the form of thousands of unidentified Confederate graves that dotted the nearby countryside. A general writing in the Army and Navy Journal sadly noted that within a year all evidence of the sepulchers would be obliterated. "In very few cases the graves are respected," he

[42] Southern Opinion, September 21, 1867, October 10, 1868.

observed, but more often than not, "the ground is cultivated without regard to the remains of the misguided men who lie beneath it." This letter, reprinted in the Southern Opinion, garnered a great deal of emotion and indignation on the part of white southerners. The columnist pointed out a famous letter from Louis Napoleon to Lord Hood that stated: "Soldiers who fall upon a foreign soil are the property of the country, and it is the duty of all to honour their memory." All "chivalrous men and nations" had honored this obligation, the writer claimed, but the "Yankees, alone, of all Christendom, have been insensible to it." Finally, he lamented that "the government that takes such vast care of the Northern dead seems to desire that the Southern dead should rot in infamy."[43]

Rather than calling on former veterans, the Southern Opinion naturally called on the region's women to rescue the slumbering Confederates from the heights and valleys of Gettysburg. "Where is the memorial association whose kindly arms can open wide enough even to embrace those of our dead who are vilely trampled on in Pennsylvania?" it asked. Several LMAs responded, including the women in Raleigh, North Carolina, and Charleston, South Carolina. By 1870, several state legislatures had also decided to appropriate assistance for the return of the Gettysburg dead.[44]

Along with a handful of LMAs, these states turned to Samuel Weaver, a drayman from the Pennsylvania town who had assisted with the reinterment and identification of Federal soldiers in the autumn of 1863. Upon Weaver's death in 1871, southerners asked his son, Dr. Rufus Weaver, for help. Dr. Weaver initially was uninterested in assisting the

---

[43] Southern Opinion, June 29, July 13, August 10, 17, 1867, June 28, 1868. The Southern Opinion subsequently took it upon itself to send a special correspondent, "Pilgrim," to Gettysburg to discern the "truth" about the Confederate dead, although no reports from Pilgrim appear to have been published. A later report from a Georgia paper reprinted in the Opinion, however, noted that some citizens of Gettysburg had proposed gathering the remains of the Southern soldiers and interring them in a "decent" locality. According to the paper, Pennsylvania authorities forbade this reinterment, threatening "severe punishment" to "the movers in the matter."

former Confederates, but after frequent appeals, he agreed to take on the enormous project. During the spring and summer of 1871, he exhumed and shipped Confederate bodies south, including 137 to Raleigh, North Carolina; 74 to Charleston, South Carolina; 101 to Savannah, Georgia; 73 to individual families; and an unnamed number to several locales in Maryland.[45]

Of the Virginia LMAs, Hollywood seemed the most likely to secure the return of the state's deceased sons. Not only were these women substantially more wealthy and well-connected than many of their statewide counterparts, but Hollywood Cemetery also was certainly a natural resting place for the dead from one of the most famous Civil War battles. So it was only fitting that the HMA received a petition some time between June 1867 and 1869 requesting that they be the ones to aid in the retrieval of the Gettsyburg dead. Mary Barney, an HMA member, remembered years later that the subject was "warmly discussed after hearing the heart rendering accounts" of the graves. But the HMA declined to act at that time, noting that their primary duty was to protect the graves of soldiers already resting in Hollywood.[46]

The HMA eventually changed its position, and by the fall of 1870 the women had designated a section of the cemetery to receive the Gettysburg dead. With a firm reburial location established, the Virginia General Assembly agreed to appropriate $1,000 to the HMA to reinter the soldiers in the state capital the following year. But the women quickly learned from Dr. Weaver that this paltry amount would not begin to cover the costs for such a reburial effort. To supplement the state's money, the HMA would need

---

[44] Southern Opinion, June 29, 1867; Censer, Reconstruction, 193.

[45] Mitchell, Hollywood Cemetery, 84-85. In 1870, Rufus Weaver had just finished medical school in Philadelphia and had accepted a teaching position at Hahnemann Hospital and Medical College. Mitchell

private donations. On their Memorial Day in 1871, the women subsequently placed donation boxes throughout the cemetery. While heavy rain distracted some Richmonders from attending the sixth annual celebration, many turned out to see the graves of the unknown recently reinterred from Fort Harrison and Arlington Heights and to lay eyes upon former Confederate president Jefferson Davis. Although collections on Memorial Day proved promising, the women could only claim a fund of $4,000, not nearly sufficient to cover Rufus's estimated expenses of $3.25 to disinter, box, and ship each body.[47]

Even though the full amount for the reburials had yet to be raised, on November 8, 1871, HMA recording secretary Elizabeth H. Brown wrote to Dr. Weaver confirming the association's willingness to proceed with the disinterments. Initially, the HMA had resolved only to reclaim the bodies of those Virginia soldiers who remained at Gettysburg, but some time during the winter of 1871-1872, the women decided to remove the remains of all Confederates from the northern battlefield. With this agreed upon, Weaver sent the HMA a list relating the names of more than four hundred identifiable Confederate dead in February 1872. The HMA women then turned to engineer Charles Dimmock, who had designed the memorial pyramid in 1867, to visit Gettysburg and meet with Weaver.[48]

Upon his return, Dimmock reported to the HMA that approximately 500 identified and 2,000 unknown soldiers still rested on the battlefield. Dimmock had walked the entire battlefield and found the remains scattered in single graves as well as

---

speculates that Rufus had probably assisted his father in the 1863 interments. She argues that he was perhaps the only person knowledgeable about the specific location of Confederate graves.

[46] Mary W. Barney to Mrs. E. C. (Kate Pleasants) Minor, November 30, 1891, HMA collection, MOC.

[47] Daily Dispatch, October 20, 1870, May 17, 18, 1871; Mitchell, Hollywood Cemetery, 85.

mass trenches, many of which had been obliterated by farmers who had ploughed and planted the land numerous times since the war. He reported on the "total want of feeling" displayed by many of the local farmers, some of whom demanded remuneration when bodies were found on their land. Pleased with Dimmock's testimony, the HMA requested that Weaver proceed with the disinterments, beginning first with the identifiable graves and then proceeding with as many unknowns as their funds could support.[49]

Forty-year-old Adeline D. Egerton of Baltimore served as the financial liaison between the HMA and Dr. Weaver. Beginning in the spring of 1872, Elizabeth Brown was to forward funds to Brown, Lancaster, and Company to Egerton's credit, at which point she would send payment on to Weaver. Why Weaver and the HMA felt the need for such an arrangement remains unclear, but Egerton's devotion to the Confederacy was perfectly obvious. Though a Marylander, Egerton had sympathized with the Confederates both during and after the war, focusing especially on the plight of prisoners of war after one of her sons, a Confederate soldier, had been imprisoned by the Union. The wife of a Baltimore merchant, she was a member of a women's group who had helped supply destitute Confederate prisoners with clothes, money, and other provisions, often in exchange for jewelry crafted by the imprisoned soldiers. Following the war, she remained dedicated to aiding impoverished southerners as a member of the Soldiers' Relief Association, Southern Aid Society, and Southern Relief Association. No doubt her prominent role in the 1866 Baltimore Southern Relief Association Fair led the women of the HMA to name her an honorary member of their association that June. As a personal

---

[48] Elizabeth H. Brown to Rufus Weaver, November 8, 1871, HMA collection, MOC; Mitchell, Hollywood Cemetery, 85-86; Charles Dimmock to Rufus Weaver, February 10, 1872, HMA collection, MOC.
[49] Daily Dispatch, April 19, 1872; Mitchell, Hollywood Cemetery, 86.

friend of Weaver's and an "honorary" representative of the HMA, Egerton appeared a natural choice for mediator between the two parties.[50]

After receiving an initial payment of $800 from Brown on April 7, 1872, Weaver began disinterments twelve days later. He labored continually during the warm spring days identifying, collecting, and boxing the remains. "I am pushing the work with all my power," he wrote Egerton in late April, hoping to finish before the farmers began planting corn and thus avoiding any cause for resistance. "I fear that I will break down with the work," he continued. "I find it very hard on me. If I could have someone reliable to collect the bones I would be greatly relieved and the work would be greatly expedited," he explained. But identification was the most important and particular aspect of his labor, and he preferred to do it all himself. Within just a few weeks he had managed to exhume almost every body located near the General Hospital grounds and had moved on to the Second Corps Hospital, having collected a total nearing 200.[51]

On June 15, 1872, a boat from the Powhatan Steamship Company docked at the Rocketts wharf carrying the remains of 708 Confederate dead from Gettysburg. After lying in one of the wharf-sheds for several days, the dead were ready for reinterment in grand style. About three o'clock on the afternoon of June 20, a detachment consisting of four men from each company in the First Virginia Regiment assembled at the wharf to load the boxes in fifteen wagons provided by the HMA. Each of the wagons, as well as several of the horses, had been draped in mourning regalia and were followed by most of the city's dignitaries and about 1,000 ex-Confederate soldiers. The cortege slowly

---

[50] Adeline Egerton to Rufus Weaver, April 20, 1872, HMA collection, MOC; Elizabeth H. Brown to Adeline Egerton, September 14, 1871, HMA collection, MOC; Adeline Egerton papers, LOV.

proceeded up Main Street amidst a throng of weeping spectators displaying Confederate battle-flags and mourning emblems. Many of the Gettysburg veterans wore mourning badges of miniature battle-flags with the words "Gettysburg, July 1863" on them, while a banner draped over a porch simply read "They Died for Us." Once at the cemetery, the remains were removed from the vehicles and placed on Gettysburg Hill, after which Rev. Dr. Moses Hoge presented a lengthy prayer and the crowd dispersed.[52]

Five more shipments between August 3, 1872, and October 11, 1873, brought the total to 2,935 reinterred bodies, 313 identified and 2,622 unknown. But the HMA had sent payment for only one-third of the shipments—incurring a debt of $6,356. Even before the last three shipments arrived, Elizabeth Brown had written to Egerton explaining that the women lacked the funds at the present time to pay Weaver, as the HMA had invested funds with R.H. Maury and Company secured by the Kanawha Lands. Although the notes had not been met, Brown promised Egerton that the money would be available sometime in 1873. But, she cautioned, because the funds were not currently accessible, perhaps Weaver should not continue with the disinterments. Whether it was a misunderstanding between the HMA and Weaver regarding funds or whether Weaver simply had abiding faith in the women because he had been paid in full by other LMAs remains unclear, but regardless, he continued with the disinterments throughout the spring and summer bringing the total debt to $6,358.75. [53]

---

[51] Charles Dimmock to Rufus Weaver, May 15, 1872, HMA collection, MOC; Elizabeth H. Brown to Rufus Weaver, April 7, 1872, HMA collection, MOC; Rufus Weaver to Ada Egerton, undated [probably April 1872], HMA collection, MOC;

[52] Daily Dispatch, June 21, 1872. The remains of an additional eighty-one Confederate soldiers who had been buried at Arlington arrived in Richmond that May and were subsequently interred in Hollywood prior to Memorial Day. (Mitchell, Hollywood Cemetery, 87.)

[53] List of Gettysburg Dead Shipments, HMA collection, MOC; Mrs. Elizabeth H. Brown to Ada Egerton, May 23, 1873, Ada Egerton to Mrs. Brown, December 23, 1878, HMA collection, MOC; Mitchell, Hollywood Cemetery, 91.

As with the Lee monument debate, the Gettysburg dead became a battleground between Richmond's ex-Confederate male and females. Even before the issues surrounding the debt issue arose, Fitzhugh Lee, nephew of Robert E. Lee, had considered crossing into the women's territory by taking on the direction of interments. He had written to Early just days before Hollywood's 1871 Memorial Day suggesting that the AANVA involve themselves in the retrieval of soldiers buried on "foreign" soil. Furthermore, he suggested that the remains be relocated to "our state cemetery," meaning Hollywood—by no means a "state" property. Certainly he must have been aware of the HMA's project already well underway, given close-knit networks of ex-Confederates within Richmond. But the AANVA was not the only veterans' group who took up a position against the women. When the HMA had been unable to further compensate Weaver in the spring of 1873, Egerton apparently contacted Col. William C. Carrington of Richmond. Carrington, an attorney and later mayor of the city, was a representative of the Southern Cross Brotherhood Society.[54]

The "Order of the Southern Cross" or Southern Cross Brotherhood was founded in Chattanooga in the summer of 1863. Before the battle of Chickamauga, several officers came to Lt. Gen. Leonidas Polk's headquarters proposing an institution within the army, both social and charitable, to serve as a military brotherhood. According to member Dr. Charles Todd Quintard, the group was "to foster patriotic sentiment, to strengthen the ties of army fellowship and at the same time to provide a fund, not only for the mutual benefit of its members, but for the relief of disabled soldiers and widows and orphans" of the Confederate cause. Generals Patrick Cleburne, John C. Brown, and St.

---

[54]Fitzhugh Lee to Jubal A. Early, May 6, 1871, Jubal A. Early Papers, LC; Chesson, Richmond After the War, 189; Col. W.C. Carrington to Mrs. Ada L. Egerton, June 17, 1873, HMA collection, MOC.

John R. Liddell, along with Quintard, drafted a constitution that was adopted August 29, 1863, after which several "companies" organized immediately. Active military operations hampered the organization's growth, and it soon disappeared. By the summer of 1872, however, the Southern Cross Brotherhood (SCB) had resurfaced, at least in Richmond, composed entirely of ex-Confederate soldiers.[55]

If the SCB's goal in 1863 had been to provide for the welfare of soldiers and their families, by 1872, for unknown reasons, it had redefined the organization's primary objective to be the removal of the Gettysburg dead. In Petersburg, the SCB arranged to donate the proceeds from a celebration to assist in the "great pious labor" of removing "the ashes of the Confederate soldiers" from Gettysburg. On July 4, 1872, the Brotherhood held a "grand demonstration" at the state's fairgrounds in an effort to solicit funds. Meanwhile, the HMA continued to believe that they were exclusively responsible for the fundraising and administrative components of the reinterments.[56]

When Carrington responded to Egerton's inquiry about the HMA debt, he told her that his organization would be able to provide $500 and would likely raise more funds in the near future. He informed Egerton of a "disagreement" between his association and the Hollywood women that prevented the two groups from working together, though he failed to provide details. Having endured two years of Early and his group's attempts to

---

[55]Charles Todd Quintard, Doctor Quintard, Chaplain, C.S.A. and second Bishop of Tennessee: the memoir and Civil War diary of Charles Todd Quintard, ed. Sam Davis Elliot (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Pres, 2003), 81-82; Constitution of the Comrades of the Southern Cross, Adopted August 28, 1863, http://docsouth.unc.edu/comrades/comrades.html, from the Documenting the American South Collection, UNC (document was accessed through the Internet); Petersburg Index, July 2, 1872. Membership in the Southern Cross required that one was "a commissioned officer or enlisted soldier in the Confederate States service, a free white male over eighteen years of age, intelligent in his military duties and of known patriotism and integrity." Quintard notes that despite the demise of the Southern Cross, the "Confederate Veterans' Organization subsequently embodied some of the features which it was intended that the Comrades of the Southern Cross should possess."

[56] New York Times, July 5, 9, 1872; Petersburg Daily-Index, July 2, 1872.

manipulate and control them, the HMA was not inclined to permit yet another male association to usurp its work and refused to cede control to Carrington. Regardless of the dispute, Carrington reassured Egerton that he had spoken with Brown and believed that the HMA indeed had sufficient funds to finish removing the dead, but the money was currently tied up with Robert H. Maury and Co.[57] "If your contractor will be able to wait a while he will be paid even if we raise no more," Carrington promised. He explained that the so-called "Sabre clubs" (or militia groups) of the South were mere soldiers and "therefore we can hope for but little from them except parades and future service (if needed) in the field." In a clear class distinction, and subsequently gender implication, Carrington believed that the impoverished soldiers would not be capable of raising the money—as opposed to the elite and wealthy women of the HMA. Clearly the burden of paying for the reinterments should fall on the shoulders of those other than the common soldiers who had already served their failed nation.[58]

The fact that Egerton and Weaver turned to Richmond's men to help relieve the debt must have angered the women of the HMA. Not only were they now embroiled in a dispute with two different men's associations (Lee Monument and SCB), but Carrington also had aligned himself with Egerton, an honorary member of the HMA since 1866, questioning the women's honor and ability to control their own projects. Four years later, having received no more payments from the women, Egerton had also enlisted the aid of Robert Stiles, a Confederate veteran and prominent Richmond attorney, as well as Judge

---

[57] 1873 marked a severe depression throughout the United States. This will be discussed in more detail regarding the demise of the LMAs later in this chapter. The panic, however, is relevant to the Gettysburg dead payment issue as many banks and brokerage houses failed, including that of R.H. Maury and Co. On the Panic of 1873, see Foner, Reconstruction, chapter 11, and Blight, Race and Reunion, 129-30.

[58] Col. William C. Carrington to Mrs. Ada L. Egerton, June 17, 1873, HMA collection, MOC. Carrington went on to inform Egerton that he believed funds could be appropriated from the various legislatures of the South.

J.H.C. Jones to acquire the funds from the HMA.[59] But for all the Ladies' resentment toward the men's involvement, the debt remained.

Five years after the last shipment of Gettysburg remains arrived at Rockett's wharf, Hollywood's women had still not attempted to pay the debt owed Weaver. Their attentions appeared to be elsewhere, perhaps on the Lee monument, or not focused on memorial work at all, and they failed to reply to Egerton's inquiries regarding their financial situation. "May I not hope that you will take some active steps in placing this matter in proper shape?" Egerton inquired in December 1878. Although she asked that the women take into account the embarrassment Weaver had suffered throughout the process, the HMA apparently made no attempt to rectify the situation. For nearly a decade, the Gettysburg dead fiasco would remain unresolved, and unpaid, as the women lost interest or found new outlets for their energies.[60]

The disputes over both the Lee Monument and Gettysburg dead may at first appear to be petty gender conflicts, but they had significant implications for the trajectory of the Lost Cause. First, the women of the LLMC set the standard by which women would continue to take the lead in commissioning and erecting memorials to the Confederacy even after the organization of veterans groups. Richmond's equestrian sculpture of Lee was one of the South's most famous monuments to the Confederacy's most celebrated hero. The perseverance of the LLMC not only shaped the physical appearance of the statue, but more important, it also proved to the South that women

---

[59] Robert Stiles to Mrs. A. Egerton, March 26, 1874, Ada Egerton to Elizabeth H. Brown, December 23, 1878, HMA collection, MOC. A year after Carrington's 1873 letter to Egerton, the feud between the HMA and SCB continued.

[60] Ada Egerton to Elizabeth H. Brown, December 23, 1878, HMA collection, MOC. Mitchell argues that "their major objective achieved, the women who belonged to the Hollywood association lost interest in the organization, which slowly began to disintegrate as enthusiasm waned and members died or moved out of town." (Mitchell, Hollywood Cemetery, 91-92.)

were quite capable of honoring the Confederate past in extensive public memorials. Through LMAs and eventually the United Daughters of the Confederacy (founded in 1894), white women would erect thousands of Confederate monuments in nearly every southern community, thereby altering the very landscape of the region. In fact, by the 1880s and 1890s numerous men's associations eagerly turned to their female counterparts for help in completing monuments.[61]

If the women had acquiesced to Early, the AANVA, and the SCB, the organizational structure of the Lost Cause could have appeared very different in the late 1880s and 1890s. Had they agreed to serve as supporting organizations to the men's groups, the memorial associations might have disappeared. These women, like their northern counterparts in the Women's Relief Corps, could have contented themselves to act as auxiliaries to the men's associations focusing primarily on needy and destitute veterans. Like the northern veterans' association, the Grand Army of the Republic, the men might have focused exclusively on the military aspects of the war, vanishing with the last veteran. Veterans alone might have ignored the efforts to inculcate the next generation with the "Confederate spirit" through children's organizations and museums that became so central to the LMAs mission during the final decade of the nineteenth century. Even more important, women's Confederate associations could have vanished entirely. Simply put, these gendered battles in the 1870s had enormous consequences for the endurance of Confederate traditions into the twentieth century.

***

[61] For essays on women's role in monument building, see Mills and Simpson, Monuments to the Lost Cause.

At the same time that Richmond's memorial women struggled to retain their position within the Lost Cause, Ladies' Memorial Associations from Winchester to Lynchburg continued to experience a decline in their membership bases.[62] Many factors contributed to this decline, including the completion of projects along with the political and financial climate. Although officers of the memorial associations continued to meet and the associations persisted with their annual Memorial Day celebrations, many of the rank-and-file LMA members simply lost interest in the memorial work once the reinterments and cemeteries had been finished.[63] The Depression of 1873, known as the Great Depression until the 1930s, hampered both the LMAs' fundraising powers and women's ability to contribute dues. The end of Reconstruction meant that it was no longer imperative that the Lost Cause be cast in an apolitical or feminine guise, and women thus lost much of the impetus behind their initial work.

Deaths and relocations of key LMA leaders likewise took a toll on the memorial associations. The HMA solemnly noted that "the death and removal from the city of some of its most efficient members" accounted for the depressed interest in the association. By the mid-1880s, several of the most active memorial women in the state had passed away, including the HMA's Mary Adams Randolph (1871), Mrs. George Gwathmey (by 1880), and Elizabeth H. Brown (by 1882); the FLMA's Helen Beale (1885) and Jane Ficklin (1886); and PLMA president Margaret Joynes (1884). Other prominent players moved from the area. Fredericksburg's Lizzie Alsop had married Henry Wynne and moved to Ohio. The LLMC, and therefore the HMA, were likewise paralyzed by losses, as four of the five leading members died or left the state by mid-decade. Only Lizzie Nicholas and

---

[62] See chapter 3 for the initial decrease in 1868 and 1869.

Sarah Randolph remained active, the latter commuting from Maryland for LLMC meetings after accepting a position as principal of the Patapsco Institute near Ellicott Mills in 1879.[64]

Ironically, the diminishing popularity of LMAs among the state's women testified to the associations' success. Building on their wartime societies, participation in the memorial associations had increased southern white women's civic activity and introduced them to an array of alternative causes. The women who had dedicated so much time and energy to the LMAs did not simply cease to take part in women's associations once their cemeteries and monuments were complete; rather, they looked to other organizations in which they might implement their newly honed organizational skills and find companionship with like-minded women.

Like their sisters both North and South, Virginia's middle- and upper-class women found new benevolent and club opportunities available to them during the 1870s and 1880s. Lori D. Ginzberg and Suzanne Lebsock have both shown extensive evidence for antebellum societies in the North and Upper South, but the industrialization and urbanization that followed the Civil War accounted in large measure for the proliferation of female societies during these years. Although two-thirds of adult women in the United States continued to live on farms and therefore contribute to the household economy, the increasing availability of factory-produced goods along with meagerly paid black and white household servants relieved the more prosperous women (especially urban women) of their domestic responsibilities. These women busied themselves with a range of

---

[63] For a case study, see author's "To Honor Her Noble Sons." For evidence of interest in the Confederate cause waning among women in Raleigh, North Carolina, see Censer, Reconstruction, 200.

activities including shopping and attending college, but the great majority of middle- and upper-class women directed their attention to female voluntary associations.[65]

The largest number of organized women joined the church associations that had been the mainstay of women's activism since the antebellum period.[66] Women stayed busy organizing fairs and feasts for their congregations, such as an 1874 dinner in Petersburg to clear a church debt, while Richmond's women solicited donations for an organist at the Episcopal Church of the Savior. On the heels of religious societies, women enthusiastically established an array of secular societies, both for their own improvement and for the betterment of their communities in what they began to call "clubs." Petersburg's women assisted the local Agricultural Society in their fundraising endeavors, including PLMA members Mrs. R.G. Pegram and Mrs. Richard Bagby. Richmond's women chose from a variety of associations including the Women's Christian Temperance Union, St. Paul's Orphan Asylum, the Ladies' Aid Society, as well as literary societies. Many women in towns throughout the Commonwealth joined the national Women's Christian Temperance Movement, organized in Virginia in 1883.[67]

---

[64] HMA minutes, May 4, 1891, MOC; ANB 18: 136-37; "The Monument to General Robert E. Lee: History of the Movement for its Erection,"SHSP 17:185-205. For additional demographic information, see membership databases for each LMA in author's possession.

[65] Ginzberg, Women and the Work of Benevolence, 5, 11-98; Lebsock, Free Women of Petersburg, 195-236; Censer, Reconstruction, 153-206; Scott, Natural Allies, 79-81. Ginzberg argues that the rhetoric of benevolence changed after the Civil War. Antebellum activists' employed language suggesting both that "virtue was more pronounced in women than in men and that this virtue could be the force behind a moral transformation of society at large." By the 1870s and 1880s, however, activists referred less to "a mission of moral regeneration" and more to responsibility of controlling the poor and vagrant. It should be noted, however, that Ginzberg only examines northern women's associations.

[66] Scott, Natural Allies, 79-81; Friedman, The Enclosed Garden, 3-20.

[67] Richmond Daily Dispatch , May 4, 1883; Petersburg Index and Appeal, September 15, 1874; Petersburg Daily Index, October 13, 1870; Lebsock, Share of Honour, 108; Scott, Natural Allies, 93-140; Censer, Reconstruction, 153-206; E. Susan Barber, "Anxious Care and Constant Struggle: The Female Humane Association and Richmond's White Civil War Orphans," in Elna C. Green, ed., Before the New Deal: Social Welfare in the South, 1830-1930 (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1999), 120-37. For more about women's postwar public activities, see also Scott, Southern Lady. The national Women's Christian Temperance Union organized after a meeting of temperance-minded women at Lake Chautauqua, New York in 1874.

Middle- and upper-class Virginia women also joined ranks to influence public policy when they organized the Woman's Fund for the Liquidation of the Virginia State Debt.[68] "The time has come," they claimed "for us to encourage and aid our fathers, husbands, brothers, and sons in their earnest endeavor to meet the just and fair obligations of our beloved Commonwealth." In a lengthy appeal to the Daughters of the State, the women demonstrated that they fully comprehended the economic and political consequences of the debt, detailing the amount of the principal, interest, and yearly payments necessary to fulfill the debt. But, they maintained, it was the duty of "all honorable and honest *men*" to fulfill their obligations. "While the women of the State might endeavor directly to raise a large amount of this balance by self-denial," they believed it "more honorable for the men to do it." Seeming to overlook the HMA's explicit failure—if not outright refusal—to repay Weaver for the Gettysburg dead, the women lauded their own patriotism while shaming the men into action. Women might act as arbiters of male honor but reserved no such critique for their own behavior.[69]

---

[68] Beginning in the late 1870s, questions regarding repayment of the state debt ushered in the Readjuster Movement. While conservative Democrats insisted on paying off all public debts from the war era in order to preserve the state's honor, the Readjusters wanted to scale down, or "readjust," the state debt. This biracial party consisted of black and white Republicans and "rebellious Conservatives" (the party name used by the Democrats in Virginia from 1868-1883). In addition to the repudiation of the debt, Readjusters demanded supported the expansion of public schooling and economic development that served ordinary people of both races. For a detailed examination of the Readjuster period in Virginia, see Jane Dailey, "The Limits of Liberalism in the New South: The Politics of Race, Sex, and Patronage in Virginia, 1879-1883," in Dailey, Gilmore, and Simon, eds., Jumpin' Jim Crow, 88-114; Henderson, Gilded Age City, iii; Hartzell, "The Exploration of Freedom," 154; Osborne, Jubal, 415-16, 467; Younger, ed., The Governors of Virginia, 63-64, 84-91, 99-101, 104-7; and Foner, Reconstruction, 592, 604. According to historian David Blight, the Readjuster Movement serves as an example of "rejection to the Lost Cause." The Readjuster Party held power in Virginia in 1879-83, gaining control of the governor's mansion, the legislature, six of ten seats in Congress, and sending William Mahone to the U.S. Senate. By the mid-1880s Democrats' appeals to white supremacy swept the party out of office.

[69] Winchester News, July 5, September 20, 1878, emphasis added. According to Wyatt-Brown, southern white women were critical to men's honor. He notes that "a male's moral bearing resided not in him alone, but also in his women's standing." That is, men were expected to defend their female dependents against outside attacks while women were to uphold their chastity, as it reflected on their men. (Wyatt-Brown, Honor and Violence, 35-38.)

Women's involvement in the state debt issue revealed that LMAs had created opportunities for women to sharpen the organizational skills learned through antebellum benevolent societies and wartime associations, thereby allowing them to more fully participate in policy making. "It is said we have helped and encouraged our noble State in a darker hour than this," they claimed, "shall we not, by the blessing of God, aid her now?" They employed the tactics of appeals and fundraising, honed so skillfully in the LMAs, to mobilize the state's "daughters." As they had done in their cemetery and monument projects, they sent appeals throughout the state to raise funds. They circulated a petition among the state's women asking the legislature to increase taxes, no doubt relying on the networks established by the memorial associations. Most important, however, the State Debt Association served as evidence of women's direct entry into partisan politics. While LMAs may have attempted to diffuse the political significance of Memorial Days in the 1860s and functioned as quasi-bureaucratic agencies when they directed memorial projects, these experiences had given them training of sorts in the male-dominated world of political wrangling. They believed that their wartime record, combined with their postwar loyalty, gave them a legitimacy to enter such debates. As opposed to progressive era women who invoked maternalism to involve themselves in the state, ex-Confederate women reasoned that their wartime record and postwar loyalty gave them a certain amount of influence within partisan circles.[70]

---

[70] Winchester News, July 5, September 20, 1878. For a discussion of maternalism and politics, see Paula Baker, "The Domestication of Politics: Women and American Political Society, 1780-1920," The American Historical Review 89 (June 1984): 620-47; and Skocpol, Protecting Soldiers and Mothers, 50-53, 480-539. Although a full membership list has not been discovered, it appears that at least one member of the Women's Association for the Liquidation of the State Debt executive committee, Mrs. Andrew Pizzini, was a member of the HMA in the 1860s. (HMA minutes, MOC; Winchester News, September 20, 1878.) For a discussion of women's symbolic role in antebellum politics, see Varon, We Mean to Be Counted, 1-11.

The reasons for the decline in LMA membership during the 1870s and 1880s, therefore, were not tied to the rise in male associations. The men certainly did not pull any of their membership base from the women's organizations, and no evidence exists to suggest that women became discouraged by the likes of Early and his comrades. Moreover, like the women's associations, the AANVA, SHS, Lee Monument Association (Richmond), Lee Memorial Association (Lexington), SCB, and even the Union veteran association, the GAR, all began to lose popular support in the late-1870s.[71] For instance, the SHS, which had moved its headquarters to Richmond in 1873 under the new leadership of Early, had begun to falter by 1880.[72] Dabney H. Maury's frequent letters to Early underscored the waning interest in the SHS and its papers. The society was ensconced in debt, its membership rolls meager, and it proved difficult to get a quorum of executive members at annual board meetings. Some of the most prominent players in the organization, including William Preston Johnston, Charles Venable, and Judge George L. Christian resigned, while others, such as George Munford and Archer Anderson, failed to

---

[71] Foster, Ghosts, 61. Gaines Foster has demonstrated that the male organizations in Virginia, including the AANVA, Lee Monument Association, Lee Memorial Association, and SHS "failed to gain widespread support." He estimates that the AANVA probably never had more than 200 members and the SHS attracted only 1,560 subscribers during its height in 1876. Foster suggests several reasons for the failure of the men. First, he cites "confusion, if not corruption," as a factor in the low membership and fund-raising campaigns. Second, he attributes the "contentious personalities" of Early and Pendelton (Lee Memorial Association) as detrimental to their success. Finally, he suggests that the "aristocratic bias" of the groups discouraged popular support. While these regional-level groups faltered, the period between the mid-1870s and mid-1880s witnessed the establishment of numerous regimental veterans' associations. For instance, the Lynchburg Daily Virginian reported on reunions of the 3rd Georgia, Mahone's Old Brigade, and Mosby's 43rd Battalion of Cavalry in a period of four weeks in 1875. (Lynchburg Daily Virginian, April 13, May 12, and May 17, 1875.) The last documented account of the SCB appears to have been in the spring of 1875, when they escorted Valentine's recumbent statue of Lee to Lexington. (Petersburg Index and Appeal, April 14, 1875.) Stuart McConnell points out that the GAR was "virtually moribund" by 1872, although it began to revive in the late 1870s. (McConnell, Glorious Contentment, xiv.)

[72] Early became vice president of the SHS for Virginia following Lee's death. At a meeting in White Sulphur Springs, West Virginia, in May 1873, the society elected Early as its president. He subsequently appointed an all-Virginian executive committee chaired by Dabney H. Maury (who had returned from New Orleans to Richmond). In 1876, the organization began publication of the Southern Historical Society Papers. The SHS supported both the Lee Monument (Richmond) and Lee Memorial (Lexington)

attend meetings. Sadly, Maury reported, "I have noticed a loss of interest in war papers, and the subject of the war generally."[73]

***

By 1884, only Sarah Randolph and Lizzie Nicholas remained active in the Ladies' Lee Monument Committee, but attempts to consolidate the women's association with the governor's continued to stall. Two years later, Governor Fitzhugh Lee worked out a compromise association that included a new board of directors with representatives from the government and LLMC. With fundraising nearing completion, the new association selected the women's initial choice of Mercié. Jubal Early balked at the decision, describing Mercié's design as "General Lee on a 'bob tail horse,' looking like an English jockey" and implying that if it were erected he would rouse "the survivors of the 2d Corps" to demolish the statue. But the women had prevailed, and the statue's cornerstone was laid on a wet and soggy day in October 1887.[74]

The HMA's Gettysburg dead project, however, continued to be a source of humiliation for the association, Richmond, and Virginia. When a new generation of women stepped forward to revitalize the memorial association in the late-1880s, Weaver

---

associations. For more details on the SHS, see Foster, Ghosts, 50-54, 90-95, Connelly, Marble Man, 41-45, 72-73, 82, and Osborne, Jubal, 431-40, 448.

[73] Dabney H. Maury to Jubal A. Early, October 30, December 31, 1880, May 13, 1883, January 30, November 1, 1884, Jubal Early Papers, LC. Although the SHS appeared to rally in 1883 when it emerged from its debt, a year later it was on the downslide again. As vacancies and resignations continued to increase, Maury suggested selling its papers to raise money.

renewed his quest for payment, sparking yet another round of fights and testing the limits of women's memorial authority.

By the mid-1880s, at least a few prominent leaders of Virginia's LMAs had secured women's leadership of Confederate traditions by resisting men's efforts to co-opt control. They had maintained a voice in the Lee Monument effort and refused to surrender the Gettysburg project to the SCB. Without these gendered battles, the landscape of the South would have looked very different in the late-1880s and 1890s. Without women's refusal to cede control, men might have dominated the public rituals of the Lost Cause. Moreover, as the next chapter will explore, the Ladies' Memorial Associations and their efforts to retain women's influence over public representations and memories of the Confederate past helped prepare the way for the most popular and extensive Lost Cause organization, the United Daughters of the Confederacy.

---

[74] "The Monument to General Robert E. Lee: History of the Movement for its Erection," SHSP 17:185-205; Connelly, Marble Man, 45; Early quoted in Foster, Ghosts, 98-100; Savage, Standing Soldiers, 146-50.

Chapter 5
"The Old Spirit is Not Dying Out"
The Memorial Associations' Renaissance
late-1880s to 1893

Since 1866 the white citizens of Richmond had welcomed the warm days of spring with their annual memorial tributes at the Hebrew, Oakwood, and Hollywood cemeteries. Whether in grand processions with orations or more quiet occasions of merely laying flowers on the graves, each year Richmonders had looked to the city's Ladies' Memorial Associations for direction and instruction. But a strange thing happened in the spring of 1883. Although the HMA had made plans to decorate the graves, a newly formed veteran's organization, the Lee Camp, took the liberty of inviting all Confederate veterans who might make the trip to Richmond as well as the Philadelphia chapter of the Grand Army of the Republic to unite with them in the services at Hollywood. Memorial Days had been the province of women since the war, and now men were attempting to co-opt the celebrations in their own name.[1]

The disputes with Early, the AANVA, and the Southern Cross Brotherhood during the 1870s had frustrated some members of the HMA, and many had ceased to participate in the association except for the annual memorial celebrations. The Lee Camp's assumption of Memorial Day in 1883 eventually proved more than many of the women could bear. Refusing to be treated as mere ornaments on a day that they had inaugurated, in the spring of 1886 the HMA met to rejuvenate their association and

---

[1] Grand Camp Confederate Veterans / R.E. Lee Camp, No.1 minutes, May 17, 1883, June 7, 1884, VHS [group hereafter cited as Lee Camp]; Richmond Daily Dispatch, May 23, 24, 1883. As if this incursion into the Ladies' sphere was not enough, the following year the Lee Camp proposed and even more direct assault on women's domain when they suggested securing "appropriate head boards" for the graves of the Gettysburg dead.

recapture authority over commemorations of the war dead. That year, in a carefully worded invitation, they requested that the Lee Camp join them in a memorial service at Hollywood. The men were to be their guests, not vice versa. Asserting their leadership, the HMA directed the Lee Camp to take over some of the more mundane aspects such as organizing the procession. But the Ladies, not the men, would direct the day's festivities. The HMA's experiences with the LLMC and the Gettysburg dead project had taught them that they needed to dictate the terms of the "cooperation." Ironically, with this reassertion on the part of the Ladies came a new era of gender cooperation between them and the veterans associations.[2]

Contrary to historians' assertions that LMAs disappeared after Reconstruction, in the early-to-mid-1880s women across Virginia revitalized their organizations and redefined their message.[3] Reestablishing the gender division of labor in Confederate commemorations that had existed in the 1860s, they tentatively locked hands with aging veterans in the hopes of passing on the Confederate traditions to future generations. Despite this renewed spirit of cooperation between white southern men and women, the LMAs proved more resistant than their male counterparts to reconciliation with white northerners. The women continued with their early focus on cemeteries and Memorial Days, but more forward-looking groups, such as the HMA, adapted their strategies to the increasingly national culture of the late-1800s, electing to erect more centrally located monuments, establishing a museum to showcase relics of the Confederacy, and

---

[2] HMA minutes, May 16, 1887, May 11, 1888, May 4, 1889, MOC. It appears that the HMA never ceased to exist entirely during the 1880s. For example, in 1883 the association expressed its desire to plaster the Soldiers' monument (pyramid) in Hollywood Cemetery so that it might become covered with vines. (Richmond Daily Dispatch, May 5, 1883).

[3] For historians who argue that LMAs were temporary, see Foster, Ghosts, 36-62; Brundage, "White Women and the Politics of Historical Memory in the New South,"115; Mills and Simpson, eds., Monuments to the Lost Cause, xvi.

organizing "junior" associations to pass on the Confederate spirit. Ladies' Memorial Associations, far from being obsolete, proved to be an integral part of the Confederate revival that took place in the last decades of the nineteenth century.

***

In the spring of 1883, eleven women from the nearly defunct Petersburg LMA gathered to voice their frustrations with one another regarding the status of their organization. Without more aid, they recognized, the association would have to be permanently dissolved. Certainly the "good women of Petersburg" would be roused by a call for support and join their efforts—just as they had done during the days of the war. If not, the group would "fall to pieces simply for the want of help and encouragement to keep it up." Determined not to endure such a fate and allow the work of their founding generation to be overlooked, the women launched a vigorous effort to recruit new and old members alike. They employed their social circles to solicit support, especially the myriad of women's organizations throughout the city to which many former PLMA members belonged. They encouraged their sisters and daughters to enlist and placed an advertisement in the local paper encouraging all of the city's "ladies" to assist them in their efforts.[4] Only three weeks after reorganizing their society, the PLMA had increased

[4] Petersburg Index-Appeal, April 12, 1883. There is no direct correlation in reorganization dates among the associations; Lynchburg was the first to reconvene in 1880, followed by Oakwood in 1882. In May 1886, several Richmond women met at the home of Lucy Mason Webb to revive the Hollywood Memorial Association. The LMA of Fredericksburg followed suit in 1893. Winchester alone, with its ties to the Stonewall Monumental Association that was open to both sexes, remained active from 1865 well into the 1890s. (LLMA minutes, JML; PLMA minutes, LOV; OMA minutes, MOC; HMA minutes, MOC; Henderson, Gilded Age City, 258-59; Petersburg Index-Appeal, April 27, 1883; Mitchell, Hollywood Cemetery, 102.) A survey of the Winchester Times from 1865 through the mid-1880s provides evidence

their membership from 11 to 45 members. Such interest and rapid growth led the women to "feel quite encouraged" about their revitalization. The HMA showed a similar resilience; by the spring of 1890, they boasted that 196 women had been enrolled as members, although not all were annual subscribers.[5] Fredericksburg, on the other hand, elected to limit their membership at 20 women in an effort to restrict their association to the city's most elite families.[6]

As had been the case since the 1860s, Fredericksburg was not alone in its class bias. Like the earliest LMA members, Virginia's women who joined the revitalized organizations overwhelmingly represented the middle- and upper-class sections of their respective communities. But they also represented two different generations of Virginia women: the older generation born between 1830 and 1850 who had been members of the LMAs since the 1860s, and the second generation born between 1850 and 1870. Although individual differences certainly existed, women of these two generations brought with them their life experiences that had shaped both their perceptions about the past and women's place in the present-day South.[7]

Most of the women who joined the LMAs in the 1880s were the same ones who had joined the effort in the immediate aftermath of the war. Born during the 1830s and 1850s, they had experienced the war as young women. Like the LMA women of the 1860s, many had family members who served in the Confederate army or government, but most could not claim relatives who had died in war. A fair number of these women,

---

that the Winchester LMA remained active the entire period, although their leadership changed with the passing of Mary Williams sometime before 1879.

[5] PLMA minutes, April 26, May 3, 10, 17, July 5, 1883, LOV; HMA minutes, May 4, 1891, "1890 Annual Report," MOC.

[6] FLMA minutes, April 18, 1893, LOV.

[7] On the generational approach, see Censer, Reconstruction, 5-6, n.9. Like Censer, I see the Civil War as a formative experience, though I do not believe that these women would have defined themselves as part of a particular generation.

especially officers, had been active in the earlier memorial associations. In Fredericksburg, for example, at least nine of the twenty members had been active in the 1860s and 1870s; at least eleven of Hollywood's members had been active in the first decades of memorial work. But a closer examination of individual personalities reveals the motivations of this earliest generation of women.[8]

Isobel Lamont Stewart Bryan, president of the HMA beginning in 1890, and Ruth Hairston Early of the Lynchburg LMA provide examples of this older generation. Known to her family as Belle, Bryan was born to Richmond's John Stewart and Mary Amanda Williamson Stewart in 1847. Her father made a living as a wealthy tobacco merchant at the family's home of Brook Hill in Henrico County just outside of Richmond. During the war, Confederate soldiers frequently camped at Brook Hill, where her father had established a hospital. Robert E. Lee visited the home at least once, and young Belle developed a deep admiration for the general. It appears as though her mother was a member of the HMA in 1866. More than likely, given her own Confederate sympathies, Belle would have joined as well had she not been visiting her father's family in Edinburgh, Scotland, between 1865 and 1866.[9]

In February 1871, Belle married Joseph Bryan, an attorney, Confederate veteran, and editor of the Richmond Times. They took up residence at Brook Hill, and between 1871 and 1882 she gave birth to six sons (five of whom survived to adulthood). As with many of her contemporaries, mothering was not Bryan's only focus; rather, she sought a more public role for herself as she quickly took on the role of president for three different women's organizations. In 1887 she helped found the Richmond Women's Christian

---

[8] FLMA minutes, April 18, 1893, LOV.
[9] Betsy Brinson, "Bryan, Isobel Lamont Stewart," in Kneebone and others, eds., Dictionary of Virginia Biography 1:347-49; Coski and Feely, "The Founding Generation of the Confederate Museum," 139.

Association, which located decent housing for women who worked in the city's factories and shops. The association nominated her for president in 1889, and she served in this capacity for a decade. She also joined the Richmond Ice and Milk Mission, Colonial Dames, and the Association for Preservation of Virginia Antiquities (APVA). In 1890, Bryan took over as president of the APVA, whose purpose was to raise funds to purchase and restore the state's historical sites in an effort to correct the "misinterpretations of Virginia's glorious colonial past by historians from New England."[10]

Ruth Hairston Early, niece of Jubal Early, was born in 1849 to Samuel and Henrian Cabell Early of Lynchburg. During the war, she attended the Lynchburg Female Seminary where she studied Latin, English, and music. Because of a close bond to her uncle, Early formed relationships with many of the Confederacy's former leaders and their wives, including Varina Howell Davis. She probably joined the city's numerous female clubs, such as the reading and musical associations, and was clearly a member of the Lynchburg LMA by 1887. A daughter of one of Lynchburg's most prominent families, she emulated Sarah Randolph by dedicating much of her time to writing histories of Virginia and the region. Her many works included such titles as By Ways of Virginia History, The Early Family, Campbell Chronicles and Family Sketches. She also oversaw the publication of Jubal Early's small book The Heritage of the South (printed on Confederate Gray paper and bound in gray cloth) and his memoirs. Like Bryan, she later joined other statewide and national women's associations, including the Poetry Society of Virginia, Pocahontas Memorial Association, Southern Industrial Educational Association,

[10] Brinson, "Bryan, Isobel Lamont Stewart," 347-49; Belle Bryan to Cousin Parke [Lucy Parke Chamberlayne Bagby], July 10, September 10, 17, 1889, Bagby Family Papers, VHS.

Daughters of the American Revolution, UDC, and the International Anglo-Saxon Society.[11]

In addition to this generation of LMA members, a younger group of women, born primarily between 1850 and 1870, joined the ranks of the re-constituted memorial associations in the mid-1880s. As historian Karen Cox has explained, those women born after 1850 "developed their perceptions about the Old South based on their parents' memories." They had come of age during Reconstruction, a period considered by many white southerners to have been one of "Yankee aggression" and "black betrayal" that many wished to forget. Rather than forsaking the defeated Confederacy, this generation of white southerners, even more so than their mothers and fathers, created and romanticized the "Old South." They had grown-up hearing stories of beautiful plantations, faithful slaves, and heroic Confederate soldiers. They had heard countless stories of the "southern lady" and the Confederate woman, two role models that this generation of women wished to both celebrate and emulate.[12] But at the same time they participated in a wave of reform sweeping both the North and the South. "New Women" of the South petitioned for property rights, age of consent and anti-liquor laws; they appealed for admission to state universities, advocated school reform, and requested that women be appointed to boards of public institutions.[13]

---

[11] Mary Cabell to Eva, February 20, 1864, Evelyn Russell Early to Mother, May 16, 1887, Varian Howell Davis to Ruth H. Early, March 2, 1890, miscellaneous certificates, Early family papers, VHS; Halsey, Historic and Heroic Lynchburg, 73-74.

[12] Cox, Dixie's Daughters, 37; Woodward. Origins of the New South, 154-55; Hale, Making Whiteness, 47-49; Foster, Ghosts, 3-10; Daniel, Lost Revolutions, 26; Censer, Reconstruction, 6.

[13] For a discussion of "New Women," see Edward L. Ayers, The Promise of the New South: Life after Reconstruction (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 316-17; Scott, Southern Lady, 176-77. For more specific discussion of southern white women and the suffrage movement, see Marjorie Spruill Wheeler, New Women of the New South: The Leaders of the Woman Suffrage Movement in the Southern States (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

Lucy Dunbar Williams, Nannie Lightfoot, and Kate Pleasants Minor offer insights into this younger generation of LMA women, many of whom were the literal daughters of the founding generation. Lucy Dunbar Williams was born in 1850 to Phillip Williams II and Mary Dunbar Williams of Winchester. Her mother and aunt had been the co-founders of the WLMA, so it seemed fitting that Lucy would follow in their footsteps, eventually filling the role as the secretary of the association. Nannie Lightfoot, a member of the PLMA, was born in 1858 to physician John Herbert Claiborne and his wife Sarah. Like Williams, her mother had been an active member of the LMA in the 1860s; she, too, had passed away by the 1880s. Many of these young women, in their twenties and thirties when the LMAs reorganized, joined in the spirit of Confederate memorialization and to honor the "noble work" their mothers had initiated twenty years earlier.[14]

Like several of those in the older generation, many if not most of the younger women committed themselves to multiple women's organizations beyond the LMAs. Kate Pleasants Minor, corresponding secretary for the HMA, was born in 1857 to John Adair and Virginia Cary Pleasants, spending her entire life in Richmond. She involved herself in multiple benevolent and political societies beyond the memorial association. In addition to her work with the HMA, Minor originated the idea of a state board of charities and corrections, joined a group that was responsible for juvenile court and detention home, was a member of Equal Suffrage League, served as a delegate to the Virginia and national Democratic conventions (1924), and acted as the serials librarian with Virginia State Library, from 1912 to 1925.[15] Unlike their grandmothers, who had been born between 1810 and 1830, women of these two generations found greater civic

---

[14] Quarles, Some Worthy Lives, 246; Petersburg Index-Appeal, April 12, 1883.
[15] "Mrs. Minor and the Library," undated clipping, Richmond News-Leader, M●C.

opportunities open to them. While not all women of this generation participated in memorial activities, LMA work was just one facet of club life for these "new" Virginia women.[16]

Even more than their participation in multiple women's associations, those who joined the LMAs in the 1880s and 1890s differed from the earliest members in their goals. In the 1860s, cemetery work had served simultaneously as a necessity and political response to the war's outcome. But twenty and thirty years later, as the war generation began to give way to their children and grandchildren, the social and political climate dictated a change in the direction of the Lost Cause. In the mid-1880s, Virginians, along with the rest of the South, witnessed a period of renewed enthusiasm and concern for the Confederate past. Interest in soldiers' pensions, the death of Jefferson Davis, the beginnings of industrialization, integration into the national economy and mass culture, gender anxieties, and racial tensions all contributed to the development of a regional celebration that honored white southerners' self-sacrifice and honor. This Confederate revival helped facilitate a sense of white southern solidarity through veterans' associations, monuments, parades, and a new emphasis on the next generation, amid what many assumed was the decline of white southern civilization. As several other historians have argued, during these years, reverence for the Lost Cause became a "tonic against the fear of social change" and an "escape to a mythic past."[17]

---

[16] Censer argues that some women of the youngest generation, such as Ellen Glasgow, found Confederate memorial activities to be oppressive "and criticized them for holding the South back from the modern world." (Censer, Reconstruction, 275-76.)

[17] Foster, Ghosts, 79-87; Blight, Race and Reunion, 255-99, [quote 266]; Ayers, Promise, 310-38; Skocpol, Protecting Soldiers and Mothers, 102-51; David Currey, "The Virtuous Soldier: Constructing a Useable Past in Franklin, Tennessee," in Mills and Simpson, eds., Monuments to the Lost Cause, 133-39. Blight defines the 1880s and beyond as the "reconciliationist phase" of the Lost Cause.

Southern race relations also may have occasioned a swell in Lost Cause sentiment. Not only did this celebration of the Confederate past occur within years of the formal end to Reconstruction in 1877, but it also coincided with the legal implementation of segregation throughout the South. Historians Grace Hale and David Blight argue that the emergence of a black middle-class, movement of strangers along the region's railroads, growth of towns, white women's suffrage activities, a new consumer culture, and political/economic conflicts of the era together led many middle-class white southerners to look to the past for affirmation. Building on a number of antebellum stereotypes, they created an imaginary past of plantation tranquility, gallant men, southern belles, and happy slaves to legitimate a new racial and gender hierarchy. By imagining interracial peace of the "Old South" and the "blackness of Reconstruction," southern whites rewrote their history to make segregation seem not only natural, but necessary. As Hale argues, this fictional narrative of the past "absolved white southerners of moral obligation to the freedpeople and blurred white class and gender differences while legitimating segregation as the only possible southern future."[18]

But two inexplicably linked factors also helped stimulate popular interest in the Lost Cause at the grassroots level. First, the generation of veterans and women who had experienced the war as young adults were now coming into their own, running businesses and rearing children. They had the financial resources and time to participate in such endeavors. Second, and related to the first, they desperately needed their offspring to understand their devotion to the Confederate cause even though it had failed. When asked "Why are the old Confederates gathering together again? and what are they going to get

[18] Hale, Making Whiteness, 43-84; Blight, Race and Reunion, 6-30. Blight notes that this was a myth the white North seemed increasingly willing to believe, making reconciliation on the basis of a *white* memory of the Civil War possible.

out of it?" Thomas Munford reminded a crowd of Lynchburg veterans in the mid-1880s that the answer lay with the next generation: "To our children and their children's children, let it be our pride to teach them, as is done in every land where patriotism and self-sacrificing spirits are honored and esteemed, that the Confederates shed their blood for their Mother, Virginia, defending a cause she knew to be just and right." But even more so than the veterans, the LMA women understood that passing along the Confederate tradition to future generations must be their primary goal.[19]

Even twenty years after the close of the war, park-like Confederate cemeteries attracted white southerners of every generation, providing a tranquil and contemplative setting for them to reflect on the heroic deeds of the war dead. LMAs recognized the symbolic role these settings possessed for both current and future generations and so continued to emphasize the aesthetic nature of these cities of the dead. Like several of the LMAs, the Lynchburg society regretted that it could not tend to such duties alone and elected to hire someone to clean and clear the cemetery, on occasion requesting that salt be sprinkled on the sidewalks to prevent grass from growing. The PLMA erected a gothic arch over the entry to their memorial grounds and convinced the town council to donate money toward widening the road and building a new bridge in the cemetery. The Winchester Ladies directed their energies toward replacing the wooden grave markers with more permanent marble slabs. Reinterments continued as well. The Petersburg Ladies proposed reburying those Confederate soldiers who lay along the Richmond and

[19] Speech of Thomas T. Munford to Confederate Veterans at Lynchburg, c. 1884, Munford-Ellis Family Papers, DU, emphasis in original.

Petersburg Railroad in Blandford Cemetery, and in 1893 the Hollywood association succeeded in having Jefferson Davis's remains reinterred in their cemetery.[20]

The LMAs also spent a great deal of their efforts building monuments during these years. The FLMA had "earnestly desired" to erect a monument since the spring of 1873, but did not fulfill their goal until the reorganized association dedicated the monument in 1891. Although the Lynchburg LMA had dedicated a monument to the Confederate dead in their cemetery in 1869, during the spring of 1890 they appointed a committee to erect a monument in the city to soldiers "who were killed in, or died in consequence of the late war" from the surrounding area. The WLMA and their spin-off organizations such as the Virginia Shaft Association, continued to sponsor state monuments in their cemeteries, such as the Louisiana state monument completed in 1896. The PLMA, on the other hand, joined forces with the A.P. Hill Camp of Confederate Veterans to erect a statue of a Confederate infantryman on Memorial Hill in Blandford Cemetery.[21]

---

[20] LLMA minutes, May 22, 1885, JML; PLMA minutes, August 8, December 2, 1883, June 28, 1884, December 1892, LOV. Not all of the cemetery focus generated from within the LMAs. The OMA's dedication, or at least investment, in their cemetery appears to have been questioned by the Richmond City Council Committee on Cemeteries. In April 1887, the committee asked to remove all the wooden boards marking the ranges, sections, and graves of the Confederate dead in Oakwood as the rapid decay of the headboards prevented the committee from beautifying the grounds. The OMA initially denied the city's request but eventually consented so long as the engineer drew detailed maps indicating each grave. (OMA minutes, April 1887 meeting, Fall 1887 meeting, MOC.) Jefferson Davis had died on December 6, 1889, and his body had originally been laid to rest in a vault in New Orleans' Metrairie Cemetery. As early as March 1890, however, the HMA requested that Varina Davis reinter her husband's remains in Richmond. Originally, the Ladies wished to place his remains in a crypt within the White House of the Confederacy, but Varina Davis declined this idea. The former statesman was finally laid to rest in Hollywood Cemetery on May 31, 1893. (HMA minutes, March, April 19, 1890, May 4, October 31, November 13, 1891, May 9, 1893, MOC.) For more on Davis's reinterment, see M. Anna Fariello, "Personalizing the Political: The Davis Family Circle in Richmond's Hollywood Cemetery" ," in Mills and Simpson, eds,. Monuments to the Lost Cause, 116-32.

[21] FLMA minutes May 1873, no date 1873, LOV; Fredericksburg Star, May 2, June 13, 1891; LLMA minutes, May 11, 1890, JML; Morton, The Story of Winchester, 249-50; PLMA minutes, February 2, 1889, LOV.

Richmond, not surprisingly, erected even more magnificent monuments than it had in the 1860s or 1870s. By 1886 the disputes between Early and the LLMC regarding the Lee Monument had largely been resolved, and four years later the large equestrian statue was unveiled in a grand celebration along what would become Monument Avenue. People from all parts of the South traveled to Richmond, where they were greeted by miles of bunting, portraits of Washington and Lee, and thousands of waving Confederate and American flags. A parade of more than twenty thousand participants marched west out of the city to bands playing "Dixie" and southern dirges. Jubal Early, having been denied his choice in sculptor, served as the master of ceremonies, while other former Confederate leaders such as Dabney H. Maury and Joseph E. Johnston joined in the revelry. Between 100,000 and 150,000 people participated in the festivities, most likely the largest crowd to gather for a Confederate celebration to that point. The success of the monument and ceremonies that accompanied its unveiling provided evidence that cooperation between the veterans and women's groups could indeed produce the grandest of Confederate tributes.[22]

So it came as no surprise that when a group of veterans suggested erecting a monument to the common soldiers and sailors of the Confederacy they invited the cooperation of Richmond's LMAs. Recognizing the HMA's keen ability to raise money, in the spring of 1891 the men asked the association to organize a bazaar to aid their project. Initially, the Ladies declined, noting that many "pressing calls" on their association made it impossible for them to undertake "so grave a responsibility," although they would "most cheerfully assist any other organization of ladies who would assume the responsibility." But the men persisted in their appeals to the women. Wilfred Emory

[22] Foster, Ghosts, 100-01; Blight, Race and Reunion, 267-69; Savage, Standing Soldiers, 150-51.

Cutshaw, a member of both the HMA advisory committee and the Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument Association (SSMA), reminded the women that the men of the SSMA had always been their "most zealous friends" and urged that the HMA should undertake "to lead an enterprise to which all the Veteran associations will pledge their cordial support to raise the necessary funds to complete the monument." Clearly Cutshaw and the veterans admired the HMA's ability to garner popular support. The women finally agreed, eventually providing almost half of the $35,000 necessary to erect a column supporting a bronze figure of the common soldier located on Libby Hill.[23]

As these examples indicate, the pace, subject matter, and placement of LMA—or veteran—sponsored monuments changed during the 1880s. Gaines Foster has pointed out that between 1865 and 1885 ex-Confederates erected approximately 70 percent of their monuments in cemeteries. These monuments typically reflected some aspect of funeral design such as obelisks, urns, or pyramids, as in the case of the HMA memorial. Cemetery monuments, though, "attested to the belief that, however noble, the cause had failed." By the late-1880s, however, the number of communities erecting monuments had increased. Most frequently these tributes to the Confederacy found themselves integrated into public spaces, along city streets or on courthouse lawns, and funeral designs gave way to monuments featuring the Confederate soldier. But why the emphasis on monuments?[24]

Those who sponsored public monuments intended them to be fixed, to need no interpretation. In fact, one southern woman explained that memorials represented "in

---

[23] HMA minutes, November 13, 1891, January 19, 1892, MOC. Louise Nurney Kernodle, Guide Book of the City of Richmond (Richmond, Va.: Central Publishing Company, 1925), 82.

[24] Foster, Ghosts, 40-42, 44,128-30, 158, 168, 273; Savage, Standing Soldiers, 162; Currey, "The Virtuous Soldier," 135; Piehler, Remembering War the American Way, 64-65. Foster estimates that more than 60 percent of the monuments between 1886 and 1899 featured a Confederate soldier.

permanent physical form the historical truth and spiritual and political ideals we would perpetuate." Monuments were to provide historical closure, as Kirk Savage has pointed out, "to mold a landscape of collective memory, to conserve what is worth remembering and discard the rest." Public monuments allowed white southerners in the 1880s and 1890s to rewrite history from a Confederate or Lost Cause perspective, that is, the memorials intentionally ignored the issue of slavery, focusing instead on "honor, courage, duty, states' rights, and northern aggression." Monuments to the common soldier not only allowed the war generation to etch their devotion to the cause in stone, but they also stood as reminders of the southern social order and heroic Confederate cause to subsequent generations. At the dedication of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument in 1894, for example, Rev. Dr. Moses Hoge suggested that monuments acted as a history lesson for those who could not read, especially children. "Books are occasionally opened," but "monuments are seen every day," he noted. Monuments were intended to serve as daily reminders of white southerners' Confederate past.[25]

With all their interest in remembering the past, the revitalized HMA was not inclined to linger on its own history. After hearing of the HMA's (LLMC's) success in their Lee monument endeavor in the spring of 1889, Dr. Rufus Weaver renewed his efforts to claim the debt owed him by the HMA. Infuriated that the women had managed to collect the funds to erect an elaborate statue while they had failed to pay the $6,358.75

---

[25] Savage, Standing Soldiers, 4, 162-208; W. Fitzhugh Brundage, "'Woman's Hand and Heart and Deathless Love,' White Women and the Commemorative Impulse in the New South," in Mills and Simpson, eds,. Monuments to the Lost Cause, 66; Mills and Simpson, eds., xv-xxx; Hoge quoted in Foster, Ghosts, 129. Kirk Savage argues that "the modern soldier monument arose to perform a more complex cultural task, not merely to assuage the collective grief of a nation but to rehabilitate and modernize the seminal figure of the citizen-soldier." (Savage, Standing Soldiers, 167). Grace Elizabeth Hale notes that erecting monuments provided the war generation's offspring with a "lesser but still arguably heroic role of memorialists." (Hale, Making Whiteness, 242.) Edward L. Ayers also points out that Confederate statues served as monuments "to the thoroughly commercialized present." (Ayers, Promise, 334-35.)

owed to him for the Gettysburg reinterments, he vowed to collect the money. Again turning to Ada Egerton for her assistance, he calculated that with interest the HMA now owed him approximately $12,000. Egerton complied with his request, promptly contacting her close friend Major Stiles, an advisory board member of the HMA, asking him to pass along the "unpleasant piece of information" to the Ladies.[26]

Although at least eleven members of the HMA had been active participants when the Gettysburg reburial project began, they all claimed utter surprise when the debt resurfaced. "It was like thunder in a clear sky," corresponding secretary Kate Pleasants Minor recalled, "no single member of the association knew anything about the matter." To guard itself against a potential law suite, the HMA pointed out in April 1890 that the 1866 association had never been chartered and therefore was not legally liable for the debt. Furthermore, the HMA leadership failed to disclose the issue to the association at large for several months until, they claimed, the issue could be investigated. They reported to members that they had no recollection of the affair and that all records from that period had been lost (which may account for the fact that no minutes exist between 1868 and 1886). Fortunately, or perhaps unfortunately for the HMA, Weaver and Egerton had retained copies of all correspondences regarding the project and therefore had a viable claim against the association.[27]

After much heated debate, the HMA agreed that the claim was in fact just, noting that the association had a "strong moral obligation" to pay off as much of the debt as they could afford. Belle Bryan, ever the savvy club leader, suggested that the women make an

---

[26] Rufus Weaver to Mrs. Egerton, April 26, 1889, Rufus Weaver to Mrs. Egerton, April 10, 1890, Rufus Weaver to Mrs. Egerton, April 11, 1890, Robert Stiles to Mrs. Maxwell Clark, June 2, 1890, HMA collection, MOC.

[27] HMA minutes, April 9, August 4, 1890, MOC; Kate Pleasants Minor to Rufus Weaver, April 14, 1892, HMA records, MOC.

appeal to the legislature for an appropriation toward the debt. After all, the women had been acting on behalf of the state when they undertook the project. Once more, she asked the women to employ their lobbying skills through their well-connected social and political networks. She appointed the entire association to interview members of the legislature leaving "no means untried" to secure the appropriation. Their efforts paid off. Within two months the state had promised $3,000 toward the debt.[28]

The HMA believed it was soon to be free from the tiresome debate so that the members might focus their attention on other more immediate issues, such as the proposed Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument on Libby Hill. Minor informed Weaver that she had sent $6,618.46 and requested that the HMA be relieved of its obligation. Weaver declined. After bitter wrangling within the group, Lora Ellyson convinced the association to send an additional $1,300 that had been acquired, though many preferred to spend those funds elsewhere. The HMA announced that it had paid the principal in full in the spring of 1892, claiming that the interest was "beyond [their] utmost endeavors" and that they "could not morally be held responsible for the delay in payment of a debt of whose existence [they] had all been ignorant."[29]

Almost ten years later, Weaver again wrote to the HMA. During those years, he informed the group, he had been waiting and hoping most patiently for the final payment as he had done for the twenty years prior to their assumption of the debt. He inquired as

---

[28] HMA minutes, February 2, 1892, April 12, 1892, HMA records, MOC; Rufus B. Weaver to Morton Marye, Auditor of Public Accounts of Virginia, March 28, 1892, HMA collection, MOC.

[29] HMA minutes, April 23, 1892, "1892 Annual Report," February 7, 1893, MOC; Kate Pleasants Minor to Rufus Weaver, April 14, 1892, (emphasis in original) HMA collection, MOC. An additional $887.27 was found credited to the Gettysburg Fund in the Maury account in the spring of 1893. Minor reported this to Weaver, and he received the amount within days. (Kate Pleasants Minor to Rufus Weaver, April 13, 1893, Rufus Weaver to Kate Pleasants Minor, April 18, 1893, HMA collection, MOC.) In the association's minutes, the treasurer reported that their funds were not sufficient to pay monthly expenses and several outstanding bills. (HMA minutes, June 9, 1892, MOC.)

the prospects of receiving the payment for the balance of $1,196.34. Minor fired back a terse letter reminding him that he had "formally relinquished all claim for interest." Again, she demanded a release from all claims. It appears as if Weaver finally gave up on the HMA, writing to Egerton that he had every reason to believe the association would pay "every copper of the original debt." He believed that the debt was one of honor, "so sacred, that any individual or organization should blush for shame one would think to permit it to go unpaid." But the HMA did just that. Never did they repay the entire principal or the interest owed to Weaver.[30]

Although the women of the HMA had succeeded at organizing Hollywood Cemetery, compiling a register of the dead, and erecting a grand monument to the soldiers, they had not succeeded in upholding their end of the bargain with Weaver. For all their rhetoric about honor and loyalty, their actions failed to compare to their words. Issues of "morality" held little weight in a group that insisted on moving forward. Even though they might praise the heroics of the past, they had little patience for backward-looking individuals such as Weaver; he only impeded their progress. In the end, they employed their knowledge of the law by claiming that the original HMA had not been chartered, and therefore, they were not legally liable for the debt. Weaver's claim may have continued to serve as a source of embarrassment for the women, but equally as important, the HMA was simply more interested in maintaining control over the Lost Cause's direction than worrying about a debt owed to a northerner. Even though they

[30] Rufus Weaver to Kate Pleasants Minor, December 28, 1901, Kate Pleasants Minor to Rufus Weaver, to January 18, 1902, Rufus Weaver to Mrs. Egerton, January 31, 1902 (emphasis in original), HMA collection, MOC.

memorialized the past, LMA women understood that they had the power to shape both the present and future. [31]

***

At the same time that LMAs across the state were experiencing a renaissance of sorts, veterans in Virginia and other states of the former Confederacy began to organize their own associations. The AANVA and the SHS continued to experience financial difficulties and a lack of interest, but the Lee Camp of Confederate Veterans established an independent, grass-roots association in April 1883 at Richmond.[32] Taking their cue from Richmond, other camps soon organized throughout the Commonwealth including the Matthew F. Maury Camp (Fredericksburg, 1883), the A.P. Hill Camp (Petersburg, ca. 1887), the Turner Ashby Camp (Winchester, 1891), and the Garland-Rhodes Camp

[31] HMA minutes, April 12, 1892, MOC.

[32]Lee Camp Minutes, April 3, 27, 1883, VHS. Foster notes that "exactly why they chose to organize a new society rather than work through the AANVA remains unclear. Perhaps they did so because veterans of units other than the Army of Northern Virginia could not join the AANVA or because the older group showed no interest in a soldiers' home." Nevertheless, the Lee Camp constituted a different membership base and "expressed a view of the past rather different from that of the AANVA." The AANVA's membership base was primarily upper-class while the Lee Camp reflected a split between the working-class and middle-class. (Foster, Ghosts, 93.) In keeping with a military structure, the Lee Camp desired to establish a statewide association by organizing similar associations in towns across Virginia. The following year, the camp created a "committee on charters and subordinate camps," and a second camp organized in the city within a year. During the remaining years of the 1880s, Confederate veterans held reunions with increasing frequency throughout the South, and in 1887 the Lee Camp finally achieved its goal of a statewide confederation. At least two other states followed suit (Tennessee and Georgia). But a handful of veterans, led primarily by a group in Louisiana, pursued the formation of a regional Confederate veterans' association. In February 1889, a committee of veterans in New Orleans called for a meeting to establish such an organization. That June, veterans from Louisiana, Tennessee, and Mississippi met in the Crescent City where they adopted a constitution and chose a name, the United Confederate Veterans (UCV). The Lee Camp joined the UCV the following year; by 1892, 188 camps had joined; by 1896, 850 camps claimed membership.

(Lynchburg, ca. 1894).[33] Their primary goals were two-fold: to perpetuate the memories of their fallen comrades and to "minister as far as practicable to the wants of those who were permanently disabled in the service."[34]

But another national trend also captivated the Lee Camp: the spirit of reconciliation that extolled the battlefield experience of both Union and Confederate veterans. As early as the 1870s, some northerners and southerners began to participate in joint Blue-Gray reunions as soldiers on both sides acknowledged their commonalities of camp life and the experiences of battle as the centennial of the Revolution approached. The Federal Commandant at the Ash Barracks in Nashville invited Gov. James D. Porter, Jr., an ex-Confederate officer, to review his troops in April 1875. The "novelty of the scene" apparently attracted between five and eight thousand spectators. The city of Boston invited military organizations in South Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, New York, and other states to attend their festivities at Bunker Hill to celebrate "era of good feeling between the sections." That same year a GAR post in Chicago invited all Confederate soldiers to join in their celebration of "patriots" rather than "traitors and rebels." In 1881, a New Jersey GAR post and Knights of Templars from Boston and Providence made a trip to Hollywood Cemetery and placed a wreath on the city's Jackson statue. The

---

[33] Foster, Ghosts, 104-08; Turner Ashby Camp No. 22, minutes, September 28, 1891, HRL; Quinn, History of Fredericksburg, Virginia, 191. The death of former Confederate president Jefferson Davis on December 6, 1889, probably stirred interest in the Lost Cause as well. But it would be misguided to attribute the revival of memorial associations simply to the Lee Camp or UCV, as the timing simply does not coincide. For example, the Lynchburg, Oakwood, and Petersburg associations had already reconstituted themselves by the time the Lee Camp initiated activities.

[34] The emphasis on needy veterans reflected evolving national trends in distributive public policy. Although Union veterans had received pensions for service-related injuries since the war, in the mid-1880s the Grand Army of the Republic began lobbying Congress to improve benefits. Confederate veterans were ineligible for federal pensions. But in the late 1880s and 1890s, the Democratic governments of the former Confederate states instituted pensions for service-connected disabilities and "truly indigent veterans or widows;" in 1888, Virginia granted the first pensions to veterans and the widows. The Lee Camp, organized prior to the state's support, believed one of its priorities should be to improve the living conditions of the aging and often disabled soldiers by establishing of a home for Confederate veterans.

following year, ex-Confederates from Richmond visited the New Jersey post while Union and Confederate veterans met for the first reunion at Gettysburg. During the following five years, veterans from both sides would meet at no less than nineteen formal Blue-Gray reunions.[35]

Electing to avoid the "animosities" of the war and embrace sectional reconciliation, the Lee Camp participated in activities with the Grand Army of the Republic within a month of their organization, including a reception held for the Pennsylvania GAR visiting Richmond on May 5, and Memorial Day services at the national cemetery later that month. Much to the chagrin of Jubal Early, they even solicited aid from northerners for the veterans' home. The Joint Committee of Conference, comprised of GAR and ex-Confederates in New York and chaired by former Confederate general John B. Gordon, agreed to assist the Lee Camp by endorsing a series of fundraisers. This Blue-Gray cooperation succeeded, as the veterans' home opened its doors only two years later.[36]

This era of cooperation extended not only to the veterans who had once been the battlefield enemies of the Confederate veterans, but also to Ladies' Memorial Associations. Despite the tensions that had mounted between the Ladies' Lee Monument Committee and Jubal Early, LMAs appeared open to cooperation with male veterans' associations by the mid-1880s. Several factors played a role in this shift from gender strife to cooperation. First, the undeniable success of the Lee Monument (finally erected

---

[35] Lynchburg Daily Virginian, April 19, May 19, 20, 1875. For discussion of reunion and reconciliation, see Blight, Race and Reunion, and Foster, Ghosts. Although both historians highlight reconciliation in this period, they acknowledge that such reunions did not indicate an end in sectional hostilities. The first official Blue-Gray reunion appears to have been held on July 21, 1881, when the Captain Colwell Post of the GAR of Carlisle, Pennsylvania, traveled to Luray, Virginia, to meet with ex-Confederates from the Luray (or Page) Valley. (George L. Kilmer, "A Note of Peace," Century Illustrated Magazine (1881-1906) 36 (July 1888), APS Online, 440.)

[36] Foster, Ghosts, 88-103; Lee Camp minutes, April 27, May 28, 1883, VHS.

in 1890) prompted men and women to appreciate the contributions of the opposite sex. Second, in looking through their founding documents, LMAs were reminded of the productive relationship they had with men in the 1860s. But the two most significant reasons for this era of cooperation were the re-instatement (in the case of Memorial Days) and recognition of a gendered division of memorial labor and the marital / familial alliances between the LMAs and the new veterans' associations.

The problems between Early's group and the women had arisen largely because the men of the AANVA had attempted to usurp women's roles as monument builders. But with the decline of the AANVA, the growth of more veterans' associations, and the reorganization of LMAs in the 1880s, men and women informally agreed that specific tasks belonged to each sex. The women would concentrate on perpetuating Memorial Days, organizing fundraising endeavors, tending to the cemeteries, and encouraging the next generation to remember the Confederate past. Men, on the other hand, would organize reunions (both with other Confederates and with Union veterans). Even though the Lee monument had initially served as a dividing force, the men and women recognized that collaboration would ensure the ability to erect memorials that were far more impressive than those either sex could build on its own, and so elected to jointly pursue projects such as the Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument.[37] By respecting the goals of each others' groups, both the Ladies and the veterans could avoid the disputes that had frustrated their efforts in the 1870s.

---

[37] Beginning in the early 1890s, many veterans' organizations suggested building monuments to the "Women of the Sixties." In fact, Richmond's Pickett Camp of Confederate Veterans suggested in 1894 that "the place for such a monument...should be side by side of the Confederate soldier on Libby Hill. It is not well for a man to be alone, nor woman either." ("Women of the South," SHSP 22:54-63.) Between 1912 and 1926, veterans across the South erected seven state monuments to the women. For more discussion of these monuments, see Cynthia Mills, "Gratitude and Gender Wars: Monuments to Women of the Sixties," in Mills and Simpson, eds., Monuments to the Lost Cause, 183-200.

This cooperative relationship also developed because of the personal alliances, whether through marriage or kinship, of the veterans and Ladies. In Winchester, several of the Ladies were related to men in the Turner Ashby Camp of Confederate Veterans, including both the wife (Emilie Gray Williams) and sister (Lucy Dunbar Williams) of Confederate Veterans camp commander John J. Williams. At least eighteen of the forty-six Petersburg Ladies (or 39 percent) had husbands, sons, or fathers who were members of the A.P. Hill Camp of Confederate Veteran, including the president and vice president. At least fourteen of the Hollywood Ladies in 1890 were married to or daughters of prominent members of the Lee Camp, including leaders such as Janet Henderson Randolph, Kate Pleasants Minor, Emma Christian, and Lora Ellyson.[38]

Unlike Early and the LLMC, then, the LMAs had personal and private ties to the leadership of the veterans' camps. These marital alliances proved remarkably helpful in generating support for Confederate activities, as the men and women championed each other's causes. No doubt there was many a night when Lora Ellyson and her husband J. Taylor Ellyson, chairman of the Democratic state committee, discussed the business of their respective organizations over dinner. And as had been the case in 1860s, the men willingly lent their business and political connections to support the Ladies in their respective communities. This arrangement allowed the women's associations to retain their independence and status while finding backing from the men.[39]

In several instances, women agreed to align themselves more formally with the men as auxiliary associations; however, these groups never received the following that

---

[38] Quarles, Some Worthy Lives, 245-48.

[39] "Roster and Historical Sketch of A.P. Hill Camp C.V. No. 6. Va.," UVA; "Lee Monument Unveiling Committee Assignments, Lee Camp Collection, VHS; HMA minutes, MOC; Lee Camp minutes, May 28, 1886, VHS.

memorial associations garnered. After much debate over inducting "honorary" female members or electing "daughters" of the camp, women in Winchester joined forces with the Turner Ashby Camp of Confederate Veterans in 1893 to organize a Ladies' Auxiliary for the expressed purpose of raising funds and coordinating social activities for the camp and soldiers' homes. In addition to the more "traditional" roles played by auxiliaries, Winchester's women also took on the task of preserving the deeds of the South's heroic women and "aid[ing] the time honored Ladies' Memorial Association." Moreover, the veterans recognized the special skills, such as fundraising, women brought to their organizations. The Turner Ashby Camp duly noted that the women should serve as a body "to whom the Confederate Veterans may go for council to aid in matters belonging especially to their skill and experience." [40]

The Lee Camp Auxiliary officially formed in 1888, although women had played at least a symbolic role in the camp since its inception. Taking a cue from the earliest LMAs, the Lee Camp named Mildred and Mary Lee (daughters of Robert E. Lee) along with Mrs. Stonewall Jackson and her daughter honorary members of their camp in 1884. That same year, a group of women had volunteered to conduct a bazaar to raise the inaugural funds for the Lee Camp Soldiers' home. Two years later, James McGraw proposed a committee to "get the wives and daughters of the Confederate soldiers to organize themselves as an auxiliary corps." For some unknown reason, the proposal failed to pass. Writing in the margins of the camp's minutes simply noted "was never appointed." Still, the veterans relied on the women: they requested that some unnamed

[40] "98th Anniversary of the Turner Ashby Chapter No. 54, UDC," November 11, 1995, HRL; Turner Ashby Camp, No. 22, minutes, June 6, August, 26, 1892, December 11, 1893, HRL.

group of females embroider a flag for the camp and asked that they sponsor an entertainment for the benefit of the soldiers' home.[41]

In the summer of 1888, the camp finally reported the organization of a ladies' auxiliary to be temporarily chaired by Mrs. A.L. Phillips. These women, however, played a fairly marginal role, occasionally granting relief to a distressed family but never managing to generate much enthusiasm. By the spring of 1891, the women's association could not even garner a quorum to conduct business and issued a call to reorganize. Even with appeals in the newspapers, no one responded. Colonel A.L. Phillips, husband of the auxiliary's president, threw up his hands in frustration, reporting to the camp that "he did not know how he could reorganize the Ladies Auxiliary Corps." The men continued to press the issue, perhaps feeling competition with other camps, such as Petersburg, that had managed to solicit at least a modicum of female cooperation. That fall, the Lee Camp attempted one last push, disbanding the old auxiliary and reorganizing it under the direction of Mrs. James W. White, wife of the camp's former commander.[42]

By January 1892, the Ladies' Auxiliary claimed forty-six active and six contributing members. But this was a far cry from the nearly 200 reported members of the HMA, and Mrs. White again appealed to the veterans to "induce their wives and daughters to join the camp." Still, there was little interest. Only three members of the Ladies' Auxiliary appear to have been members of the HMA; on the contrary, at least fourteen members of the HMA were wives or daughters of Lee Camp members. In Winchester, the women who joined the auxiliary came directly from the WLMA. Why

---

[41] Coski and Feely, "A Monument to Southern Womanhood," 137; Lee Camp minutes, May 9, 23, July 18, 1884, September 3, 1886, February 11, April 8, 1887, VHS. Jefferson Davis's wife and daughter were not elected honorary members of the Lee Camp until 1886.

[42] Lee Camp minutes, June 22, 1888, May 16, 1890, March 13, April 25, May 1, October 16, 23, 1891, VHS.

then, did the Lee Camp Auxiliary struggle to fill their ranks? More than likely, the HMA simply remained a more popular organization among women, especially as it shifted its attention to the creation of a Confederate museum. Class, too, probably played a role in the diverse constituencies of the competing organizations; as historians of Confederate Veterans have pointed out, most members came from the working class. Thirty percent of the Lee Camp, for example, represented the lower classes, in contrast to the LMAs that drew heavily from the upper-middle class and the elite.[43]

Northern women likewise took up the banner of Civil War commemoration in auxiliary associations of the GAR under the name of the Women's Relief Corps (WRC) in 1883. GAR Commander Van Der Voort had approached a group of Massachusetts women, noting that the men needed a national organization of women to assist the aging veterans "since federal assistance and state infrastructure were grossly inadequate for dealing with the tens of thousands of veterans." Within months, twenty-six different women's associations from sixteen states joined under the banner of the WRC at a national convention in Denver. Like the Confederate auxiliaries, then, the WRC sought to relieve the sufferings of disabled veterans and their families, to assist in the preservation of GAR documents and records, and "to teach patriotism and the duties of citizenship, the true history of our country, and the love and honor of our flag."[44] The WRC represented northern women's first organized foray into Civil War commemorations, a stark contrast

---

[43] Lee Camp minutes, January 1, 1892, VHS; "98th Anniversary of the Turner Ashby Chapter No. 54, UDC, " November 11, 1895, HRL; Foster, Ghosts, 93. The women who were members of both the Lee Camp Auxiliary and the HMA include Minnie Baughman, Mrs. Alfred Courtney, and Janet Randolph.
[44] McConnell, Glorious Contentment, 218; O'Leary, To Die For, 70-76; Women's Relief Corps Michigan, http://www.mifamilyhistory.org/civilwar/wrc/default.asp. (document accessed through the internet). Evidence exists of WRCs in the South. For example, Tampa, Florida, claimed WRC #5. There appears to be some debate as to when the WRC officially became an auxiliary of the GAR. McConnell points to 1881, while O'Leary argues for 1883.

to their southern sisters who had led the Confederate memorial movement since the 1860s.[45]

Simply put, veterans' auxiliaries were not a southern phenomenon. But these auxiliary groups did share one key element: both the GAR and the UCV identified women's participation as an extension rather than modification of existing gender roles. As historian Cecilia O'Leary has pointed out, "the creation of women's 'auxiliaries' allowed men to maintain the exclusive character of their fraternal orders by designating separate and subordinate affiliations for women. Auxiliaries, in turn, provided public women with an avenue for reconciling aspirations for autonomy and masculine acceptance."[46]

Historians John Coski and Amy Feely argue that these auxiliaries differed from the LMAs in that they "dedicated themselves not to the memory of the dead, but to the welfare of the 'living monuments' among them." While it is true that auxiliary women primarily focused on supporting destitute veterans (and in some cases their children and widows), LMA women, too, aided the impoverished soldiers. In Lynchburg, for example, the Ladies appealed to Confederate sympathy on Memorial Day to collect funds for a soldiers' home. The OMA offered assistance to several Confederate widows, often working directly with the Lee Camp to identify individuals. Petersburg's LMA likewise contributed to the soldiers' welfare, even when they were not locals, sending $115 from their meager budget to a disabled veteran, his wife, and children at Cumberland County in 1888. Eventually, the PLMA became an auxiliary to the A.P. Hill Camp of UCV for the purpose of "assisting in caring for the destitute widows and orphans," as did the

[45] O'Leary notes that between 1866 and 1883 "patriotic women" of the North joined relief corps, but there do not appear to have been memorial associations in the fashion of the LMAs. (O'Leary, To Die For, 75.)
[46] O'Leary, To Die For, 76.

WLMA. But regardless of their efforts on behalf of the "living monuments," LMA women were not simply throwbacks to an era of mourning and bereavement. They, too, concentrated on the living in their efforts to instruct future generations about their past. Moreover, as the Lee Camp Auxiliary clearly indicates, many women simply avoided acting in supporting roles when they could control their own affairs through memorial associations.

The most substantial difference between women who served as auxiliaries and those who joined HMA seems to be the desire for autonomy. And those women, such as in Petersburg and Winchester, who served both as independent LMAs and auxiliaries found an even more productive compromise position. They could simultaneously lay claim to the veterans' support and remain an independent organization.[47] Like Sarah Randolph and her contemporaries during the Lee Monument disputes, women of the LMAs had learned that cooperation with men could be fruitful, but they adamantly refused to cede control of their movement to male organizations. Because they believed they had inaugurated the Lost Cause through Memorial Days and Confederate Cemeteries, they sought to retain their place in the pantheon of Confederate memory. They would not concede to serve merely as secondary participants.

***

[47] Coski and Feely, "A Monument to Southern Womanhood," 137; LLMA minutes, May 15, 1884, May 9, 1887, JML; OMA minutes, October 2, 1891, MOC; PLMA minutes, March 12, 1888, March 7, 1892, LOV. The OMA subsequently decided to abandon the work for widows, requesting instead that the Lee Camp appoint a committee to do the work. (OMA minutes, March 3, 1892, MOC.) The veteran from Cumberland County had written to Mr. C.F. Collier of Petersburg requesting aid for himself, his wife, and children.

By the mid-1880s, communities throughout Virginia and the South recognized both Confederate and National (as it came to be called) Memorial Days. Although they dubbed National Memorial Day "Decoration Day," Winchester's municipal figures strongly encouraged the townspeople to participate in the 1884 festivities under the auspices of the Union Cornet Band. "We trust these ceremonies will be attended by a large number of our people, thereby giving evidence of the patent fact visible all around us that all bitterness engendered by the struggle of twenty years ago has entirely effaced," they remarked. The following year the paper noted the day was of "interesting character and largely attended." A procession of townsmen, veterans, and boys (not girls) bearing garlands and evergreens wound through the town and to the Federal Cemetery where the LMA had wreathed the graves with flowers. In the spirit of reconciliation, the day's orator, Capt. Joseph A. Nulton of the Winchester Light Infantry, encouraged those present to convey the true meaning of the war to the next generation. As with the LMAs, both Confederate and Union veterans understood that these annual visits were meant to secure a legacy of bravery, patriotism, and honor to their children.[48]

Perhaps because of these common goals, the Lee Camp in 1885 suggested merging Confederate and National Memorial Days. In Richmond this should not have met with much resistance, considering that the GAR had selected May 30, the day traditionally celebrated by the HMA, to honor the fallen soldiers from both sides. The OMA, for example, agreed to celebrate both May 10 (their traditional day) as well as May 30 after receiving a letter from the Lee Camp. The Petersburg LMA also agreed to the change, even though they "regret[ed] giving up the day so sacred to us." But the joint May 30 celebrations elicited little participation. "None of the military companies were

[48] Winchester Times, May 21, 1884, June 3, 10, 1885.

present as had been promised and the number of persons present was by far smaller than in former years," the OMA reported. The change for the Ladies' "proved to be a failure," and they elected to return their celebrations to the "original day" the following year. While the OMA women declined to omit their day altogether, by 1887 each of Richmond's memorial and veteran associations, both Union and Confederate, had agreed to decorate the graves of all soldiers on May 30. The PLMA gave the joint Memorial Day one more year before retuning to their June celebration in 1889. Winchester, Lynchburg, and Fredericksburg, however, continued to ignore the veterans' plea altogether, opting to recognize only the Confederate dead on their respective days. Although women of the LMAs did not appear to resist the celebration of National Memorial Day, they adamantly refused to cede their individual memorial celebrations and the independence those days provided.[49]

Former Confederate women were often more hesitant to embrace reconciliation than their male counterparts, sometimes resisting it altogether. In Winchester, it was the women who continued to vent antagonism against the "Yankees." A large delegation of Federal veterans who had participated in Sheridan's 1864 Valley Campaign and their families gathered in the city's Federal cemetery, only yards away from the Confederate burial ground, to dedicate several monuments to the fallen comrades in the late summer of 1883. The veterans had been given a warm and public welcome by much of the community, including the Friendship Band, Sarah Zane Band, the mayor, and city council. But according to one local historian, not all the town's citizens were so delighted

[49] OMA minutes, May 1885, MOC; LLMA minutes, April 24, May 1, 15, 1885, JML; PLMA minutes, June 9, 1885, LOV; Richmond Dispatch, May 29, 1887; PLMA minutes, May 2, 1887, March 16, 1888, April 5, 1889, LOV.

at the reunion. The Union veterans, it seems, generated "considerable opposition," especially among the "female element."[50]

Many LMA women became embittered with the emphasis placed on national Memorial Day—a day many white southerners referred to as a "Negro holiday."[51] But what irritated southern white women more than anything was the apparent decline in popularity of Confederate commemorations. In 1885, a member of the Oakwood association wrote to the Richmond Dispatch denouncing the lack of enthusiasm for Confederate Memorial Days. "On national memorial-day the national cemeteries East, West, North, and South will be alive with flowers. . . .Why can our people not do as much for the brave boys who fell in a cause none the less just because it was impracticable?" she asked. "It cannot harm the living or promote disloyal sentiment to show this much respect to the honored dead," she concluded. Evidence from the years surrounding the member's complaint suggests that Confederate Memorial Days were in fact not experiencing a decline in participation. Rather, it appears that the Ladies' simply objected to the growing popularity of the Federal memorial celebration. Debates concerning Confederate and Union symbols also plagued the groups. For instance, in 1889 an intense discussion ensued within the HMA when Lucy Webb suggested decorating the speaker's stand with two small United States flags. It remains unclear as to whether or not the women elected to use the flags, but the dispute indicates how tenuous reconciliationist spirit remained.[52]

---

[50] Morton, Story of Winchester, 250; Delauter, Winchester in the Civil War, 97. That same year, the Union Cornet Band had assisted in decorating the Stonewall Cemetery on June 6, then proceeded across the street to "play a solemn dirge" and place flowers on the Union graves. (Winchester News, June 8, 1883.)

[51] Blair, Cities of the Dead, 22.

[52] Richmond Daily Dispatch, May 11, 1883, May 10, 1885, May 11, 1886; HMA minutes, May 4, 1889, MOC. The 1883 account of Oakwood's Memorial Day observed that "attendance. . .was quite as large as in former years, and more than the last two or three." A reporter for the Richmond Daily Dispatch estimated

In other instances, the women proved to be even more embittered toward the North. Although Jefferson Davis had not been well-liked in many Confederate circles during the war, his subsequent imprisonment and support for the Lost Cause had made him immensely popular. Davis died in December 1889 while visiting New Orleans, and calls for a memorial to the former president rang out immediately in the South. But northerners did not share white southerners' fondness for Davis. Citizens of Albany, New York, had condemned white southerners in 1886 for applauding Davis, denouncing the South "as untrue to the Union." Perhaps it was this animosity that engendered a defensive posture among certain LMA women when it came to the ex-president. In the spring of 1893, OMA member Ella Smith moved that a vote of thanks be tendered an HMA member "for her prompt refusal to accept any amount offered by Northern Capitalists for the Jeff Davis Monument." Only donations from southerners were to be accepted for such a project.[53]

Even more telling was the failure of southern white women to clasp hands over the bloody chasm, as it was called among veterans, when it came to northern women's organizations. While the Confederate Veterans and GAR managed to overlook their wartime differences through Blue-Gray reunions, the LMAs never replicated this relationship with their northern counterparts, the Women's Relief Corps. At first this might seem to be a product of the militaristic nature of veterans' reunions. What makes this lack of Blue-Gray women's affiliation glaring, however, is that northern and southern

---

that in 1886 "there were more present than on any similar occasion since the foundation of the monument was laid." Evidence from the Petersburg Index-Appeal during the mid-1880s confirms that thousands of people continued to gather at Blandford for the PLMA's memorial exercises.

[53]Brundage, "Woman's Hand and Heart and Deathless Love," 73; Blight, Race and Reunion, 266; Richmond Dispatch, June 1, 1886; OMA minutes, May 2, 1893, MOC. The official Jefferson Davis monument campaign, led by the UCV, began in 1896. But by 1899 they had been unable to secure enough funds, and they turned over the project to the UDC. The monument was unveiled in 1907.

white women had united through other non-sectional benevolent and reform societies. They worked together in the Women's Christian Temperance Union, Young Women's Christian Association, and the General Federation of Women's Clubs, to name but three. Although Union and Confederate women could have united to celebrate Memorial Days and aid needy veterans, the primary goals of the LMAs simply did not coincide with those of their northern sisters. How could they actively pursue their primary mission of honoring the Confederate past and instilling a "southern" sense of pride in their youth if they joined forces with northern women?[54]

Through their antipathy toward Union Memorial Day, northern donors, and their failure to create cross-regional bonds with northern women over the memory of the war, southern white women expressed their dissent from the increasing tone of Blue-Gray fraternizing. Perhaps this helps explain why so few joined the ranks of the Lee Camp Auxiliary. Regardless, their behavior indicates that reunion was not as quick or smooth as many historians have suggested.[55] If veterans could meet again on the battlefield and revel in one another's bravery, courage, and other masculine qualities, southern women clung to their devotion on the home front, loyalty to their men, and abhorrence of Yankees as emblems of their part in the war. On some level, they needed to retain at least the embers of sectional animosity to fuel their efforts. Without the fraternal bonds of soldiering, women felt compelled to emphasize their allegiance to the Confederate cause even though they supported reunion, considering themselves loyal American citizens. Repeatedly, they claimed to be true to "the old flag" of the United States. The South, they maintained, was "loyal and true" (now) to the nation. Confederate Memorial Days and

---

[54] For more on Blue-Gray reunions, see Foster, Ghosts, 67-68.
[55] Blight, Race and Reunion, 98-139; Foster, Ghosts, 51, 63-94, 152-56, 184-86; Kammen, Mystic Chords, 102.

museums were not meant to revive sectional animosities, but LMA members expected white southerners to honor "the days that are no more" on such occasions with equivalent zeal. They wanted their communities to demonstrate pride in their southern heritage (by which they meant "white") in an effort to quell the political, social, and cultural changes unleashed by the war and industrializing society around them. At the same time, women held tightly to the influence and political capital the war had provided them. Confederate Memorial Days and an emphasis on the past allowed them to transfer that influence into the present.[56]

***

Of all the work undertaken by LMAs in the last two decades of the century, none was more explicit in its emphasis on future generations than that of the Hollywood association. This goal manifested itself in the HMA's two primary objectives between 1890 and 1894, the establishment of "junior" associations to encourage Confederate sympathy among the South's youth and the preservation of the White House of the Confederacy. W. Fitzhugh Brundage points out that in the late nineteenth century "white women acquired expertise and influence through what is now called public history" by expanding the concept of volunteerism to include matters of history. He documents an "explosion" of white women's organizations in the mid-1890s, including the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities (APVA), Daughters of the American

[56] Richmond Dispatch, June 1, 1886.

Revolution (DAR), Colonial Dames, Daughters of the Pilgrims, Daughters of the War of 1812, Order of the First Families of Virginia, and eventually, the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC). By "preserving" the past and teaching the "true history" of the South, white women sought to counter the negative and condescending stereotypes of the region and instill regional pride in coming generations.[57]

Like women, children had played important symbolic roles in Memorial Day celebrations and veterans' events since the 1860s. But in the early 1890s, several associations had spearheaded the establishment of "junior" associations, Oakwood in 1891, Hollywood the following year, and Winchester a few years later. Within a month of formation, the HMA celebrated the popularity of their endeavor, claiming that more than two hundred youths from the capital city had flocked to their organization. The goals of the junior associations differed little from those of the adults; they were to aid in the caring of graves, participate in Memorial Days, assist in the collection and preservation of memorials to the Confederacy, and, as the Winchester Juniors proclaimed, "to go forward and try and fill [the LMA seniors'] places." Clearly, the seniors LMAs' ambition was to secure their own legacy as much as that of the Confederate soldiers they honored.[58]

Not surprisingly, the Juniors provide a window into the racial and gender dynamics of Civil War commemoration in the mid-1890s. In 1892, the HMA invited all "persons" in the city to join—regardless of class or claims to Confederate heritage or loyalty (a condition for joining the WRC). Surprisingly, the women did not restrict the

---

[57] Brundage, "White Women and Historical Memory," 115-39.
[58] OMA minutes, June 8, 1891, MOC; HMA minutes, May 3, 9, 26, 1892, MOC. HMA Jr. minutes, May 4, 1894, MOC; Clipping dated January 30, 1899, in United Daughters of the Confederacy collection, Minutes 1895 – 1899, HRL.

membership to youth alone; the constitution and by-laws clearly admitted anyone ten years or older willing to pay the dues. Originally, married persons were to be excluded; however, this condition was soon abandoned. Although the HMA clearly intended the Juniors to serve as an auxiliary organization filled by any person who wished to further their cause, sons and daughters of the HMA born primarily in the late-1870s (therefore teenagers) comprised the group. The HMA did include one specific membership restrictions—only white persons would be allowed. While the minimum age restriction bears little need for explanation, the race qualification provides a striking contrast to all other Confederate heritage associations; only the GAR and WRC had debated the merits of African-American members. Perhaps the heated deliberations that had plagued southern WRC chapters regarding the admittance of black women to existing white groups or the creation of detached corps influenced the Juniors. Alternatively, it is plausible that an African American attempted to join the association, though the historical record leaves no such indication. Regardless of the motivation, both the HMA and the Juniors clearly intended to bolster white supremacy and racialize "southerness" through their associations.[59]

Gender also came to the forefront in the Juniors. The HMA had orginially considered forming one group for girls and another for boys, but after little debate the women consented to establishing a single association. Nevertheless, a clear gender division existed even within the youth group. At Memorial Day celebrations, the HMA instructed the boys to wear gray caps, as their veteran ancestors had done, and the girls to wear badges. The HMA arranged for a "military man" to instruct the boys in a drilling

[59] HMA Jr. minutes, Constitution and By-Laws, drafted May 4, 1894, MOC. For discussion of race and the WRC, see O'Leary, To Die For, 82-90.

company and offered to raise funds for equipment and uniforms so that the "HMA cadets" might be an independent organization. Likewise, in 1892 the Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV) invited the boys to join in the Memorial Day parade while the girls assisted the Ladies in decorating the cemetery. Although both the boys and girls formed committees and served as officers, young women filled the majority of offices and always held the most prestigious position of president. Moreover, it was especially significant that women's groups, not veterans, established youth organizations. The HMA sought to frame their youth organization in the same manner in which they envisioned the Lost Cause as a whole: males directed their attention toward a more martial and fraternal interpretation of war while women honored the patriotism of the fallen soldiers at Memorial Days and dictated the direction of the movement.[60]

Above all, the LMAs' insistence on junior associations demonstrates both their adaptability to the times and their forward-looking nature. They repeatedly extolled the virtues of their "young people" who demonstrated that "the old spirit is not dying out." For these women of the 1890s, most of whom had come of age either during the war or Reconstruction, teaching their children and grandchildren to honor the Confederacy was more than mere sentimentalism. "When we have passed away," the HMA remarked, "they will still cherish the memorial of the heroes who died for liberty, truth, and duty." In what Karen Cox has called "Confederate motherhood," LMA women looked beyond their traditional realm of Memorial Days and cemeteries when they sought to indoctrinate the future generations with a romanticized and sanitized version of the past. They realized that the next generation did not carry the same emotional and personal ties to the war as

[60] HMA minutes, May 9, 1892, MOC; HMA Jr. minutes, May 12, 26, June 3, November 5, 19, 1892, MOC. Young men did serve as treasurer of the HMA Juniors, much like the earliest LMAs. (HMA Jr. minutes, May 7, 1892, MOC.)

those who had lived through it, so it became their burden to modify celebrations of the Confederacy into terms that the current generation could best understand.[61]

The landscape of the South had changed substantially since the senior HMA members' childhood: emancipation, Union occupation, political and economical conflicts, the first signs of state sanctioned segregation in the 1880s and 1890s, and the increasingly more public role of women.[62] LMA women desperately wanted their children—and all southern white children for that matter—not only to appreciate what the Confederate soldiers had fought for (namely honor and defense of their homes), but also to comprehend what white southerners had weathered since the war. In a world of racial uncertainty, LMA women believed it necessary to promulgate the southern, i.e. "white," view of the war in which Confederates had fought to preserve states rights rather than slavery. If veterans insisted upon celebrating the bravery and honor of soldiers on both sides of the field, the women understood that the perpetuation of their identity as both southerner and American depended on their success at transmitting cultural ideas to the next generation.

***

[61] HMA minutes, May 3, 1893, MOC. For a discussion of "Confederate motherhood," under the UDC, see Cox, Dixie's Daughters, chapter 7.

[62] On this "deep uncertainty of life" in the 1890s, see Hale, Making Whiteness, 43-49; and Foster, Ghosts, 3-10.

Junior associations targeted only a select group of young, white southerners. But the LMAs also wanted an outlet that spoke to a broader audience. In the late fall of 1889, the Richmond City Council announced its plans to demolish the former White House of the Confederacy or Davis Mansion. The home, built in 1818 and remodeled substantially in the 1850s, had served as the residence for several wealthy Richmonders prior to the war. In 1861, the home had been sold to the city for use as the executive mansion of the Confederacy. After the war, the former executive mansion served as the headquarters for Federal commanders overseeing Reconstruction until 1870 and subsequently as the Central Public School. During those years souvenir hunters scavenged for relics, removing upholstery and drapery trimmings, and, as the Ladies pointed out, "the constant tread of little feet did almost as much damage." By the late 1880s the house had fallen into such a degraded state that the Common Council, though dominated by Confederate veterans, agreed to raze the structure and replace it with a more modern school building.[63]

While the HMA's new direction reflected national patterns of women's activism and Civil War commemoration, the Davis Mansion project was in large part due to the leadership of president Belle Bryan. One of the most vocal opponents of demolition was Joseph Bryan, Bryan's husband and editor of the Richmond Times. With her husband's endorsement, Belle Bryan proposed that the HMA undertake the mission of rescuing the Davis Mansion and converting it into a regional Confederate museum so that all future generations might know "the true history of the war and the principles for which these

---

[63] "The Confederate Museum," Virginia Pamphlets vol. 23, UVA; Malinda W. Collier and others, White House of the Confederacy: An Illustrated History (Richmond, Va.: Cadmus Marketing, 1993), 7-29; Coski and Feely, "A Monument to Southern Womanhood," 139. The home was originally built by John R. Brockenbrough and his wife Gabriella Harvie Randolph Brockenbrough in 1818. They occupied it until 1844 when they sold the home to James M. Morson. Within a year, Morson sold the home to his sister-in-law, Sally Bruce, who later married James Seddon. They owned the house until 1857 when it was bought by Lewis Crenshaw. After Virginia seceded and Richmond was named capital of the Confederacy, Crenshaw sold the home to the Confederate government for $42,894.97.

soldiers laid down their lives." In mid-March 1890, she invoked her position as HMA president to elicit support from the OMA and Hebrew Memorial Association along with all the veterans' organizations of the city. With this united support, the HMA petitioned the city council for a deed to the mansion to be used as a "Memorial Hall and Museum of Confederate relics."[64]

Mayor James Taylor Ellyson, Confederate veteran and husband of HMA member Lora H. Ellyson, readily endorsed the plan. But an unforeseen technicality discovered by the city attorney revealed that the council could not deed the building to a memorial association. Bryan, ever the deft leader, found a loophole in the law. She met with representatives from the HMA, Virginia Historical Society (VHS), and SHS to discuss the possibility of creating a "Southern Memorial Literary Society" that would "conform to the city charter" and allow for the transfer of property to an association dedicated to educational or literary pursuits. HMA members thus agreed to create an auxiliary society to be called the Confederate Memorial Literary Society (CMLS), and on May 31, 1890, they signed the charter. On January 5, 1891, the city council formally voted to transfer the deed to the property as soon as another school house could be provided.[65]

Unlike the Ladies' Lee Monument Committee, which had technically been an arm of the HMA, the CMLS was, in theory, a separate and independent association. The

---

[64] Coski and Feely, "A Monument to Southern Womanhood," 140; HMA minutes, March 18, April 9, 1890, MOC; William H. Palmer (member of the Old 1st Virginia Infantry Association) to Mrs. E. C. Minor, March 26, 1890, HMA collection, MOC; Bazaar Records, Box II-8, MOC.

[65] HMA minutes, May 15, 22, 26, 1890, May 4, 1891, MOC; Confederate Memorial Literary Society [group hereafter cited as CMLS] minutes, May 26, 1890, MOC; Coski and Feely, "A Monument to Southern Womanhood," 140-41. The charter declared that the CMLS's purpose was to "establish in the city of Richmond. . . a Confederate Memorial Literary Society or Association to collect and receive, by gift, purchase, or otherwise all books and other literary productions pertaining to the late war between the States, and of those engaged therein; all works of art or science, all battle-flags, relics. . . to preserve and keep the same for the use of the said society and the public." Belle and Joseph Bryan preferred to use the term "Southern" as they believed the object would appear wider, but when put to a vote, "Confederate" prevailed.

HMA would continue to organize Memorial Day and maintain the soldiers' section of Hollywood Cemetery while the CMLS dealt exclusively with the Davis Mansion. The actual organization and operation of the two associations, however, remained unclear and complicated. Initially, the groups shared both a membership base and leadership—the CMLS electing to appoint the same officers as the HMA with an addition of a board of directors. But within the CMLS's first year, debates arose during a discussion about fundraising. "This led to an animated discussion as to whether the HMA and CMLS should be kept two separate organizations with different issues and management," the secretary reported. The question remained unresolved after a vote to table it for future discussion, and the two groups continued to operate jointly. By 1892, Bryan insisted that it would be "wiser to have separate officers for the [CMLS] in addition to its Board of Directors." Not surprisingly, Bryan remained president of both groups. Moreover, the CMLS agreed that in order to prevent a "loss of interest" in the HMA, only HMA members would be eligible to join the more popular CMLS.[66]

By 1890, the CMLS believed that its most important function was to secure the Confederate legacy for future generations. "The glory, the hardships, the heroism of the war are a noble heritage for our children," they declared. The museum would be "a greater monument than the entire wealth of the North or of England could produce." In order to "keep green such memories, and to commemorate such virtues," it was imperative to collect and preserve both the executive mansion and "sacred relics of those glorious days." The museum would serve as a living monument to the Confederacy.

---

[66] HMA minutes, April 8, 1891, June 3, 1892, MOC; CMLS minutes May 26, 1891, June 3, 1892, MOC; Coski and Feely, "A Monument to Southern Womanhood," 140-41. An example of cooperation between the two associations includes their agreement to divide the proceeds of an excursion in April 1891. HMA members could become CMLS members by paying fifty cents per year.

Marble figures that watched over cemeteries and city squares might stand as silent reminders of the lives lost in battle, but a museum, and more precisely relics, encouraged visitors to reconstruct the meaning of the past from objects. Cemeteries and monuments offered symbols of courage and heroism, but artifacts provided more tangible means of remembering (for some) or imaging (for others) the Confederate cause. For many white southerners, these relics served as physical manifestations of the cause. Items such as a last ration of coffee or tattered uniforms testified to the hardships of war, while officers' accoutrements heralded the virtues of Confederate leaders. Other objects, like samples of homemade cloth and a flag of the 18th Virginia Regiment sewn by women, as well as a silk flag made from Mrs. A.P. Hill's bridal gown given to the 13th Virginia Regiment, reinforced the integral role women played both on the home front and supporting the battlefield.[67]

Indeed it was significant that the Ladies wished to establish their museum in the former White House of the Confederacy. Even though Reconstruction had long ended and calls of treason had abated years before, the CMLS women chose to house their collections in the very rooms where the Confederate government had operated. They elected to showcase their relics in rooms where councils of war had been held, policies discussed, and campaigns mapped. They sought to preserve what Governor Charles O'Ferrall called the home of "the Chief Magistrate of the new American republic, founded upon the eternal principles of right and justice." This was not the mere sentimentalism that had been attributed to cemeteries and Memorial Day services. These

[67] Relic Circular, c. fall 1891, HMA collection, MOC; George H. B. Burton to Mrs. Hotchkiss, c. 1893, Bazaar Records, Box II-8, MOC; Report of Relic Committee, May 24, 1892, CMLS Committee Reports, MOC; Coski and Feely, "A Monument to Southern Womanhood," 147.

women were consciously extolling the virtues, and in their words, "constitutional liberty" of the Confederate nation.[68]

As with Memorial Days and Confederate Cemeteries, the CMLS never intended the museum to be merely a local attraction. Rather, they believed all white southerners would find motivation, inspiration, and patriotism by participating in the organization of their museum, and therefore solicited items from the entire region in yet another circular. They utilized the traditional method of sending the appeal to prominent newspapers throughout the former Confederacy, but as soldiers' aid societies and the earliest LMAs had done, they also relied on the extensive social networks of their elite members. Mary Maury Werth, for example, distributed every one of the two hundred circulars allotted to her while vacationing at White Sulphur Springs, West Virginia. "I could have given away 500 through my friends," she reported to the HMA. Even before the CMLS had gained title to the Davis Mansion, individuals began to send relics. Following the death of Joseph E. Johnston, his nephew, George Ben Johnston, sent a sword, battle flag, and saddle the general had used in the Mexican War. Other items included the key to Davis's prison cell at Fort Monroe, a soldier's pocket Bible, two tablespoons of coffee ration from Company E of the 4th Virginia Regiment, and items from the Confederate commerce raider Shenandoah. Still other more "curious" donations included a brooch carved from the hoof of Turner Ashby's horse and a bit from Robert E. Lee's horse Traveller. A substantial museum collection was beginning to develop.[69]

---

[68] Address of Governor Charles O'Ferrall quoted in the Richmond Dispatch, February 22, 1896; Mrs. James R. Werth to Colonel J. Bell Bigger, Keeper of the Books of Virginia, Capitol, February 21, 1896, reprinted in the Richmond Dispatch, February 22, 1896.

[69] Mrs. James R. Werth to Hollywood Memorial Association, October 27, 1891, HMA collection, MOC; HMA minutes, May 4, 9, 16, June 16, November 13, 1891, MOC; Mexico (Mississippi) Ledger, January 1893 clipping, Lizzie Cary Daniel Papers, MOC; Report of Relic Committee, May 24, 1892, CMLS Committee Reports, MOC; Coski and Feely, "A Monument to Southern Womanhood," 146-47.

But the museum would not simply consist of random rooms filled with relics. Belle Bryan envisioned an organizational structure that reflected the regional identity of the entire South. While the CMLS included the traditional officers of other LMAs (president, vice presidents, recording secretary, corresponding secretary, and treasurer), the association also appointed regents and vice regents to represent the states that had supported the Confederacy. According to Coski and Feely, these women were "appointed primarily to win prestige and influence for the museum throughout the South" and included many of the region's most prominent women. Varina and Winnie Davis, widow and daughter of Jefferson Davis, served as regents, as did the daughters of Robert E. Lee and Wade Hampton. The vice regents, however, were to be selected from those Richmond women who had contributed significantly to the 1893 bazaar—a reward of sorts for dedication to the cause. Their primary duties consisted of serving as a liaison to the room's regent and overseeing the collections within their respective state rooms.[70]

This combination of regents and vice regents ensured the HMA center-stage and control over the most well-known Confederate museum project. Other cities had initiated their own Confederate museums, such as New Orleans's Confederate Memorial Hall dedicated in 1891. Unlike the CMLS, the New Orleans's project had been under the direction of Louisiana veterans (not women) and most of its relics came from those groups. The Richmond women, however, were determined not to be merely a local institution and worked diligently at making it the "paramount Confederate museum." Through its system of state rooms, regents, and region-wide relic collection, Hollywood became the central executive agency for a southern, not merely Richmond or Virginian,

[70] Coski and Feely, "A Monument to Southern Womanhood," 144; CMLS minutes, June 15, 1892, March 28, 1898, MOC;

museum. Much in the way that LMAs had served as bureaucratic agencies when they organized cemeteries in the days following the war, the HMA anointed itself the chief association dealing in Confederate relics and employed contacts (i.e., regents) throughout the South to legitimate its claim.[71]

Before the CMLS could transfer its wealth of Confederate treasures to the museum, major renovations were necessary to repair nearly thirty-years of neglect. One of the most important of these restoration projects was fireproofing; to raise the funds for this undertaking, the CMLS chose to sponsor a bazaar the following spring. Though they expected the 1893 bazaar to be no less grand than the one in 1886, there would be two important differences. First, the bazaar, like the museum, would be organized by state. Each of the thirteen states that had contributed to the Confederate war effort would be represented by a table bearing its name, shield, colors, and souvenirs unique to that state. For example, North Carolina would have tobacco products for sale while Florida would offer flowers, fruits, soaps, and perfumes. The lady, or "chair," in charge of each table was to be a native born or descendant of that state (or allied by marriage). Every "man, woman, and child" in the South was asked to donate items for sale, including "articles, money, Confederate relics, etc." [72]

Second, where the 1866 bazaar had been strictly under the authority of the HMA, the CMLS wanted the 1893 affair to represent a collective southern effort. As recent Memorial Days demonstrated, LMAs and veterans' associations had begun to work together to increase the popularity of their causes. Therefore they asked every Richmond

---

[71] Coski and Feely, "A Monument to Southern Womanhood,"147; Foster, Ghosts, 116.
[72] HMA minutes, June 15, November 15, 30, 1892, MOC; 1893 Bazaar Records and Florida Department of Memorial Bazaar circular, Box II-8, MOC; Coski and Feely, "A Monument to Southern Womanhood," 144.

Confederate organization to participate, including Oakwood Memorial Association, Hebrew Memorial Association, the Ladies' Auxiliary of the Lee Camp, the city's veterans' associations, and the Soldiers' and Sailors' Monumental Association. It comes as no shock that the women's associations elected themselves officers of the Memorial Bazaar Committee.[73]

Given the tenor of cooperation that had existed between male and female groups for several years, it was surprising when a dispute arose between the First Virginia Volunteers and the CMLS. Apparently, the women had requested to use the Volunteers' headquarters for the bazaar. Although the commanding officer had granted the CMLS permission to use the space, the grounds and building committees had denied the women access in early February 1893. These committees had voted no in "regard for the discipline, efficiency, and rights of the Regiment," deciding that it was "injurious to the discipline and efficiency of the Regiment to be turn[ed] out of the armory for any period." They contended that giving up the armory for "fairs and bazaars" for such a length of time (one month) was "a bad precedent." But the prestige and political clout of the CMLS ultimately prevailed. These women clearly carried more influence than Regiment within both Richmond and the region, and the commander wished not to alienate them or their prominent husbands. He insisted that the regiment did not lack sympathy with the goals of the bazaar, nor did it the lack "a proper chivalrous respect for the ladies who have generously and patriotically undertaken it." Indeed, the men would

[73] HMA minutes, November 15, 30, 1892, MOC. The officers of the Memorial Bazaar were as follows: Belle Bryan representing the HMA, 1st vice president; Mrs. Albert Mayo representing the OMA, 2nd vice president; Janet Randolph representing the Ladies' Auxiliary of the Lee Camp. 3rd vice president; and Mrs. F.S. Myers representing the Hebrew Memorial Association, 4th vice president. Perhaps these offices suggest a hierarchy among the Richmond women's Confederate associations.

be happy to oblige. "We assure the ladies of our respect, admiration, and support. . . and we withdraw all opposition," he reported.[74]

Ultimately, the bazaar proved to be great success, free from any conflict or controversy. The CMLS raised more than $30,000, which was split evenly between the museum project and the Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument. The following year proved to be a busy one for Confederate memorialists in the city. In May, the Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument was dedicated not far from Oakwood Cemetery amid as much pomp as had accompanied the Lee Monument dedication four years earlier. Several days later, on June 3, 1894, the eighty-sixth anniversary of Jefferson Davis's birth, the city of Richmond formally transferred the Davis Mansion to the CMLS. The women of the Hollywood Memorial Association could thus claim responsibility for, or at least extensive involvement in, the capital city's four most recognized and popular symbols of the Confederacy: the pyramid in Hollywood Cemetery, the Lee Monument, the Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument, and the White House of the Confederacy. Their mark on the landscape of the city was undeniable.[75]

***

Even if they did not call for sectional reunion with the same zeal as veterans, by the mid-1890s, Virginia's LMAs could count themselves among the oldest and successful

[74] 1st Regiment Virginia Volunteers, Richmond, Feb. 15, 1893 to Mrs. Hotchkiss, president of memorial bazaar, Bazaar Records, MOC.
[75] Coski and Feely, "A Monument to Southern Womanhood," 140-44.

Confederate memorial organizations in the region. They had endured the postwar changes: Reconstruction, Redemption, and the beginnings of Jim Crow. Not only had they endured, they had also managed to adapt to the changing political and social circumstances while maintaining their position as the inventors of Confederate traditions. Groups such as the HMA had learned a valuable lesson from the Ladies' Lee Monument Committee, and perhaps even from the Winchester LMA, in order to sustain enthusiasm for the memorial association it must remain independent. They had found ways to cooperate (again) with men. And they had discovered means by which to impassion the next generation about the Confederate past. Ladies' Memorial Associations both in Virginia and throughout the South had remained independent organizations since their inception. But the long-standing ties between the groups would prove invaluable in the coming decade as the Ladies struggled to retain their position in the Lost Cause in the face of a challenge from another group of Confederate women.

Chapter 6
"Lest We Forget"
United Daughters and Confederated Ladies
1894-1910

In 1894, a new Confederate women's organization, the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC or Daughters), entered the memorial scene. The birth and overwhelming success of the Daughters in many ways served as a testament to the triumph of the LMAs. Their decades-long work had provided the conditions and opportunity for the UDC to take up the banner of Confederate patriotism, and initially memorial women rejoiced that their efforts to instill reverence for the Lost Cause had succeeded so well. But it soon became clear that the Daughters intended to subsume both the Ladies' objectives and associations. As if challenges from the Daughters were not enough, Richmond's Confederate Memorial Literary Society, yet again, had to contend with the attempts of veterans to dictate the direction of the Lost Cause during debates over the Battle Abbey.

Throughout the 1890s and into the twentieth century, women of the LMAs refused to surrender their pivotal role in Confederate traditions. They reinvigorated their organizations through new projects, such as Petersburg's Blandford Church and Richmond's Confederate Museum, and united their disparate efforts under the Confederated Southern Memorial Association. Contrary to historians' contentions that the Ladies were "elbowed aside" by the veterans or gave way to the immensely popular Daughters in the 1890s, LMAs did not cease to exist or yield their influence over Lost

Cause commemorations. Rather, they continued to sponsor Memorial Days, tend Confederate graves, erect memorials to the Cause, and tell their story of the Confederate past to younger generations. By the fiftieth anniversary of Appomattox in 1915, the date by which many historians mark the decline of the Lost Cause, LMAs could be found pursuing some of the same activities they had begun in 1865.[1]

***

On September 10, 1894, a group of women gathered in Nashville, Tennessee, for the purpose of organizing a "federation of all Southern Women's Auxiliary, Memorial, and Soldiers' Aid Societies" with the authority to charter chapters and divisions in all parts of the United States. The Daughters, as they called themselves, listed five primary objectives for their new organization: memorial, historical, benevolent, educational, and social. But they directed most of their efforts toward raising funds for Confederate monuments, sponsoring Memorial Day parades and activities, and maintaining Confederate museums and relic collections—all duties which LMAs already performed.[2]

---

[1] For historians who see the LMAs as giving way to veterans' associations or the Daughters by the 1890s, see Foster, Ghosts, 36-62; Cox, Dixie's Daughters, 2; Censer, Reconstruction, 201-02. Censer notes that in the late 1880s and 1890s, LMAs were "simply elbowed aside" by veterans more martial interpretation of the war. Blight, on the other hand, fails to acknowledge the LMAs played a significant role in the Lost Cause (Race and Reunion, 258.) For historians who mark 1914 or 1915 as the decline of the Lost Cause era, see Blair, Cities of the Dead, 6-7; Blight, Race and Reunion, 6-30, 381-97; Foster, Ghosts, 163-98. Edward L. Ayers marks the peak years of the Lost Cause between 1885 and 1912 (Promise, 335.) These years also marked the beginning of World War I, a point at which reconciliation had been firmly established between whites of the North and South and when Memorial Days no longer solely celebrated Civil War soldiers.

[2] Quoted in Cox, Dixie's Daughters, 16-21; Poppenheim, History of the UDC, 8; O'Leary, To Die For, 82. The UDC may have simply been emulating the organizational structure of the northern Women's Relief Corps (WRC), which had a three-tiered organization with national office, state departments, and local corps.

The UDC's national leadership recognized that they were not path-breaking in their objectives and wanted to respect the women of the LMAs. Eliza Nutt Parsley, a member of the national constitution committee from Wilmington, North Carolina, warned that "we will probably meet with some opposition on the part of the older ladies from a sentiment in regard to the original organization." Writing to UDC cofounder Anna Raines in 1894, Parsley commented that the Daughters should respect the LMAs because they had been the first to organize and erect monuments and organize memorial celebrations to the Confederate cause while the South "was under martial law" and "carpetbag rule." Parsley's efforts to charter a UDC chapter included plans "to retain the Memorial Association." Mildred Rutherford likewise suggested that the relationship between the LMAs and the UDC "should be that of 'mothers' and 'daughters,' for without the memorial associations, there would be no Daughters."[3] In short, the UDC recognized that the Ladies had paved the way for this next generation of southern white women to achieve their own lofty goals.[4]

The UDC grew rapidly in membership and influence; during its first year alone, twenty chapters were chartered, and within six years that number had swelled to 412 chapters and nearly 17,000 members. By 1900, it could claim more than 20,000 members. Like those in other states, Virginia's UDC chapters grew rapidly. Lynchburg's Old Dominion chapter, for example, began with fifteen members in the summer of 1896 but had increased its ranks to sixty-five within three months. Fredericksburg's UDC eventually claimed more than two hundred names on its roll, and the Richmond chapter

---

[3] Quoted in Cox, Dixie's Daughters, 21-22; Rutherford Scrapbooks, Vol. XLI "Origins of the Ladies Memorial Associations," MOC. Raines concurred that the LMAs deserved reverence but maintained that memorial association women could also join the ranks of the Daughters, "unless of course they are not [eligible].

[4] Cox agrees that the Ladies paved the way for the Daughters. (Dixie's Daughters, 16, 26, 50.)

counted more than five hundred members within six years of organizing. [5] By 1897, UDC chapters had been established in Lynchburg, Fredericksburg, Richmond, Petersburg, and Winchester—with Lynchburg serving as the home base for two chapters. Three years later, the number of UDC chapters in Virginia alone reached fifty-seven, representing more than 3,200 women.[6]

The LMAs helped ensure the early success of the Daughters by providing a natural constituency.[7] Kate Mason Rowland, corresponding secretary for the UDC in 1896 and 1897, frequently contacted prominent women throughout the South, especially Ladies' Memorial Associations, urging their cooperation in establishing Daughters chapters. The UDC recognized not only that members of the memorial associations brought years of experience in Confederate memorialization, but also that their status within their respective communities lent weight and prestige to the newly formed UDC chapters. Most of Virginia's LMA women retained their membership in the Ladies, but also heeded the Daughters' call to initiate or join their local chapters. Almost every member of the Winchester LMA (which had changed its name to the Stonewall Memorial Association) joined the UDC, including Nannie Boyd, Mary Clayton Kurtz, and Lucy

---

[5] Quinn, History of Fredericksburg, Virginia, 323; "Old Dominion Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy," circa 1938, VHS; UDC, Minutes of the Seventh Annual Meeting of the United Daughters of the Confederacy (1900) (Nashville, Tenn.: Foster and Webb, 1901), 9-37; Richmond Chapter UDC minutes, January 18, 1902, MOC. The Minutes of the UDC's annual meetings were all published by Foster and Webb in the year following the meeting. (Hereafter, the minutes will be cited as Minutes of the [year] Annual Meeting.)

[6] The organization dates for UDC chapters in these five cities are as follows: Lynchburg's Otey Chapter, July 5, 1895; Richmond, January 1896; Fredericksburg, February 28, 1896; Lynchburg's Old Dominion Chapter, July 9, 1896; Winchester, November 1897; Petersburg, by November 1897.

[7] For women in Fredericksburg, motivation to join the UDC may have sprung from the exclusionary policies of the FLMA. As chapter five noted, when the Fredericksburg LMA reorganized in 1893 they restricted their membership to twenty members. Although many of the FLMA members, including both the president and vice president (Nannie Seddon Barney and Betty Churchill Lacy) joined the UDC chapter, most of the two hundred Daughters had not been invited to join the ranks of the memorial association and so sought out their own organization. (FLMA minutes, April 18, 1893, LOV; Quinn, History of Fredericksburg, Virginia, 323.)

Fitzhugh Kurtz. Other Virginia memorial women followed their example including, Ruth Early, Mollie Early (Lynchburg); Nannie Seddon Barney, Virginia Knox, Betty Churchill Lacy (Fredericksburg); Bessie Callender, Ida Baxter, Lucy McIlwaine (Petersburg); May Baughman, Isabel Maury, and Janet Randolph (Hollywood).[8]

But even accounting for the overlap in LMA / UDC membership does not explain why women flocked to the Daughters in such unprecedented numbers while the Ladies had struggled to retain members for several decades. Karen Cox, in the most thorough history of the Daughters, argues that women were attracted to the UDC for two primary reasons: social status and their desire to vindicate the Confederate generation. She contends that most of the women joined "out of a real sense of duty and obligation to honor the Confederate generation and to instill the values of those men and women among future generations of white southerners." But women of the memorial associations had been motivated by these same desires for more than three decades. Perhaps something more concrete, more practical spurred interest in the Daughters.[9]

The Daughters may have gained such widespread popularity because they appeared to be a more youthful association. Where most of the LMA women had been born between 1830 and 1850 (thus experiencing the war as adults), the opposite held true for the majority of UDC members. According to Cox's research, most of the women who joined the Daughters between 1894 and 1919 were born after 1850--and like the second generation of LMA women, their lives had been largely shaped by their experiences as children or young adults during Reconstruction. Even though a fair number of this

---

[8] Cox, Dixie's Daughters, 30; Minutes of the Fourth Annual Meeting, (1897), 116-36; Lucy Dunbar Williams, Sec. Stonewall Memorial Association, Winchester to Mrs. Minor, December 18, 1900, HMA collection, MOC. A cursory examination of the UDC members listed for Virginia chapters in 1897 suggests that most if not all of the LMA women in the state joined the ranks of the Daughters.

[9] Cox, Dixie's Daughters, 32.

generation joined the LMAs, many young southern white women may have thought of the Ladies as older associations filled with aging women that simply did not correspond with their image of themselves as "New Women" of the South.[10]

More important than the actual age of the members was the perception that the Daughters assumed a more contemporary and broader social purpose than the LMAs who, in some peoples' eyes, merely cared for Confederate graves. According to the UDC's founding documents, they sought "to fulfill the duties of sacred charity to the survivors of the war and those dependent upon them . . . to perpetuate the memory of our Confederate heroes and the glorious cause for which they fought" and "to endeavor to have used in all Southern schools only such histories as are just and true." As UDC historian Mildred Rutherford once remarked, "the memorial women honor the memory of the dead—the Daughters honor the living." But as evidence from the HMA and other memorial associations makes abundantly clear, Virginia's LMAs, at least, were not merely interested in looking to the past; they, too, sought to disseminate Confederate memory to future generations and, in some cases, provide aid to needy veterans and their families. In fact, they had been following such channels years before the UDC had been organized (and before many of the members had even been born).[11]

Despite the reality of the situation, many southern white women wanted to join a vibrant and active female association because doing so provided a popular social outlet for middle-class women. Women's associations had been growing for several decades, but the last decade of the century witnessed a surge in the sheer number of organizations

---

[10] Cox, Dixie's Daughters, 34-39. Thus those women who were most likely to join the Daughters more closely resembled the second generation of LMA women rather than the founders, at least in terms of life experience.

[11] Constitution of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, 1903, LOV, cited in Parrott, "Love Makes Memory Eternal,"219-39; Mildred Rutherford scrapbook XLI, MOC.

and the coalescing of these associations into national unions. In 1890, representatives from an array of women's groups across the nation united to form the General Federation of Women's Clubs, and by 1897 more than five hundred associations had joined this umbrella association to address issues of good government and civil service reform. Women looked around them and saw their sisters, mothers, neighbors, and church acquaintances flocking to join national associations such as the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR), WCTU, Colonial Dames, and a host of other benevolent and literary societies and simply wanted to be part of that larger community of club women.[12] In fact, most of Virginia's UDC chapters formed in towns or cities where no LMA existed, suggesting that many Daughters' primary motivation to enlist was based on the desire to affiliate with other women who felt passionate about a common issue.[13] By joining the Daughters, women expanded their communities to include not just like-minded women from their own neighborhoods, cities, and state, but women from across the region and nation.

At the same time that the women's club movement gained popularity, the South grappled with ways to institute more formally white supremacy through state-sanctioned segregation. In this atmosphere, southern white women became increasingly concerned with memories that stressed their wartime heroics and status as "*white* southerners." What better outlet for shoring up white southern womanhood than an organization

---

[12] Kathryn Kish Sklar, "Florence Kelly and Women's Activism in the Progressive Era," in Linda K. Kerber and Jane Sherron De Hart, eds., Women's America: Refocusing the Past (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 327-39; Richmond Times, May 30, 1895. The Virginia Federation of Women's Clubs did not form until 1907 (Lebsock, Virginia Women, 110.) In Richmond alone in the mid-1890s, women joined the ranks of the Virginia Home for the Incurables, Magdalene Home for Prostitutes, Richmond Humane Society, Baptist Home for Aged Women, and the Richmond Women's Club among others.

[13] Of the forty-seven UDC chapters in Virginia in 1897, only thirteen were located in cities that had LMAs. In other words, 72 percent of Virginia's UDC chapters that year were not located in communities where women might have had the opportunity to join an LMA. (UDC, Minutes of the Fourth Annual Meeting, (1897), 116-36.)

devoted to perpetuating the memory of Confederate womanhood? UDC historian Mildred Rutherford believed that African Americans should behave as faithful servants if the New South were ever to approximate the Old South the Daughters sought to venerate. Rebecca Latimer Felton, a Daughter from Georgia, urged her fellow members to aid poor white girls because they were "the coming mothers of the great majority of the Anglo-Saxon race in the South." Most visibly, the UDC sought to inculcate school children with the principles of white supremacy through textbook campaigns. As the guardians of southern and Confederate history, many southern white women born during or after Reconstruction utilized the Daughters to commemorate the "traditional" privileges of race, gender, and class by casting them as "natural" parts of the region's history. Because the Daughters were much more explicit in their defense of state rights and white supremacy than the Ladies, perhaps more southern white women felt compelled to join their ranks. [14]

Finally, class appears to have restricted the membership pool of the Ladies much more than that of the Daughters. According to Cox, UDC members were of the social elite, married to merchants, lawyers, judges, and members of state legislatures. But Cox only examines the UDC leadership, arguing that they were representative of the vast majority of members. Even without a statistical survey of every UDC chapter, the sheer number of members suggests that they could not have all been from elite families. In fact, historian Grace Hale argues that middle-class white southerners dominated the UDC around the turn of the century. Evidence from Virginia supports this claim, confirming

---

[14] Hale, Making Whiteness, 61-62, 86; Cox, Dixie's Daughters, 2, 13-15, 39,84-87, 121-28, 138-40 (Felton quotation, 85); Brundage, "White Women and Historical Memory," 115-39. On the era of segregation, see Ayers, Promise, 132-59; Woodward, Strange Career of Jim Crow. Fitzhugh Brundage points out that during this time, white women increasingly looked to the South's past to define the region's future.

that while the UDC leadership of the state may have reflected an elite bias, most of the rank-and-file members were not of the same social background as were most LMA members.[15]

Ironically, it was the Daughters rather than the LMAs who were more rigid in their eligibility requirements and who consciously constructed an image of themselves as elite women. With the exception of the Fredericksburg LMA, memorial associations only required that individuals pay monthly or annual dues to claim membership. The UDC reflected a broader trend toward hereditary groups that emerged in 1890 with the DAR, in which members had to prove the family lineage that connected them with the Revolution. As historian Cecelia O'Leary has pointed out, hereditary membership allowed groups like the DAR to thwart the fluidity of social boundaries at the turn of the century; by relying on an objective membership standard such groups could dismiss charges of exclusivity while maintaining their middle- and upper-class bias.[16]

The UDC followed suit, believing that their organization could command respect by excluding not only lower-class "undesirables" but also another unwelcome group of potential members: northern women who had married southern men after the war. Membership in the UDC was therefore reserved for women who could prove to be the descendants of male or female Confederate ancestors (the Daughters recognized that Confederate women shared in the same "dangers, sufferings, and privations" as their male counterparts). Moreover, many chapters reserved the right to refuse any potential member who was "not personally acceptable to the chapter." As cofounder Anna Raines noted,

---

[15] Cox, Dixie's Daughters, 5; Hale, Making Whiteness, 53; Foster, Ghosts, 171. Foster argues that the UDC drew its membership primarily from the middle- and upper -class.

[16] O'Leary, To Die For, 78-80. O'Leary notes that hereditary groups proved especially popular in the late-19th century; by 1895, twenty-four such groups had formed including, the Sons of the American Revolution and UDC.

voluntary associations were not "compelled to receive as a member one who is morally or otherwise objectionable." Despite these seemingly restrictive measures, women flocked to join the ranks of this memorial army.[17]

Many of the earliest UDC members were also leaders within the memorial associations, thereby providing a natural alliance between the organizations. Janet Henderson Weaver Randolph, for example, proved to be an invaluable member of both the Hollywood Memorial Association (as well as the CMLS) and the Richmond UDC. Described by one writer as the "best-known and most-loved woman in the South" shortly before her death in 1927, Randolph devoted much of her adult life to memorializing the Confederacy. Born in 1848 at the family estate of "Cleiland" near Warrenton, Virginia, she was the eldest child of Richard Arrel Weaver and Janet Cleiland Horner. She spent the war years in Warrenton, which was frequently behind Federal lines. With her mother, sister Margaret, and the family slaves, Lewis, Sylla, Pierce, and Jane, she helped nurse sick and wounded soldiers from both the Confederate and Union armies. Her dedication to memorial work began during the war, as she and other women of Warrenton placed makeshift wooden markers on the graves of Confederate soldiers buried there after the battle of Second Manassas. Her wartime experiences and Confederate defeat forever altered her life and the causes she would pursue. In July 1865, she wrote to a friend, "That at last we should submit to the hated Yankees, the very thought makes my blood

---

[17] Report of the President-General, UDC, Minutes of the Eighteenth Annual Meeting, (1911), 98-99; Report of the President-General, UDC, Minutes of the Nineteenth Annual Meeting, (1912), 95; Cox, Dixie's Daughters, 24, 31. Cox points out that the extraordinary growth of the UDC alarmed many of its leaders who then recommended restrictions on membership.

run cold. But it cannot be that their lives have been given up for nothing, and a day of reckoning must come although it may be far distant."[18]

In 1880, the woman once dubbed "Mrs. Normous Randolph" by a school child because of her large stature, moved to the capital city when she married Confederate veteran and businessman Norman Vincent Randolph.[19] It was there that she earnestly pursued Confederate memorial work, first chairing the Tennessee table at the April 1893 bazaar, then joining the Hollywood Memorial Association, the HMA Juniors, serving as an officer in the Lee Camp Ladies' Auxiliary, and becoming vice-regent of the Confederate Museum's Tennessee Room in February 1896.[20] Randolph also committed herself to other avenues of social activism including the Young Women's Christian Association, Negro Community House, and Virginia Bureau of Vocations for Women. She was particularly active in the campaign to create a "co-ordinate college" for women at the University of Virginia. But for thirty-one years, Randolph's primary devotion was to Richmond's UDC chapter that she founded in January 1896.[21]

---

[18] Mrs. N.V. Randolph, "Recollections of My Mother, 1861-1865," MOC; Douglas S. Freeman, "Mrs. Norman Randolph Remembered," The Richmond Quarterly 7 (Summer 1984): 46-48; Richmond Times Dispatch, April 27, 1924; Richmond News Leader, October 28, 1927; John Coski, "Janet Henderson Weaver Randolph," unpublished article, MOC; Janet H. Weaver to Miss Jenkins, July 12, 1865, MOC. According to John Coski, Federal troops allegedly used the headboards erected by the Warrenton women for their camp fires.

[19] Both Randolph's father and husband served in the Confederate army. Her father enlisted as a private in the Warrenton Rifles, 17th Virginia Infantry, in April 1861 but died of typhoid in May 1862. Her husband, Norman Vincent Randolph, enlisted in the 24th Battalion Virginia Cavalry at the age of 15 and later transferred to Mosby's Rangers, 43rd Battalion. Although he was wounded at Upperville in 1863, Randolph returned to action with Mosby's men. After the war, he made his living as a businessman, including stints as president of the Richmond Paper Box Company, Virginia State Insurance, and vice president of James Taylor Ellyson's Old Dominion Savings and Loans. He was a member of the R.E. Lee Camp No. 1, UCV and served on the board of trustees for the Lee Camp Soldiers' Home. (John Coski, "Janet Henderson Weaver Randolph," unpublished article, MOC.)

[20] Other Confederate organizations that Randolph took part in included board member of the Stonewall Jackson, Matthew Fontaine Maury, and the (aborted) Fitzhugh Lee Monument associations. She also served as the chairman of the central committee for the Jefferson Davis Monument Association. (John Coski, "Janet Henderson Weaver Randolph," unpublished article, MOC.)

[21] Mrs. N.V. Randolph, "Recollections of My Mother, 1861-1865," MOC; Douglas S. Freeman, "Mrs. Norman Randolph Remembered," The Richmond Quarterly 7 (Summer 1984): 46-48; Richmond Times

During her tenure as president (1896-1927), she encouraged Richmond's Daughters to avoid excessive "sentimentalism" and focus on how they might improve their society. She used her position in the Daughters to address not only Confederate memorial and historical issues but also issues relating to the relief of Confederate widows. Like most members of the HMA and CMLS, she discouraged the UCV and Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV) from building a monument to Confederate women, believing that the Confederate Museum served in its own right as a monument to southern womanhood and women's devotion to "the Cause." She urged the UDC to contribute more liberally to the museum and encouraged the Virginia Division to pass a resolution in 1907 pledging at least one dollar annually from each chapter. In her dual-role as UDC chapter president and vice-regent of the Tennessee Room, she worked diligently at eliciting support for the Museum from beyond the Commonwealth, eventually securing funding from the Tennessee legislature to endow the room completely. Above all, Randolph committed her life to honoring the "true" history of the Confederacy—a cause embraced equally by the Ladies' Memorial Associations and the United Daughters of the Confederacy.[22]

Ruth Hairston Early of Lynchburg likewise exemplified the ties between the LMAs and Daughters. She had been a member of the LLMA since at least 1887 and probably joined the Lucy Mina Otey Chapter of the UDC in 1895 (as her sister Mollie served as the group's second vice president). Although her motivation remains unknown,

---

Dispatch, April 27, 1924; Richmond News Leader, October 28, 1927; John Coski, "Janet Henderson Weaver Randolph," unpublished article, MOC; Minutes of the Virginia Division, UDC, 1912: 74. Coski points out that the UDC appears to have been the most important organization to her, as her tombstone at Shockoe Cemetery reads "Founder of the Richmond Chapter / UDC 1896 / And its president / Until Her Death." There is no mention of the HMA or the CMLS. Although she was asked several times to consider the presidency of the Virginia Division or the president-general of the General Convention, she never served as either (though she was named as honorary president of both).

[22] John Coski, "Janet Henderson Weaver Randolph," unpublished article, MOC.

Early issued a call in the spring of 1896 in the local newspaper for a second UDC chapter in the city, eventually named the Old Dominion Chapter. The following year, the Daughters elected her president of the chapter, a post she held several times during her life. Like Randolph, Early's primary interests included caring for needy Confederate veterans and widows, collecting and preserving Confederate relics, and perpetuating the memory of Confederate heroes.[23]

Because of the leadership of women like Randolph and Early, LMA women across the Commonwealth appeared eager to cooperate with the Daughters. The Lynchburg LMA first invited the Otey Chapter of Daughters to unite with them in their observance of Memorial Day in 1896. The following year, both the Otey and Old Dominion Chapters joined the LLMA, and their "cordial cooperation was very generously given."[24] Daughters from across the state assisted the vice regent of the Virginia Room with her duties collecting relics at the White House of the Confederacy. When the HMA asked the legislature in 1900 to assume financial responsibility for the state's Confederate cemeteries, the association requested every UDC chapter in the state to use their influence with representatives from their districts. Emily Hendree Park, regent of the Georgia Room and a UDC officer, urged every state division of the Daughters to support the museum and lobby their respective legislatures for funds.[25] The addition of UDC chapters at memorial celebrations, monument unveilings, and any other

---

[23] "Old Dominion Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy," Early Family Papers, VHS; "Memorial Services Held for Miss Ruth H. Early, January 30, 1928," Early Family Papers, VHS.
[24] LLMA minutes, April 30, 1896, April 28, 1897, JML.
[25] "History of the Virginia Division United Daughters of the Confederacy, 1895-1967," compiled by Mrs. Cabell Smith, Miss Sarah B. Graham, and Miss Alice Whitley Jones, MOC; Richmond Chapter UDC minutes, January 18, 1902, MOC; HMA minutes, March 30, 1900, MOC; Coski and Feely, "The Founding Generation of the Confederate Museum," 154; "To the United Daughters of the Confederacy," Resolution of Mrs. R. E. Park, Regent for the State of Georgia, November 1899, MOC.

activities under the auspices of the LMAs seemingly heightened the influence of the memorial women.

The Daughters also benefited from their ties to the memorial associations. Many of the LMA members joined the younger association and provided invaluable support for the Daughters' projects.[26] For example, when the Virginia UDC divisions (both the 1st Virginia and the Grand Division) nominated Richmond as the location for the 1899 national convention, they asked the state's LMAs to unite with them. The CMLS and HMA agreed to take up the banner, sending out more than 180 letters to UDC chapters across the South urging them to vote for their capital city. But the LMAs did not stop at lobbying for the city. After Richmond had been secured as the site, the CMLS and HMA invited every memorial association in the South to send delegates to the November meeting. Even though the CMLS experienced its own financial difficulties, the association annually donated a small sum to the Daughters. And in 1902, the CMLS agreed to assist the Philadelphia based Dabney H. Maury Chapter of the UDC when it was "forbidden by the fanatical prejudice of northern men, to rear a monument to the Confederate dead" buried in the City of Brotherly Love. With the Hollywood association, the CMLS warmly extended a spot in the Soldiers' Section of Hollywood Cemetery for the monument. The LMAs also sponsored a concert for the benefit of the Daughters' monument to Jefferson Davis in Richmond.[27]

---

[26] According to Coski and Feely, as well as the author's own research, most of the early CMLS / HMA leaders were also members of the UDC. (Coski and Feely, "The Founding Generation of the Confederate Museum," 154.)

[27] CMLS minutes, May 25, November 30, 1898, January 25, 1899, MOC; CMLS Committee Reports File, 1898 report of the Corresponding Secretary Lydia P. Purcell, 1900 Annual Report, 1902 Annual Report, MOC; Cox, Dixie's Daughters, 49-50, 52-53,57; HMA minutes, May 9, June 6, October 30, 1900, March 14, 1901, MOC.

But even with this spirit of cooperation, the LMAs sought to distinguish themselves from the Daughters and refused to cede too much influence to the younger organization. Just prior to HMA's 1902 memorial festivities, the organization demanded that the UDC use the term "Memorial Day" rather than "Decoration Day." Since at least the 1870s, LMAs across the state and region had systematically employed the term "Memorial Day" (even though it often caused confusion with the national holiday), and they refused to allow the UDC to alter their language—or diminish the significance of the Ladies' annual tribute. Mildred Rutherford supported the LMAs' claims to dictate aspects of Memorial Day. She held that they had every right and privilege to conduct those exercises as they saw fit, "just as it is the right and privilege of the UDC to bestow crosses of honor on the deserving veterans." Even more telling was the HMA's message to the Daughters to "back-off" regarding the Gettysburg dead issue. That same spring Janet Randolph reported to the HMA that appeals had been made to numerous chapters of the Daughters to pay Dr. Weaver for the debt he claimed was still due him. Led by Mary Crenshaw, the HMA furiously responded that "all [UDC] associations be requested to have nothing to do with that matter, as it is entirely between the HMA and Dr. Weaver."[28]

When it came to the Confederate Museum, the CMLS women depended on the assistance of the Daughters but were also wary of allowing them too much control. For example, when Lora Ellyson suggested allowing the Daughters to select State Room regents in 1899, most of the society's members contested the idea. The discussion provoked such an acrimonious response that the motion was withdrawn. Ella Darcy Dibrell, regent for the Texas Room, informed CMLS president Lizzie Cary Daniels that

---

[28] HMA minutes, May 3, 1902, MOC; Rutherford Scrapbooks, Vol. XLI, "Origins of the Ladies Memorial Associations," MOC.

while she believed the Daughters should take an active interest in the museum, only society members should have the authority to fill regent vacancies. "We must not let state U.D.C. politics invade the Museum," she warned.[29] While the LMAs might welcome the Daughters' aid in their Memorial Day celebrations and expect support for the Confederate Museum, they erected clear boundaries that the new generation of women was warned not to cross.

***

Despite a mostly amicable and productive relationship between the LMAs and Daughters, the memorial women worried that their work might be eclipsed by the UDC's powerful reach and so sought ways to strengthen their organizations. While the LMAs across the state and region had demonstrated a remarkable degree of cooperation since their inception in the 1860s, the organization of the UDC did prompt a more collective effort on the behalf of the memorial associations. In Richmond, the Hollywood, Oakwood, and Hebrew Memorial Associations had been gathering together to celebrate each group's Memorial Day since 1886, but after the emergence of the Daughters these memorial associations began to align themselves more closely by forming committees especially for joint projects. For example, in May 1896 representatives from each of the three associations met "to organize ladies of the whole city for the purpose of assisting

[29] CMLS minutes, January 16, 1900, MOC; Ella Darcy Dibrell to Lizzie Cary Daniel, circa August 1911, Lizzie Cary Daniel Papers, MOC; Coski and Feely, "The Founding Generation of the Confederate Museum," 155.

the [Confederate Veterans] Camps in the necessary preparation for the Confederate reunion to be held in Richmond on June 30 and July 1, 2."[30]

LMAs elsewhere in the South likewise felt threatened as the Daughters continued to gain popularity. In the spring of 1900, Julia A. Garside of the Southern Memorial Association of Fayetteville, Arkansas, issued a call for all LMAs to unite in one body to be called the Confederated Southern Memorial Association (CSMA). Delegates from thirteen LMAs from all parts of the South arrived in Louisville, Kentucky, on May 30 to discuss the merging of their associations—a site and date chosen because the annual meeting of the United Confederate Veterans was to be held at the same time. Virginia, home of several of the oldest LMAs, was well represented with delegates from Hollywood, Junior Hollywood, Confederate Memorial Literary Society, Petersburg, Oakwood, and Front Royal attending the inaugural meeting.[31]

The newly organized CSMA spent its first meeting crafting a constitution and by-laws, creating committees, and electing officers including Katie Behan of New Orleans as president. In keeping with the objectives of LMAs since the 1860s, the association sought to collect relics and preserve the history of the Confederacy, instill in the minds of children "a proper veneration for the spirit and glory that animated" the South's soldiers, and continue to direct Memorial Day services. Like the UDC they agreed that a vice-president at large be elected from every state represented in the association (Mrs. D.C. Richardson of the Oakwood association was elected as vice president from Virginia),

---

[30] HMA minutes, May 8, 1896, MOC.

[31] Other charter members included the Southern Memorial Association of Fayetteville, Arkansas; Ladies Confederate Memorial Association of New Orleans; Ladies Memorial Association of Knoxville, Tennessee; Ladies Memorial and Literary Association of Springfield, Missouri; Ladies Confederate Memorial Association of Fort Mills, South Carolina; Ladies Confederate Association of Memphis, Tennessee; and Ladies Confederate Association of Gainesville, Alabama. (Minutes of the Confederated Southern Memorial Association, May 1900, UVA.)

with other associations to elect vice presidents to represent their states as they entered. Emblematic of their mission to sear the memory of the LMAs into every southern heart, the women selected as their motto "Lest we Forget." Finally, in the spirit of a confederation, the CSMA declared that no individual work of any individual LMA would be interfered with by the association and no joining association would be required to assume, except on a voluntary basis, any new work. Most important, "each association [would be] recognized as a free agent to continue its parent work, and devote itself exclusively, if it so desires, to its own local work." Unlike the Daughters, there was to be no hierarchy—only an available network for support.[32]

Founding members of the CSMA also realized it was imperative that they gain the endorsement of the UCV. Although determined to control their own organization, they recognized that men's political and economic contributions over the years had in many ways contributed to the success of the memorial associations. The CSMA believed that if they could have representatives attend the annual UCV meetings and gain the backing and cooperation of these men, they would be even more successful in their endeavors. The delegates, sensing the urgency of time, immediately began drafting a memorial to be read at the veterans' meeting the next day.[33]

"Throughout the south are scattered memorial associations, who have not relinquished their original organization. . . some of which were formed as far back as 1865," began Charles Coffin of Arkansas on behalf of the CSMA. In a comment intended to distinguish them from the Daughters, the CSMA claimed to bring the UCV a

---

[32] "A Confederation of Southern Memorial Associations," SHSP 28: 377-84; Minutes of the Confederated Southern Memorial Association, May 1900, UVA.

[33] Ibid; "The Confederated Southern Memorial Association--It's [sic] Origin and Purpose," circa 1920, Janet Randolph Papers, Box II-4, MOC.

"more tangible demonstration of work done than any other organized body of southern people, men or women. . . . We are not willing to lose our identity as memorial associations, nor to merge ourselves into the younger organizations, 'The Daughters of the Confederacy.'" Further pointing to the differences between their organization and the UDC, the CSMA identified themselves as veterans—"veterans as much as the gray, battle scarred old soldiers—though we bided at home." Women of the memorial associations, those of the war generation, they claimed, were equally devout Confederates and therefore should been seen as partners in the traditions of the Lost Cause—even more so than their offspring, the Daughters. When Coffin finished reading the remarks, the old veterans jumped to their feet in a deafening applause, recounting among themselves the privations, courage, and endurance of southern women during "those trying times of war." Noting that the CSMA was composed of organizations that antedated the work of the UCV, the men fully endorsed the confederation.[34]

In light of the CSMA's statement to the veterans, it seems almost unnecessary to speculate on why the memorial associations desired to join such an organization. Clearly they wanted to maintain their independence and receive what they deemed to be the appropriate recognition for their years of hard work. But as always, practical matters were never far behind, as evidenced by the Petersburg association's appeal for support. The Petersburg LMA employed the CSMA as a regional platform to solicit support for a project to restore Blandford Church as a Confederate Memorial Chapel. Its representatives asked that each Confederate Veteran camp and memorial association donate three dollars toward the project. Always present in their minds was "the best

[34] Minutes of the Confederated Southern Memorial Association, May 1900, UVA, emphasis added; History of the Confederated Memorial Associations of the South, 37, 291; "Confederated Southern Memorial Associations" Confederate Veteran 9 (1901):15.

method of securing help from each state in restoring Blandford Church," and for years they would renew their requests for aid at the annual meeting of the CSMA. With its new organizational structure, the CSMA, like the Daughters, could potentially reach supporters in every corner of the South.[35]

According to the annual reports of the CSMA, it was succeeding marvelously in its primary goals of uniting the associations, infusing new life into local LMAs, and reviving Confederate work in general. By its second annual convention in 1901, the confederation had more than doubled, with twenty-eight associations represented, and by 1903 that number had grown to fifty-five.[36] But reports from Mrs. Shelton Chieves, vice-president for Virginia, suggested that the confederation had not induced nearly the response its founders had envisioned. "It is with regret that I come to you to-day with a very unsatisfactory report of work accomplished," she began. Although she had written countless letters to members of memorial associations and endeavored to "arouse their dying enthusiasm," it had proved to be "a difficult task, to prevail upon those women who were identified with the sad days of anxiety and sorrow, to hold their Association together." CSMA corresponding secretary Sue H. Walker refused to acknowledge that memorial associations simply were not interested, instead arguing that "many more would have joined us, but for their inability to do so, having merged into the younger organization the Daughters of the Confederacy."[37]

---

[35] Minutes of the Confederated Southern Memorial Association, May 1900, May 1901, May 1904; PLMA Minutes, May 21,1900, LOV.

[36] By 1901, the CSMA reported that several "distinguished Southern women" had been elected honorary members of the body, including Mrs. Jefferson Davis, Mrs. Stonewall Jackson, Mrs. D.H. Hill, Misses Mary and Mildred Lee, and Mrs. Frances Kirby-Smith Wade. ("Confederated Memorial Associations," Confederate Veteran 9 (1901): 368.

[37] Minutes of the Confederated Southern Memorial Association, May 1901, May 1902, May 1903, May 1904, May 1905, May 1907, UVA; Sixth Annual Convention of the CSMA, Rutherford Scrapbooks. Vol. XLI "Origins of the Ladies Memorial Associations," MOC. By 1907, the number of associations that joined

Despite the frequent not-so-flattering references to the Daughters, Walker insisted that the confederation would not "conflict or interfere in any way with the U.D.C." She maintained that even though the organizations remained separate, "both are working for the same sacred cause." The Davis monument endeavor proved that assertion, as did the opening reception the CSMA received each year from the Daughters in the hosting city of their annual convention. For their part, the UDC tried to appease the memorial women by applauding their work and dedication to the Cause.[38]

The "older women," as they liked to call themselves, continued to reminisce about their role in the 1860s and insist that they stood between "a calamitous past and an uncertain future, in determined protest against the blackness of calumny and the leveling power of time." In a testament to the continuity between the earliest LMAs and the CSMA sixty years later, the two priorities of the confederation remained Memorial Days and care of the Confederate graves. Recalling an attempt by Richmond's Lee Camp in the 1890s to establish a single Memorial Day for the entire South, CSMA president Katie Behan suggested that all the associations celebrate Jefferson Davis's birthday on June 3 as "Southern Memorial Day." When this failed to occur (not surprisingly in a group dedicated to protecting their individuality), she urged the associations to detail the observance of their individual Memorial Day celebrations in their annual reports, send quarterly reports to their local newspapers, and write articles for the Confederate Veteran

---

the CSMA had reached 57 including all of associations from Richmond, Petersburg, Winchester, Lynchburg, and Fredericksburg.

[38] Minutes of the Confederated Southern Memorial Association, May 1902, May 1903, May 1904, May 1907, May 1908, UVA. The FLMA joined the CSMA sometime between January and May 1907. For unknown reasons, the association had voted unanimously to "dismiss the subject" of joining the CSMA on January 9, 1907, but subsequently agreed to attend the annual CSMA meeting in Richmond that May. (FLMA minutes, January 9, May 13, 1907, LOV.)

every three months in order to give the public "some idea of the work being done by the Memorial Associations" and "increase the interest of the younger generation."[39]

Despite the growing numbers and presence of the UDC, it seemed unnecessary for the Ladies to remind their respective communities that Memorial Day activities resided under their dominion. Even as the services took on a more martial tone with the increased presence of the Confederate veterans, newspapers from Winchester to Lynchburg heralded the days' events as the province of women. The Petersburg paper, for example, noted that "ever since the close of the civil war the ninth of June has been observed as memorial day when appropriate memorial exercises are held under the auspices of the Ladies Memorial Association." The CSMA need not worry that the Ladies would cede their influence over Memorial Days.[40]

Tending to the graves of Confederate soldiers buried on northern soil and erecting granite shafts in their memory also occupied much of the CSMA's time. Most famously, the association embroiled itself in the conflict regarding the creation of a Confederate section in Arlington National Cemetery on the grounds of Robert E. Lee's former home. Under the influence of Janet Randolph, the CSMA, together with the Hollywood Memorial Association and the Richmond chapter of the UDC, asked that the bodies be reinterred in Hollywood Cemetery where they might rest next to their comrades in arms. After nearly a decade of political pressure by the women's associations on Congress and the McKinley administration, the federal government agreed to assume the obligation of

---

[39] Minutes of the Confederated Southern Memorial Association, May 1901, May 1902, May 1903, May 1904, UVA. Desiring to preserve both the individualism and identity of the LMAs, the confederation resolved to compile the histories of each memorial association in a book form that could then be sold for the benefit of the Jefferson Davis Monument. The book was completed in 1904 and sold for $1.35 (including delivery).

[40] Petersburg Daily Index Appeal, June 9, 1901. Some historians, have cited the more martial spirit of Memorial Days as an indication that the LMAs were yielding their influence over commemorations to the veterans. See, for example, Censer, Reconstruction, 206.

tending to the graves of the approximately 30,000 Confederate soldiers who had died in northern prison camps and hospitals.[41]

Never a group to avoid controversy, the CSMA found other contentious issues with which to involve itself. The association inaugurated movements to place pictures of Jefferson Davis in every southern classroom and have his name restored to the Cabin John Bridge in Washington, D.C. In 1913, it passed a resolution requesting Congress to issue a return on the cotton tax. Perhaps most surprising, at first glance, was its effort to change the words to the South's unofficial anthem, "Dixie." When the Montgomery Advertiser asked "what is the matter with the old words to Dixie?" the women of the association offered a sharp reply. "The words are unworthy of the air" because they had been composed for a "negro minstrel performance." While the tune became popular during the war, the memorial women contended that "the words are nothing but doggerel and negro dialect. Some do not even rhyme." Since the CSMA wanted school children to sing the song, they thought it only fitting that the words be changed to something more solemn that reflected the seriousness of the war rather than the light-hearted nature of a minstrel show. While venerating Confederate soldiers might be their mantra, CSMA women clearly understood their power to shape young *white* southern minds regarding proper race relations in the early twentieth century.[42]

---

[41] "Confederate Dead in the North" Confederate Veteran 9 (1901):196-98; Blair, Cities of the Dead, 171-208. The CSMA proposed erecting granite shafts at national cemeteries in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Elmira, New York; Point Lookout, Maryland; and Finns Point, New Jersey. After remarks by President William McKinley in 1898 pledging to care for the graves of all soldiers in Arlington, Dr. Samuel Lewis lobbied Congress to improve the approximately 136 Confederate graves scattered throughout the cemetery. McKinley approved the act in June 1900, and the first ceremonies to dedicate the section were held in May 1903 (which now included 264 graves after the removal of graves from the Soldiers' Home). The CSMA, together with the UDC and other Confederate groups, succeeded in having a memorial erected to the Confederate dead at Arlington in 1914.

[42] Rutherford Scrapbooks, Vol. XLI, "Origins of the Ladies Memorial Associations," MOC; "Confederated Southern Memorial Associations" Confederate Veteran 11 (1903).

But neither these stirring debates nor LMAs' "traditional" Memorial Day activities would be enough to shore up interest and participation. In order to continue to attract members to their struggling associations, the CSMA and its memorial associations would have to differentiate themselves from the Daughters through projects both novel and grand.

***

As evidenced in Mrs. Shelton Chieves's comments before the CSMA in the early 1900s, the Petersburg LMA had struggled for decades to maintain its popularity and appeal among the community's upper-class women. When a chapter of the UDC was formed in the city the PLMA again solicited support for its own organization, whose membership had by then dwindled to fifteen. Within a week of placing an ad in the local paper, attendance at PLMA meetings had doubled to thirty and in two weeks numbered forty-three. At one such meeting, a member suggested transforming the abandoned Blandford Church (around which the association had interred more than 30,000 Confederate soldiers) into a non-sectarian mortuary chapel for every southern state. Perhaps the fact that the HLMA and its auxiliary the CMLS were busy establishing a Confederate Museum in Richmond, replete with relics from every southern state, sparked the notion of a shrine in memory of all Confederates. Or maybe the member had read about a proposal in 1867 to establish a memorial church in Memphis with mural tablets to

honor the Confederate dead, inscribed with the names of associations throughout the South that contributed. Whatever the inspiration, the women of the LMA believed Petersburg to be just as sacred to the South as Richmond or Memphis. Their city had witnessed the Confederates' last stand, and more Confederate soldiers were interred on its hillsides than at any other spot in the South. The PLMA thought that restoration of Blandford might induce the South's sons and daughters to make annual pilgrimages to this shrine. "A melancholy pride will fill their hearts for duty well performed to those who fought for constitutional liberty and law," the women claimed.[43]

Such a grand project had the added benefit of generating local and regional support for their cause. The PLMA promptly contacted Confederate Veteran member James Quicke, Sr., requesting that he devise the best means of bringing it to the notice of the different Confederate Associations. Quicke wrote a proposal embodying the PLMA's plans for Blandford Church to be presented at the annual meeting of the Grand Camp of Confederate Veterans in Charleston, South Carolina, on May 10, 1899. The Ladies took advantage of the regional breadth of the Veterans and hoped that their influence would "contribute toward making it a memorial to our Heroes, buried around this old church."[44]

Built as an Anglican church in 1735 but abandoned by 1803, Blandford had been donated by John Grammer to the city of Petersburg in 1819. Left unattended, the church had begun to crumble, and by 1868 one citizen remarked that it had "gone much to decay: the walls of . . . brick are standing, the roof in part gone, moss and ivy covering the ravages of time." Because the chapel was the focal point for the Confederate

---

[43] PLMA minutes, May 1, 17, 1899, LOV; History of the Confederated Memorial Associations of the South, 290-02. Honorary members for the Memphis project included Mrs. Jefferson Davis, Mrs. Robert E. Lee, Miss Augusta Evans, and Mrs. Nathan B. Forrest. (Petersburg Daily-Index Appeal, January 26, 1867.)
[44] PLMA minutes, May 1, 17, 1899, LOV

Cemetery on nearby Memorial Hill, the PLMAs' first priority was to restore the chapel to its original plan. The most ambitious of the proposals for the church was the installation of stained-glass windows to be dedicated to the memory of the soldiers from different Confederate states buried in the cemetery. Within nine months the Ladies had decided to employ the services of Louis Comfort Tiffany, the celebrated stained-glass artist, to design "a perfect memorial" for the dead.[45]

In order to increase support for the restoration of the church across the South, the A.P. Hill Camp of Confederate Veterans volunteered to assist the PLMA in preparing and distributing circulars asking for contributions to the Blandford Memorial Fund. By October 1900, more than eight thousand circulars had been printed and donations from individuals in various states began flooding the memorial association. The first contribution toward the restoration of Blandford Church--$1.00--came from Mrs. E.J. Mead of Topeka, Kansas; other early donations came from cities in Virginia, including Waynesboro and Bowling Green. The Washington Artillery of New Orleans provided the PLMA with an enormous boost when its members expressed their desire to "be granted the privilege of furnishing a window." The Ladies reported that "letters from persons in several states" expressed "great interest in the work of restoring 'Old Blandford Church' and also showing that they still cherish loving memories of the Lost Cause that should always be dear to Southern hearts." If the women of Petersburg lacked enthusiasm for the LMA, the Ladies found solace that other southerners still relished their "heroic past."[46] Finally, after a petition from the PLMA, in January 1901 the City of

---

[45] Charles Campbell quoted in Martha Wren Briggs, The Compass Windows of Old Blandford Church: A Tribute to Tiffany Glass (Sedley, Va.: Dory Press, 1992), 2; Nichols, A Sketch of Old Blandford Church, 7.

[46] PLMA minutes, October 12, November 16, 1900, LOV.

Petersburg delegated authority to the LMA to convert the old church into a mortuary chapel and a Confederate Memorial.

If the town council and veterans' camp supported the project, believed the memorial women, perhaps other such local organizations might provide support for Blandford. Despite the PLMA's desire to remain an independent organization, the Ladies formally invited the local UDC chapter as well as the national organization to cooperate in raising funds to restore the church. The UDC accepted, and the Petersburg chapter promptly donated $100. Nonetheless, the PLMA made a concerted effort to remind Petersburg and the nation that they remained distinct from the UDC, especially after the October 1903 edition of the Women's Home Companion credited the Daughters for the restoration of Blandford Church. Mrs. W.C. Badger, a member of both the PLMA and the Petersburg UDC, pointed out the error at a memorial association meeting, clearly disturbed that the Daughters should be praised for directing a project so near and dear to the memorial women's hearts.[47]

Throughout 1902, PLMA members, other LMAs, the UDC, the Confederate Veterans, state legislatures, and individuals across the South continued to raise money for the church. To avoid disputes among the donors over the design of each memorial window, the PLMA requested that Tiffany choose a subject and theme that would unify all the windows—twelve compass windows, two smaller rectangular windows, and one lunette. After sending a representative in early 1903 to survey the church, Tiffany decided on the Gothic Revival style of the late nineteenth century. He designed the eleven first-floor compass windows featuring either an evangelist or apostle. Above each

[47] PLMA minutes, November 19, 1903, LOV. According to the membership list of the Fourth Annual Meeting, (1897), 125, Mrs. W.C. Badger was a member of the UDC as well.

saint, he inserted a medallion to designate the window's donor. Below the figures, each donor would be able chose a memorial verse. The four smaller windows would complement the larger windows.[48] Because each state would be responsible for raising the $385 needed for each window, Tiffany's associate suggested that the Ladies assign one member to work with each state until the necessary funds were in place. During the next few years, organizations from across the region contributed toward windows for their respective states.

By mid-1903, individuals and associations from Virginia, Missouri, and Louisiana (represented by the Washington Artillery) had collected the funds for their respective windows. The following Memorial Day, 1904, the PLMA dedicated the first three windows and consecrated Blandford as a Confederate Memorial Chapel. Described by the local paper as the most important celebration "yet held under the auspices of the Ladies Memorial Association," the day attracted thousands of spectators from across the region and honored guests such as Katie Behan, president the CSMA, and Stonewall Jackson's granddaughter, Julia Jackson Christian. Following an address by Judge George Christian of Richmond that praised the Army of Northern Virginia and noted that Virginia did not go to war to defend the right of secession, the Ladies unveiled the three windows and a marble tablet dedicated by the UDC. After the unveiling exercises, a chorus of "Our Southland" brought the ceremonies to a close. According to the Petersburg Index-Appeal, the Ladies were wiser than they realized, as "this chapel will be not only a memorial to the dead, but it is also an honor to the living."[49]

---

[48] Briggs, The Compass Windows of Old Blandford Church, 4-8.

[49] PLMA minutes, June 16, 1904, LOV; Petersburg Daily Index-Appeal, June 9, 10, 1904. In 1901, the Index-Appeal began printing accounts of the Memorial Day activities on the front and back pages, rather than hiding them within the local announcements.

Six years later, on June 3, 1910, the one hundred-second anniversary of the birth of Confederate President Jefferson Davis, the PLMA dedicated eleven more windows that had already been installed in the chapel. The North Carolina window had been placed in the church in 1907. The following year, Tiffany completed the Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, Florida, Texas, and Missouri compass windows along with three smaller windows representing Arkansas, Maryland, and the Ladies' Memorial Association. In 1910 the South Carolina window and Tiffany's personal donation, a "Cross of Jewels," were installed. Finally, thirteen years after the Ladies first discussed restoring Blandford Church as a memorial shrine, the project was officially concluded on November 13, 1912, with the dedication of the Georgia window. By transforming the old Blandford Church into a Confederate chapel, the Ladies had appealed to a national memory of the war dead that invoked an otherworldliness—an eternal life for the martyrs of the Lost Cause. Like many defenders of the Confederacy, they moved beyond death to celebrate the triumphs of not only their ancestors, but also of themselves. They had created an enduring landmark, a shrine to the Confederate dead, to be forever associated with the Ladies' Memorial Associations.[50]

***

[50] Nichols, A Sketch of Old Blandford Church, 4-10.

At two o'clock in the afternoon on a sunny winter day in 1896, the doors to the White House of the Confederacy, or Confederate Museum, finally opened [51] The CMLS officers, led by president Belle Bryan, greeted thousands of visitors in what had been the central parlor of the executive mansion (now called the "Solid South" Room) while other members served refreshments in the former state dining room. The rooms would eventually be filled with relics and Confederate records; however, because of the throngs of spectators streaming through the building the rooms remained sparse, "decorated only with appropriately colored bunting, festoons, flags, flowers, palm leaves, and occasional portraits on mantels and walls." Even though the women needed more relics to fill their rooms, the museum proved to be instantaneously popular, welcoming 6,026 visitors in a mere 12 months. In June 1896, the Confederate Veterans held their annual reunion in the city and gathered at the former executive mansion for the first time since 1865. State and local government officials and their wives, visitors to the city, and school children all poured into the new museum anxious for a close examination of some of the Confederacy's most precious artifacts. The Hollywood Memorial Association and its sister society the CMLS had succeeded in ensuring that future generations would not forget the Confederacy or its White House. Moreover, they proved to themselves that even with the rising popularity of the Daughters, the work of the memorial associations would not be overlooked.[52]

---

[51] The women of the CMLS had chosen the opening-date of February 22 to correspond with the inauguration of the Confederacy's first and only president exactly thirty-four years earlier. Jefferson Davis was inaugurated February 22, 1862, (the anniversary of President George Washington's birth) in Richmond's Capitol Square as the president of the Confederate States of America after an election in November 1861. Since April 1861, he had served as president of the provisional Confederate government.
[52] Richmond Dispatch, February 23, 1896; Coski and Feely, "The Founding Generation of the Confederate Museum," 131; CMLS Committee Files, clipping from the Richmond Times, circa December 1897, MOC.

Following the museum's dedication in 1896, the CMLS embarked on an even more ambitious agenda. The group urged all the railroads in the state to mark the battlefields through which their respective lines passed so that tourists might learn about the war as they traveled along the rails. Not only did all of the railroads agree to comply, but Maj. E. D. Myers of the Richmond, Fredericksburg, and Potomac Railroad (RF&P) donated one acre of land on the Fredericksburg battlefield to the CMLS and erected a pyramid modeled after the ninety foot structure in Hollywood Cemetery.[53] The Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad followed the RF&P's lead, consenting to mark "in a substantial manner" the Williamsburg battlefield and the "outer fortifications of the city which were never broken." The CMLS also looked beyond the railroads to make their mark. In 1900, the association received permission from the Virginia legislature to place a placard on "any and all buildings or other property, belonging to the Commonwealth, that were used for the purposes of or associated with the war between the states." Even after thirty-five years, the LMA continued to act on behalf of the state when it came to Confederate issues. And in 1904 the association undertook a project that closely resembled efforts of the UDC when it announced a prize of ten dollars in gold to the grammar school student who wrote the best paper on a Confederate subject. Like their counterparts, the Ladies believed that such essay contests, along with the railroad and

[53] CMLS minutes, April 30, June 3, October 15, 1897, January 28, 1898, MOC; "Pyramids in Fredericksburg," Off the Beaten Path, Vol. 3, site accessed through the internet, http://www.simplyfredericksburg.com/printpage.php. Apparently, the CMLS had originally proposed erecting wooden signs, but the RF&P rejected this idea on the grounds that it looked too much like advertising. In 1898, the railroad moved seventeen tons of Virginia granite to construct the pyramid, which ironically became known as Meade's Pyramid after Union General George G. Meade. It should be noted that the RF&P Railroad did not approach the Fredericksburg LMA for reasons unknown, although one might speculate that the CMLS simply had more appeal and pull than the twenty women who composed the Fredericksburg association.

building markers, would offer a "proper education of the younger generation . . . awakening their greater interest in Confederate history."[54]

The women of the CMLS and HMA more directly returned to their 1860s' role as lobbyist when they pressured the Virginia legislature to provide an annual appropriation for upkeep of the state's 34 Confederate cemeteries. In November 1900, the women sent an appeal to every LMA and UDC chapter in Virginia asking for assistance in this measure. Associations from Winchester, Manassas, Blacksburg, Culpeper, Leesburg, Petersburg, and numerous other localities agreed to petition their delegates and state senators. Employing the maternalist language that had become so popular among women's lobbying efforts on behalf of children and working women, the Ladies convinced the General Assembly to provide annual contributions to the respective cemeteries based on the number of interments. As one of the largest cemeteries, for example, Hollywood was to receive five hundred dollars annually. In turning to the state legislature for funds, the Ladies confirmed that their role as caregivers to the Confederate dead had in fact been a state function. It only seemed reasonable that with the "diminution of their ranks from death and other cause" and the absence of federal opposition they return the obligation to the state.[55]

---

[54] CMLS minutes, April 30, June 3, October 15, 1897, January 28, 1898, MOC; CMLS Conunittee Files, clipping from the Richmond Times, circa December 1897, 1900 Report of Committee to Locate and Mark Confederate Sites and Fortifications, 1904 Report to the CSMA, MOC.

[55] HMA appeal to all Virginia towns and cities with Confederate cemeteries, November 1900, HMA collection, MOC; Lucy Dunbar Williams, Sec. Stonewall Memorial Association, Winchester, to Mrs. Minor, December, 18, 1900, HMA collection, MOC; Richmond Chapter UDC minutes. January 18, 1902, MOC; Virginia Senate Bill, No. 94, Janet Randolph Papers, box II-4, MOC. On maternalist legislation, see Skocpol, Protecting Soldiers, 3, 20-21, 50-51; Odem, Delinquent Daughters, 8-37. Some years later, the HMA requested that the General Assembly make an appropriation of $8,000 to trustees named by the HMA (members of the association) who would make a contract with the Hollywood Cemetery Company to insure the upkeep of the graves. By doing so, the Ladies claimed the cost to the state would be substantially lowered. The Blandford Cemetery in Petersburg did not request funds from the state because the city government took responsibility for the maintenance.

But even with these other efforts to remind future generations about the Confederacy's past, the museum remained the CMLS's most precious goal and dearest achievement. Other white southerners, including men, also recognized the significance of the museum and the pivotal role women played in memorializing the Confederacy. Speaking at the museum dedication, Confederate veteran and Virginia governor Charles T. O'Ferrall asked the visitors "why is it we are here?" The answer, he proclaimed, "is ready upon every tongue, Southern women's love for the memories of a generation ago; Southern women's devotion to the cause which, though enveloped in a cloud of defeat, yet circled in a blaze of glory, has called us from our firesides and businesses to this spot." He reminded the crowd that rather than veterans and generals, "the daughters and granddaughters" of the Confederacy's devoted women were responsible for "dedicating this structure as a depository of Confederate cards and relics."[56]

When wealthy Confederate veteran Charles Broadway Rouss of New York proposed donating $100,000 for the creation of a "Battle Abbey" or repository to collect the records and relics of the "Southern Cause" in 1894, the women of the CMLS felt confident that their museum would be an appropriate site for this Memorial Hall. Mary Maury Werth viewed Rouss's proposal as "fulfilling and perpetuating the very objects for which the Confederate Memorial Literary Society was established" and urged fellow members to "secure the valuable cooperation & assistance of so zealous a Confederate as Mr. Rouss." The Lee Camp, including many husbands of CMLS members, concurred. It sent a delegation to address Rouss on behalf of the women, touting them as an "organization to which the patriotic trust might worthily be committed" and noting that

---

[56] O'Ferrall's speech quoted in Richmond Dispatch, February 23, 1896; Coski and Feely, "The Founding Generation of the Confederate Museum," 131-32; Minor T. Weisger, "Charles T. O'Ferrall, 'Gray Eagle' from the Valley," in Younger, ed., The Governors of Virginia, 1860-1978, 142.

the society already possessed "the finest and most extensive collection of Confederate relics ever made."[57]

Rouss initially remained cautious of pledging his Battle Abbey to any locality, confiding to several veterans' associations that the Confederate Museum was a distinctly local institution while he desired to create one that would be "national in character." Representatives from other cities including Atlanta, Nashville, Memphis, Vicksburg, Washington, and New Orleans fueled his reservations and suggested that their communities offered better sites for the repository. No doubt hearing of Rouss's hesitancy, Lizzie Cary Daniel declared that the Confederate Museum was "more than a local institution. The society was started in February 1890, [four years prior to Rouss's appeal] with exactly the design and scope of what has later become so well-known as the 'Battle Abbey of the South.'" She admitted that the society may have fallen short of making known "its aim and its success," but reminded the veterans that the museum's grounds "now in such beautiful order" could be secured free of cost. Invigorated by Daniel's words and feeling confident that they would win Rouss's approval, the society voted in February 1896 to raze the outbuildings associated with the Confederate White House in an effort to clear a space for the Battle Abbey. According to historians John Coski and Amy Feely, the existence of the museum played a significant role when

---

[57] "A National Repository for the Records and Relics of the Southern Cause, Proposed by Charles Broadway Rouss, of New York," SHSP 22: 387-89; Mary Maury Werth quoted in Coski and Feely, "The Founding Generation of the Confederate Museum," 147-9; Virginius Cornick Hall, Jr., "The Virginia Historical Society: An Anniversary Narrative of Its First Century and a Half," The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 90 (January 1982): 100-05; William M.S. Rasmussen "Planning a Temple to the Lost Cause: The Confederate 'Battle Abbey'" in Mills and Simpson, eds., Monuments to the Lost Cause, 163-82; Foster, Ghosts, 116. Ramussen points out that the idea for this "Temple to the Lost Cause" coincided with efforts to erect the Grant Monument (popularly known as Grant's Tomb). According to Ramussen, "Rouss watched as the sum of $600,000 was raised for the project by popular subscription and as ground was broken in 1891. Three years later-- and three years before the monument was completed-- this former Virginian sent a letter to various camps of Confederate veterans, calling for a Confederate Memorial Association (CMA) that would honor Grant's former opponents." Rouss was originally from Winchester, Virginia.

Richmond veterans successfully secured their city as the site for the Memorial Hall and its administrative body, the Confederate Memorial Association (CMA), in 1898.[58]

With the city selected, leaders of the CMLS believed that they would have a significant degree of control, if not full administrative authority, over the Confederate Memorial Association. J. Taylor Ellyson—Richmond businessman, chairman of the Democratic state committee, husband of CMLS member Lora Hotchkiss Ellyson, and CMA member—guaranteed the women that the Memorial Hall would not threaten their museum. He informed them that the CMA unanimously wished to place the Abbey under their management, "as it would be impolitic to have two such organizations in one city." Janet Randolph took Ellyson at his word, later demanding that he fulfill his promise and relinquish control of the Battle Abbey to the Museum. But skeptics abounded. Writing to Lynchburg's Ruth Early in 1896, Dabney H. Maury expressed "no respect for the scheme nor for the promoters of it," although he understood the Richmond women's desired to build "a grander museum" than any other state. Varina Davis, too, opposed "the scheme." Attending a meeting of the CMLS in the spring of 1898, she claimed that it would "never be built if the Southern women understood the object of it." Perhaps, like Joseph Bryan, she had a glimmering of the gender disputes that would follow. For his part, Bryan warned the CMLS that trouble was sure to arise because as members of the CMA would come seeking relics in possession of the museum.[59]

---

[58] Rouss quoted in Coski and Feely, "The Founding Generation of the Confederate Museum," 147-9; Ramussen, "Planning a Temple to the Lost Cause," 166; CMLS minutes, February 4, June 5, 1896, MOC; "The Work of the CMLS," circa 1896, Lizzie Cary Daniel Papers, MOC (emphasis in original); Battle Abbey Files of John Coski, MOC.

[59] Thomas E. Gay, Jr., "James Hoge Tyler: Rebellious Regular," in Younger, ed., The Governors of Virginia., 151, 153; Battle Abbey Files of John Coski, MOC; Ramussen, "Planning a Temple to the Lost Cause," 169; Coski and Feely, "The Founding Generation of the Confederate Museum," 147-9; Ellyson Scrapbook, Confederate Memorial Association [association hereafter cited as CMA] Papers, VHS; John

Although these skeptics apparently had every reason to be cautious, fissures that developed between the women of the CMLS and the all-male CMA initially had little to do with the collections. Instead, the bitterness revolved around the location for the Memorial Hall. Many members of the CMA complained that the site adjacent to the Confederate Museum was simply too steep to accommodate the building they envisioned. But they realized that if they did not secure a lot within the city by the Confederate Veterans' reunion in 1909, Richmond might lose its bid as host city. As the CMLS continued to advocate the lot beside the Confederate White House, many of the men proved reluctant for the Battle Abbey to be incorporated either physically or organizationally into the women's museum. The Lee Camp, for instance, railed against placing it near the Confederate White House and wanted it placed in the West End, close to the city's famed Monument Avenue. Yet some men continued to acknowledge that the women had successfully developed and managed the museum and therefore "might give the same protecting care and wise administration to the other building." Dr. James P. Smith, for example, considered it of "absolute importance" that the proposed building be placed close enough to the Confederate White House so as "to gain the help and support of the women now in charge of that institution."[60]

Some men recognized the vital role the CMLS women played in the conservation and preservation of Confederate memory, even as others wanted their own more masculine hand in the project. J. Taylor Ellyson, by this time lieutenant governor of Virginia and president of the CMA, claimed that he wished to remain neutral as to the

---

Coski, "Janet Henderson Weaver Randolph," unpublished article, MOC; D.H. Maury (Richmond) to Ruth Early, February 10, 1896, Early Family Papers, VHS; CMLS minutes, April 18, December 27, 1898, MOC.

[60]Richmond Times-Dispatch, January 23, February 28, 1909; Ramussen, "Planning a Temple to the Lost Cause," 169; Coski and Fecly, "The Founding Generation of the Confederate Museum," 157-59;

location; however, he reminded the Lee Camp that it had been the CMLS women who "pushed to conclusion the move to insure the erection of the Abbey in Richmond" by making a donation of $50,000. Despite his attempts at compromise, it quickly became apparent to the women where his loyalties lay. One can only imagine the many intensely silent dinners in the Ellyson household as J. Taylor and Lora sat in uncomfortable silence; she for the CMLS, and he trying to find some precarious middle-ground between the two associations.[61]

In May 1909, the CMA unanimously voted to erect the Battle Abbey close to Monument Avenue because the men believed it was "fast becoming the new Confederate section of the city."[62] In an almost antagonizing fashion, the CMA thanked the CMLS for their hard work, promising to work in conjunction with the women in future endeavors. "How could this be possible," Janet Randolph fired back, "with these buildings in entire[ly] different sections of the City." J. Taylor Ellyson simply did not respond. Infuriated with the men's betrayal, Randolph introduced a formal resolution specifying that the CMLS would have no other dealings with the Battle Abbey. Virginia Robinson concurred. When a researcher mailed a question regarding the CMA to the CMLS, Robinson responded that "the so-called 'Battle Abbey' is a distinct organization from this one. . . entirely composed of gentlemen. This Confederate Memorial Literary Society,"

---

[61] Richmond Times-Dispatch, January 23, February 28, 1909; CMA Records, VHS.

[62] The original site for the Battle Abbey was to be on the property of a Mr. Branch on the southeast corner of Monument and Boulevard. After that site fell through in 1909, the CMA continued to pursue land in the West End and found a site on Monument Avenue and Franklin Street. The city initiated condemnation hearings because some of the residents refused to sell their property. Finally, the Lee Camp offered the land adjacent to the Soldiers' Home.

she proudly announced, was "practically women's work, although we have a Board of gentlemen."[63]

As in the case of the Ladies' Lee Monument Committee twenty years earlier, the women once again had to defend their position as the preservers of Confederate memory. After so many years of dedication to "the cause," men were shoving them aside, asking for their assistance, and using the Confederate Museum as a lobbying point though the CMA was unwilling to allow the CMLS women any bit of influence or control over the project.

The wrangling over the location finally came to an end when on March 25, 1910, Gov. Thomas Hodge Mann wrote to Lt. Gov. Ellyson formally conveying the six acres for the Battle Abbey adjacent to the Lee Camp Soldiers' Home. While many members of the CMLS, including Randolph and Robinson, continued to fume at the decision, Belle Bryan found some sense of solace as she and her husband had long feared the CMA might encroach on the women's independence. Rumors that the Battle Abbey would seek to acquire the museum's collections did not end with appropriation of the site, and the CMLS agreed to take Bryan's warning seriously. But the CMLS issued a statement "contradict[ing] all rumors to the contrary." In November 1910, the society adopted a resolution stating that "the Confederate Museum is the work of women and a monument to the women of the South and can never pass from the care of the Confederate Memorial

---

[63] Richmond Times-Dispatch, July 22, 1898, May 20, 1909; Ramussen, "Planning a Temple to the Lost Cause," 169; Virginia Robinson quoted in John Coski, "Janet Henderson Weaver Randolph," unpublished article, MOC; Janet Randolph to J. Taylor Ellyson, July 20, 1909, CMA Records, VHS.

Literary Society as chartered May 1890." They would not cede fruits of their labor. Should anyone care to ask, they remained in control of the Confederate Museum.[64]

***

By 1914, women of Virginia's Ladies' Memorial Associations and their counterparts across the South could look back on nearly fifty years of work and proudly proclaim that they had been responsible for much of the current southern landscape. Beginning immediately after Appomattox, they had initiated and directed efforts to create national Confederate cemeteries. They had instigated Memorial Days under the guise of feminine mourning, thereby providing a forum for Confederate veterans to insist in the earliest days of Reconstruction their cause had been just. Memorial associations had raised countless monuments to the Confederate dead in communities throughout both Virginia and the South and fended off efforts by veterans to assume control of such projects. In Richmond alone, a city dotted with stone tributes to the Confederacy, LMAs could claim responsibility for the city's three most significant monuments—the pyramid in Hollywood, the Lee Monument, and the Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument. They had saved the White House of the Confederacy from demolition and transformed it into a national Confederate museum that would in inculcate generations of white southerners

---

[64] CMLS minutes, November 30, 1910, MOC; Hall, Jr., "The Virginia Historical Society," 101; Coski and Feely, "The Founding Generation of the Confederate Museum,"158-59. The 1910 proclamation was very similar to an 1896 statement by the CMLS: "The Confederate Museum is our conception, and its organization owes its success to the HMA. Our first care was for the graves of those whose very silence is their highest claim to our consideration. Let this still be the first. Men are already full of the historical importance of our Museum. If we should today abandon it, they would shoulder the burden, for they recognize its value as a factor in this busy practical life of ours; but if we women abandon the soldiers' graves, who will care for them? We have ever realized that the privilege of keeping green the memories of our dead is a sacred trust. It is also essential to the very existence of the sentiment of which the museum is an exponent" (Signed by Kate Pleasants Minor HMA annual meeting 1896, HMA correspondence, MOC.)

the Lost Cause message. In Petersburg, they had created a national Confederate shrine replete with stained-glass windows designed by one of the country's premier artists. And perhaps most ironically, the LMAs could count among their successes the birth of the Daughters.

It is very likely that even without the establishment of the UDC, the memorial associations might have faded from the picture by the early twentieth century. Not only were the Ladies' projects of cemetery establishment and monument building losing momentum, but the women themselves were also reaching the ends of their lives. The Daughters had proved to be a rallying call for the older generation of LMAs, prompting many of them to reinvigorate their societies and seek new, more ambitious projects like the Confederate Museum and the Blandford Church. Yet the memorial associations could not compete with the Daughters' numbers or organizational structure. Although the memorial associations had established informal connections among their members and had united in cooperation, the Confederated Southern Memorial Association never found the ability to attract significant numbers of associations. The Daughters, conversely, drew members from throughout the state and region, making sure to spread out their state and national offices geographically so as to reach the broadest possible base. Their membership continued to grow at a rapid pace reaching 80,000 by 1912. Even as the Ladies' Memorial Associations increasingly took a back seat to the Daughters, their legacy would endure for generations.[65]

---

[65] Minutes of the Third Annual Convention of the First Virginia Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, 1897, MOC; Cox, Dixie's Daughters, 50.

Epilogue

"We must pray that when this loyal band of women pass away
others will rise up to carry on the trust,"

- Sally Archer Anderson, CMLS president, 1912-1952[1]

As most of the Ladies associations faded in the early twentieth century with the passing of both members and time, the Daughters continued to elaborate on their goals, especially that of transmitting the Lost Cause, or what they called "southern" values, to the next generation. They placed portraits of Robert E. Lee and Jefferson Davis in southern schools, organized celebrations to honor the birthdays of Lee (January 19) and Davis (June 3), and lobbied to have schools renamed after Confederate figures. By the end of World War I, they had succeeded in placing pro-Confederate textbooks in nearly every southern classroom that emphasized not only the heroism of Confederate soldiers but also the inferiority of African Americans and the humanity of slavery. Beyond the classroom, the Daughters persisted in their efforts to erect monuments, dedicating memorials to Confederate soldiers in southern communities as well as a memorial to a so-called "faithful slave" in Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, in 1931.[2]

The UDC's efforts to instill a reverence for state rights and ultimately white supremacy had long-term consequences for both southern race relations and the

---

[1]Quoted in John M. Coski, A Century of Collecting: The History of the Museum of the Confederacy (Richmond, Va.: The Museum of the Confederacy, 1996), 11.

[2] For the UDC's role in southern education, see Cox, Dixie's Daughters, 120-28. On the "faithful slave monuments," see Savage, Standing Soldiers, 155-62; and author's "Written in Stone: Gender, Race, and the Heyward Shepherd Monument," Civil War History (forthcoming, September 2005).

perception of their organization. As historian Karen Cox has pointed out, the generation of children raised on this Lost Cause interpretation in the early twentieth century was the same generation that engaged in massive resistance and segregationist behavior in the 1950s and 1960s. These white southerners, including the likes of Strom Thurmond, Bull Connor, and members of the White Citizens' Councils, revived the rhetoric of state rights employed by the Lost Cause to preserve segregation and prevent black civil rights. Moreover, numerous segregationists began invoking Confederate symbols such as the battle flag, forever linking such representations with white supremacists.[3]

In the aftermath of the Civil Rights Movement, the Daughters' veneration of their Confederate heritage, and by association white supremacy, has made them the subject of controversy. In the winter of 2000, for example, they became embroiled in the debate over removing the Confederate battle flag from the South Carolina capitol. But the Ladies have managed to avoid these more public confrontations for several reasons.[4] First, there is no evidence among the Ladies' writings, either in the nineteenth century or today, of the blatantly white supremacist rhetoric frequently found in the early UDC literature. Second, the more restrictive nature of the UDC's membership-base has allowed critics to describe it as a strictly southern white organization. As they have done since 1894, the Daughters continue to confine their membership to "women no less than 16 years of age who are blood descendants, lineal or collateral, of men and women who served honorably in the Army, Navy or Civil Service of the Confederate States of America, or gave

---

[3] For excellent discussion of the Daughters' twentieth century legacy, see Cox, Dixie's Daughters, 159-163, and John M. Coski, Confederate Battle Flag: America's Most Embattled Emblem (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2005).

[4] Karen Cox argues that "The Daughters still commemorate Confederate Memorial Day, though they rarely get involved in controversy-- the Confederate flag in South Carolina being the exception." (Cox, Dixie's Daughters, 163). But I am arguing that the Daughters are still a recognized Confederate heritage group subject to criticism and publicity more so than the Ladies. A search a national newspaper articles from March 2005, for example, turned up no examples of the LMAs but 86 results for the UDC.

Material Aid to the Cause."[5] Even though the Fredericksburg LMA still limits its membership to twenty members, neither it nor the Petersburg association requires any hereditary proof to enlist. Therefore, as in the case of the PLMA, even self-described Yankees are welcomed into the organization, and the possibility at least exists for African-American members. Finally, the near-extinction of the LMAs has meant that most if not all of their activities go unnoticed by all but their immediate communities.

The Fredericksburg and Petersburg LMAs remain the only active associations in the state of Virginia, with a collective membership of approximately sixty women. Both associations remain dedicated to many of the same projects and goals as their predecessors of the 1800s. The PLMA, for example, persists as the caretakers of Blandford Church. In the early 1990s, the Ladies raised more than $250,000 to remove each of Tiffany's stained-glass windows and have them restored. In 2004, they began a project of replacing the lexan coverings meant to protect the windows from vandalism. According to their treasurer, Alice Everett, the association undertakes a major project every two to three years.[6] As owners of the Confederate cemetery, the Fredericksburg Ladies' primary task is to assist researchers with queries regarding biographical data of the interred soldiers and provide for any necessary maintenance. In September 2003, as a result of Hurricane Isabel, a large portion of the cemetery wall collapsed. Built in 1870 of bricks from the houses destroyed in the battle of Fredericksburg, the wall had become a historic landmark. The FLMA immediately committed itself to rebuilding the wall but soon realized that the project would cost an estimated $70,000. Inspired by the association's founders, the Ladies turned to the public for aid. Instead of issuing circulars

[5] Membership requirement found on UDC home page, http://www.hqudc.org, accessed through the internet, March 11, 2005.
[6] Interview with Alice Everett, Treasurer of the PLMA, March 4, 2005.

throughout the South, they seized upon twenty-first-century technology and issued a call for help to the entire United States on the internet. "Just as the first ladies asked for and received help throughout the nation, we ask for your help today," their web page notes.[7]

The primary purpose of both associations remains the annual observance of Confederate Memorial Day. In the tradition of their foremothers, each year they gather to adorn the graves with flowers, wreathes of evergreen, and small Confederate flags. The Fredericksburg Ladies continue to choose the selections for a "concert of Southern music" and invite other local Confederate organizations, including the Daughters and Sons of Confederate Veterans, to join their tribute.[8] The Petersburg observation generally includes prayers, hymns, the playing of "Taps," the reading of names of those killed on June 9, 1864, an address by the commander of the Army of Northern Virginia Sons of Confederate Veterans, and a rifle salute by the re-enactors of the 12th Virginia Infantry. Joan Black, a member of the PLMA, describes the day as "a stirring ceremony. Very emotional and heartfelt [that] makes you feel connected with the history of the place." She insists that the day is "a tradition that we have kept alive because it is so important to remember all of those who gave their lives for this country. It's what made this country." Considering that the day commemorates Confederate not Union soldiers and that first LMAs intended such celebrations to honor the South's attempt to achieve independence from the United States, such sentiment can be read as either a great irony or as testament of the Ladies' success.[9] Consciously or not, traditions such as Confederate

---

[7] Barbara Crookshanks, president FLMA, to Ladies, April 1, 2000, personal collection of author; Fredericksburg Free Lance-Star, May 9, 2004; Ladies' Memorial Association and the Fredericksburg Confederate Cemetery, http://cemetery.communitypoint.org/, accessed through the internet, March 9, 2005.
[8] Ladies' Memorial Association - Memorial Day Observance, http://cemetery.communitypoint.org/memorial_day.html, access through the internet, March 9, 2005.
[9] Petersburg Progress-Index, June 6, 2002, June 9, 2004. Black's quotations were from the 2002 celebration.

Memorial Day begun by the Ladies in the 1860s laid the foundation for many of the racial and social tensions over Confederate memory that still haunt the South today.

The Ladies' most visible success, however, is the endurance and evolution of the Hollywood association's Confederate Museum.[10] Although the HMA ceased to exist sometime in the mid-twentieth century, its auxiliary group, the Confederate Memorial Literary Society, continues to operate the museum, attracting at its height, more than 88,000 annual visitors. In 1969, it began to take on a new direction, remaking its organizational structure, constructing a new museum to house its ever-growing collections, restoring the White House, and changing its name from the Confederate Museum to the Museum of the Confederacy. According to the executive director, Kurt Brandenburg, this was done to "avoid confusion with other 'Confederate Museums,' and to reflect more adequately the scope of [its] operations. . . . A museum must grow if it is to remain a viable institution." As the state room system became obsolete, the board eliminated the regent system in the 1980s. In 1991, the men's advisory board abolished itself, and the society's board elected its first male and black members, effectively ending a century of leadership by women.[11]

Along with the change in organizational structure came a new focus in the museum's interpretation of the Civil War and Confederacy. During the 1980s, the

---

[10] The last documented meeting of the HMA was on May 11, 1934. The dates for the Hebrew, Lynchburg, and Winchester associations remain unknown. The Oakwood association was still conducting Memorial Day services as late as May 1954. (HMA minutes, May 11, 1934, MOC; Eighty-Eighth Anniversary of the Oakwood Memorial Association Program, May 8, 1954, Richmond National Battlefield Park.)

[11] Coski, A Century of Collecting, 11, 22-24; Unpublished Visitation Statistics, courtesy of John M. Coski, MOC, March 10, 2005; Museum of the Confederacy, http://www.moc.org/edbring.htm, accessed through the internet March 10, 2005. During the 1920s and 1940s, it attracted more than 10,000 visitors a year. The number of visitors continued to grow each year, reaching an annual high of 88,000 in the early 1990s before beginning to decline. In the fiscal year that ended in June 2004, the number had dropped to 54,000--the first time in a quarter of a century that the visits had fallen below 60,000. (The [Charlottesville, Va.] Daily Progress, February 3, 2005.)

museum featured one of the first examinations of southern social history in its exhibit "The People of the Confederacy," and provided a chronological framework in "The Confederate Years"—context that had been absent in its early years. With the support of the National Endowment for the Humanities, in 1991, the museum unveiled a new and path-breaking exhibit, entitled "Before Freedom Came: African American Life in the Antebellum South." Ironically, the institution founded to glorify the white South had evolved into one that provided a glimpse into the harsh realities of life for southern blacks. Although the museum no longer admits school children free of charge, it remains committed to educating the next generation and even has programs designed to supplement Standards of Learning exams given in Virginia's public schools. The CMLS has simultaneously moved beyond the sectional feelings that motivated its founding while remaining dedicated to the objectives of educating future generations about the South in the Civil War—even when the message is less than flattering to the Confederacy.[12]

In the early 1900s, the proposed Battle Abbey had threatened to hamper the museum's livelihood. Today, a dwindling number of visitors and encroachment by Virginia Commonwealth University's medical campus and hospital jeopardize the fate of the Museum of the Confederacy. The three-quarter-acre museum site is already surrounded by immense hospital and university buildings to the south and west, and might soon be further obscured by a sixteen-story hospital wing to the east. According to the museum's executive director, Waite Rawls, the confusion caused by finding the institution has caused the number of visitors to drop by a third during the last decade. That, in turn, has led to financial woes. Three options now remain before the executive

[12] Coski, A Century of Collecting, 22.

committee: leave the museum and Confederate White House on the current site, relocate the museum (but not the White House) to another location, or move both by disassembling the 186-year-old White House to the museum's new location. As of February 2005, Rawls noted that the committee was "not close yet to making a decision." But something has to be done if the Ladies' dearest achievement is to endure. In 1926, CMLS member Sally Archer had wondered whether the museum would survive the passing of the Confederate generation. Nearly eighty years later, with a great deal of irony given the Ladies' primary cause, Rawls expressed his own uncertainty: "The legacy of this place has always been to look to the future. If we don't do that now. . . we will have failed."[13]

[13] Richmond Times-Dispatch, October 9, 2004; Daily Progress, February 3, 2005; Coski, A Century of Collecting, 11, 24.