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“On the Imperishable Face of Granite”: Civil War Monuments and the Evolution of Historical
Memory in East Tennessee, 1878-1931,

A thesis
presented to
the faculty of the Department of History
East Tennessee State University

In partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree
Master of Arts in History

by
Kelli B. Nelson
December 2011

Dr. Steven E. Nash, Chair
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Civil War, East Tennessee, memory, monuments

ABSTRACT

“On the Imperishable Face of Granite”: Civil War Monuments and the Evolution of Historical Memory in East Tennessee, 1878-1931

by

Kelli B. Nelson

After the Civil War individuals throughout the country erected monuments dedicated to the soldiers and events of the conflict. In East Tennessee these memorials allowed some citizens to promote their ideas by invoking both Union and Confederate Civil War sympathies. Initially, East Tennesseans endorsed the creation of a Unionist image to advertise the region’s potential for industrialization. By 1910 this depiction waned as local and northern whites joined to promote reconciliation and Confederate sympathizers met less opposition to their ideas than in the past. After 1919 white East Tennesseans, enmeshed in the boom and bust cycles of the national economy, reasserted “traditional” values. Local women of the United Daughters of the Confederacy mythologized Confederate soldiers, antebellum white women, and humble slaves of the past to calm the tensions of the present. By 1931 they ensured that the region’s history was unequivocally tied to a Confederate image despite its Unionist heritage.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

“This morning a man (southern) [*sic*] named Cox was in Tooles store when a Lincolnite named Foster came in shook hands with him, inquired after his health and just as Cox turned round [Foster] shot him in the back first then in three other places.”¹ Ellen Renshaw House logged this in her diary in Knoxville, Tennessee August 16, 1865. Her words exemplified the divisiveness between Union and Confederate sympathizers that existed in much of East Tennessee. The war was officially over, but it was difficult for individuals to overcome the divisions it created. While most East Tennesseans held that remaining true to the Union was the best path, the majority of the state voted to secede. This left East Tennesseans torn between their government and their homeland, and this conflict lingered in the minds of the citizens after the war’s conclusion. As the public’s memory of these occurrences changed over time, citizens used it to characterize and redefine themselves, their homes, families, and neighbors.

In the 150 years since the Civil War’s end individuals and groups around the nation have debated about the meaning of its events. Various historians have considered the reasons for the evolution of memory and citizens’ continued obsession with the Civil War. In 1987 historian Gaines Foster wrote *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865 to 1913*, where he explained that the Lost Cause helped white southerners come to terms with the war as they faced the hardships of Reconstruction. The Lost Cause was a Confederate effort to uplift their soldiers as honorable in the face of defeat, their women as virtuous in every aspect, and their slaves as faithful and happy in their positions of servitude. Foster claimed that organizations like the United Confederate Veterans preached the Lost Cause

¹ Ellen Renshaw House, *A Very Violent Rebel: The Civil War Diary of Ellen Renshaw House*, ed. Daniel E. Sutherland (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1996), 181.

until 1913 when reconciliation of white northerners and southerners diminished whites' need to adhere to the philosophy.

In the North, men of the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR), an organization of Union veterans, normally led memorial and celebratory efforts of their own. Historian Stuart McConnell argues in *Glorious Contentment: The Grand Army of the Republic, 1865-1900* that these men instilled a sense of patriotism in the nation that resonated through the final decades of the nineteenth century. Through their efforts Americans came to understand law and order as loyalty to their nation. In addition, these men not only upheld their victory after the war, they also promoted the glory of the government they saved. To do this they held campfire encampments and erected memorials to honor Union veterans.²

Other historians have added to our understanding of Civil War memory. In *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865-1900*, Nina Silber showed how white northerners released their hatreds for white southerners and abandoned African Americans by analyzing the uses of gender relations. At first, many white northerners held great disdain for former Confederates whom they emasculated with images “of a female-led and feminine-inspired” southern army.³ As the nineteenth century waned white northerners embraced in the romance of the Old South. Changes brought on by the Industrial Revolution in the country left northerners longing for repose and the simplicity of antebellum plantation life appealed to white northern factory workers as an escape from their difficult existences.

Like Silber historian David Blight displayed the ways white northerners and southerners reunited after the war. In *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory*, Blight

² Stuart McConnell, *Glorious Contentment: The Grand Army of the Republic, 1865-1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992).

³ Nina Silber, *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865-1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 38.

analyzed how reconciliation and white supremacy merged to the detriment of an emancipationist vision of the war. Blight argued that by the fiftieth reunion of the Battle of Gettysburg in 1913, white northerners and southerners had effectively erased emancipation and racial reconciliation from Civil War memory. After the war whites and blacks formed different views on what “healing and justice” meant. Eventually, whites decided that promoting the soldiers was “easier than struggling over the enduring ideas for which those battles had been fought” and they abandoned the pursuit of equality for African Americans.⁴

Memorial efforts, often led by groups like the GAR and the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC), were important to developing a memory of the war. The depictions presented by monuments in cemeteries, on battlefields, and in public squares perpetuated specific ideas held by their developers. Historian Thomas Desjardin explained one example of this in his work *These Honored Dead: How the Story of Gettysburg Shaped American Memory*. As he analyzed the monuments at Gettysburg, Desjardin showed that the memorials placed in the field had more to do with individuals who worked the hardest to promote their recollections rather than the development of a precise history of the battle. The impact of the memorials extrapolated as later accounts of the battle developed from the already existent exaggerations or falsities.⁵

In *Memory in Black and White: Race, Commemoration, and the Post-Bellum Landscape*, anthropologist Paul Shackel noted how these memorials represented racial divisions in Civil War memory. In one case study Shackel analyzed racial implications of the Manassas Battlefield Park’s decision to preserve a white family’s home while allowing destruction of an African

⁴ David Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001).

⁵ Thomas Desjardin, *These Honored Dead: How the Story of Gettysburg Shaped American Memory* (Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 2003).

American house inside its boundaries. He also analyzed racial tensions that surrounded the preservation of John Brown's Fort in a time when Confederate heritage groups insisted that Brown was a militant who did not deserve a hero's status. In addition, Shackle analyzed conflicts around another monument at Harper's Ferry. The women of the UDC dedicated a memorial to Heyward Shepherd, a free African American who was the first victim in John Brown's raid at the location, and subsequently used Shepherd's image to promote the idea of faithful slaves who delighted in their bondage in the antebellum South. Later, National Park Service employees blocked the inscription by turning the memorial around and eventually covering it up. When contemporary members of the UDC protested the Park Service eventually conceded to return the monument to its original position with new interpretive signage. The conflict that surrounded the Shepherd memorial and other monuments, including the Augustus Saint-Gaudens sculpture of Robert Gould Shaw and his African American troops in the 54th Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry demonstrated that public memory is often more of a "reflection of present political and social relations than a true reconstruction of the past."⁶

Established in 1896 the UDC assisted with many other memorial efforts across the South and around the nation. These women continued the previous work of other groups and sought to rejuvenate Confederate memory. In *Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture*, historian Karen Cox argued that, unlike their predecessors, the UDC "raised the stakes of the Lost Cause by making it a movement about vindication." To achieve this aim, the women developed programs to inculcate future generations with their views of the war. They developed scholarships for Confederate descendants and sponsored book drives to ensure high school textbooks contained their views of

⁶ Paul A. Shackel, *Memory in Black and White: Race, Commemoration, and the Post-Bellum Landscape* (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2003), 11.

Civil War history. They also targeted children by including youth in their programs and creating chapters of the Children of the Confederacy. In addition, the UDC members also became what Cox refers to as “Confederate Progressives” as they organized relief funds for struggling Confederate veterans and southern women. Many women in the UDC were also members of other charitable organizations, including orphanages and animal protection agencies. Like previous historians Cox argued that support for the Daughters waned after World War I.⁷

In 2008 historian Carolyn Janney wrote that the UDC developed out of an earlier group called the Ladies Memorial Association (LMA). Janney’s work, *Burying the Dead but Not the Past: Ladies’ Memorial Associations and the Lost Cause*, argues that the LMA, an organization that developed in the immediate post-war period, played a significant role in developing the Lost Cause ideology and were the ones “responsible for remaking military defeat into a political, social, and cultural victory for the white South.”⁸ Although men, usually Union veterans, led memorial efforts in the North, the Ladies headed Confederate memorializations in the South. Due to the nineteenth-century assumption that women were inherently non-political these women led commemorative efforts for Confederate soldiers at a time when men would have been vilified for defending the defeated army. Janney demonstrated that the Ladies headed the decorations of Confederate graves and erected memorials in private cemeteries to ensure the preservation of Confederate memory.

Citizens all over the nation developed monuments after the Civil War. These memorials not only served to honor the veterans and civilians who experienced the conflict, but they also constituted contemporary individuals’ attempts to promote certain politically and socially

⁷ Karen Cox, *Dixie’s Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003).

⁸ Carolyn Janney, *Burying the Dead but Not the Past: Ladies’ Memorial Associations and the Lost Cause* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 3.

expedient images. Monument builders in southern Appalachia helped develop an image of the region by invoking the memory of the Civil War. The initial images of Unionism projected by outsiders, and accepted by insiders, added to the rising stereotypes of Appalachia as a distinct region within the South. Historian Henry Shapiro's work *Appalachia on Our Mind: Southern Mountains and Mountaineers in the American Consciousness, 1870-1920*, analyzed the development of an Appalachian "otherness" that emerged after the Civil War. According to Shapiro local color writers, like William Frost and Emma Miles, helped contribute to the idea of Appalachians as anti-modern, backwoodsmen who embodied American ancestors. In 1982, however, historian Ronald Eller wrote that the ills of Appalachia—poverty, lack of education, etc.—were actually products of the specific type of modernization that took place in the region. Eller's work, *Miners, Millhands, and Mountaineers: Industrialization of the Appalachian South, 1880-1930* demonstrated that the relative isolation of the mountain people did not make them inherently different; instead, the politicians and capitalists who sought to exploit the area left Appalachians in an inescapable cycle of economic depression.

Other historians have also explored the effects of Civil War memory for Appalachians. In 2008 historian John Inscoe explored views of slavery in the mountain South. According to Inscoe in *Race, War, and Remembrance in the Appalachian South*, two broad misconceptions about Southern Appalachia were that the region "was basically free of slaves and, as a consequence, had no interest in or commitment to the Confederate cause." After the war remembrance of the events complicated writers' simplifications of Unionism in the region and historian Tom Lee explored East Tennesseans' reasons for remaining dedicated to the Union in an article titled, "The Lost Cause that Wasn't: East Tennessee and the Myth of Unionist Appalachia." In this recent article Lee argued that various factors—including East Tennessee's

disconnect with the rest of the state before the war, and politicians' work to develop a beneficial image after the war—contributed to the growth of an overtly Unionist image of the region despite sentimental complications within the area.⁹

Contests between both armies characterized East Tennessee during the war. The landscape as well as the importance of the railroad fostered the bitter fighting that took place in the region. Before the war East Tennessee mainly consisted of rural mountainous locations with the exception of the cities of Knoxville and Chattanooga. Both cities were important hubs to the East Tennessee and Georgia and East Tennessee and Virginia railroads that constituted the region's only north to south connections between Virginia and the Deep South. In November 1863, the armies clashed in both Chattanooga and Ellen Renshaw House's hometown of Knoxville. After the battles the Union army controlled the region for the rest of the war, but guerrilla fighting continued as soldiers from both armies robbed, murdered, and generally terrorized the citizens of the region. In the end East Tennesseans debated over the Union and the Confederacy during the war and invoked the image of one side or the other at different times after the conflict.

White members who supported both the Union and Confederacy erected memorials that glorified white soldiers who died in the war and veterans who survived. At first groups in the region promoted Unionism as a means to uplift their patriotism as an impetus to attract industry. However, as time progressed and national attitudes changed, white East Tennesseans began to accept Lost Cause ideals, and local chapters of the United Daughters of the Confederacy

⁹ Henry Shapiro, *Appalachia on Our Mind: The Southern Mountains and Mountaineers in the American Consciousness, 1870-1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1978); Ronald Eller, *Miners, Millhands, and Mountaineers: Industrialization of the Appalachian South, 1880-1930* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1982); John Inscoe, *Race, War, and Remembrance in the Appalachian South* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2008); Tom Lee, "The Lost Cause that Wasn't: East Tennessee and the Myth of Unionist Appalachia," in *Reconstructing Appalachia: The Civil War's Aftermath*, ed. Andrew L. Slap (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2010).

solidified a Confederate image of the region by 1931. Overall, the evolution of Civil War memory, reflected in monument building, displayed social and political changes that occurred between 1878 and 1931 and represented white East Tennesseans' attempts to develop an image that would benefit their region.

Most of the monuments in East Tennessee were made from local materials, usually quarried within the county where they were eventually placed. Frequently, citizens erected the stones in the most urban areas of the counties—usually in the county seats of each location. While not all of the memorials depicted a soldier, the stones that did often displayed a white member of the Union or Confederate army standing at parade rest. In addition, two memorials erected before 1931 showed a white soldier from the Union Army shaking hands with a Confederate counterpart. The monuments without soldiers were either elaborate obelisks or simple stone slabs with an inscription on the front. At the dedications white speakers often emphasized honor, valor, and other commendable attributes of the soldiers they supported. They sometimes spoke of slavery and emancipation, but without real consideration of what the war meant for freed African Americans. None of these aspects were largely different from other memorials throughout the nation, but the ways East Tennesseans used these images represented changes that occurred within the region at different times.

Variant groups dominated memory creation at different times between 1878 and 1931. By looking at the stones along with speeches given at the dedications and newspaper reports on the events, it is possible to see the ways various individuals and groups developed images of the region for particular purposes at particular times. These sources, especially newspapers, served the upper and middle classes and displayed the ways certain citizens of these social standings used their influences to create a memory of the war in East Tennessee. While their ideas may

not have been indicative of all citizens in the region, the images they developed portrayed East Tennessee in specific ways throughout the nation. These individuals and groups often used different aspects of the region's divided history to mold memory of the Civil War for their particular purposes. As their purposes changed over time, so too did their creation of memory and the image of the region evolved from one dominated by Unionism to a Confederate portrayal.

Civil War memory in the region progressed through three different phases before the 1930s. The first, beginning in 1878 with the erection of a memorial over Andrew Johnson's grave, consisted of specific local residents and outsiders' attempts to build an image of Unionism to promote industrialization before 1901. Afterward, the white citizens of the region joined in a national reunification movement where they emphasized reform efforts in the region. They continued to promote reform and patriotism when World War I broke out in Europe, but the war shattered their optimism and conflict arose after 1920. Agricultural recession plagued rural areas throughout Tennessee and both whites and blacks looked for new opportunities in city factories. Their loss of rural autonomy left citizens searching for traditional values and whites adhered to Confederate memory due to its promotion of chivalrous men, stately women, and faithful slaves. In the end, women of the local UDC played an important role in converting Unionist East Tennessee into a Confederate stronghold by 1931.

When East Tennesseans began building monuments in the post-Reconstruction period, many concentrated on their Unionist history. From 1878 to 1901, white East Tennesseans worked to create an image that would advertise their region as loyal to the national government and promote the area to potential northern investors. Chapter 2 explores the intricacies of this idea. White monument builders' general display of Unionist support assisted citizens in their

economic endeavors, and the speakers at the dedications emphasized various issues within contemporary society. Some employed Unionism to exhibit local aptitude for business acumen. Others invoked the image to encourage northern businessmen to develop industries in East Tennessee. Meanwhile, Confederate supporters were often limited by other citizens' pursuit of Unionism. Despite their counter-narrative Confederates echoed the calls for new commercial enterprises in the region. Although both groups generally pursued the same goals, the majority of citizens recognized the efficacy of displaying their loyalty to the federal government before 1901.

As the twentieth century evolved white citizens began to concentrate on reconciliation. It was not only the speakers who displayed this idea at the first monument dedication during the period. In 1910 New Yorkers and East Tennesseans under the sculptural shadow of a Union and Confederate soldier shaking hands atop the "Peace Monument" at the summit of Lookout Mountain in southeast Tennessee. While reconciliation evolved in the nation, Confederates gained a louder voice in the region. The Daughters of the Confederacy began to erect their memorials in public areas where citizens would be sure to take notice. Chapter 3 explores the ways in which speakers used the dedications to uplift their progressive sentiments as Tennesseans battled over prohibition and educational reform. The events of World War I only increased reunification feelings as East Tennesseans joined in patriotic support of the nation's involvement in the conflict. Again, some resistance remained from white citizens who fought the majority and erected at least one defiantly Unionist memorial before 1920.

After 1920 Confederate memory strengthened due to the efforts of local women of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. Their work emphasized Confederate history as a southern tradition of morality and chivalry. By invoking the Old South the women effectively erased

Union memory in the region and created a depiction that tied East Tennessee into the rest of the South. Regional search for morality and conservatism, brought on by rural flight to urban areas due to agricultural recession, allowed the Daughters to achieve their aims. These goals included revising history to educate youth on the morality of the Confederate soldier who protected southern women and fought for state sovereignty. These images were legacies from the Lost Cause, but the generation of women who upheld these Confederate ideas were the first group who did not actually experience the war. Chapter 4 explores the ways the women of the UDC tied their views of southern history into the problems of a region experiencing rapid urbanization and labor unrest. Their solidification of Confederate heritage at this time began a legacy that affected the region for many later generations.

In the end monument building in East Tennessee displayed the existence of both Unionist and Confederate sentiments in the region. While the divided history of the area presented locals with the task of whom and what to memorialize, white citizens eventually began to create their own memory of the war. This initially meant emphasizing Unionism while downplaying any Confederate heritage. Although Unionism was important in East Tennessee during the Civil War, the complexities of this image as well as any instance of Confederate sympathies lost precedence as white East Tennesseans commemorated the war with monuments in the beginnings of the twentieth century. Overall, the debates between Union and Confederate supporters would not have shocked citizens like Ellen Renshaw House who considered herself a “very violent rebel” but admitted to having had Unionist friends in her hometown of Knoxville. After the war, economic and cultural evolution led citizens to emphasize variant aspects of their history at different times. In the end the Civil War had a profound impact on the people of the

region and the traditions they formed prior to 1931 continued to affect local citizens for at least 150 years after the conflict.

CHAPTER 2

“IN BRONZE AND STONE”

UNIONISM AND MONUMENT BUILDING IN EAST TENNESSEE, 1878-1901

June 5, 1878, was a bright and sunny day in Greeneville, Tennessee. That morning a throng of people gathered at the local courthouse for a procession up to Signal Hill, a small mound about a mile outside the town. At eleven o'clock the crowd paraded through town and up to the location where over three thousand individuals gathered for the dedication of a monument atop Andrew Johnson's gravesite. Although some attendees had traveled from other areas within and outside the state, most of the people present had come from surrounding East Tennessee.¹⁰ As the procession ended John C. Burch introduced the orator of the day, George W. Jones, a Democrat from middle Tennessee. Jones's laudatory oration recounted Johnson's life from his childhood in North Carolina to his death in East Tennessee in 1875. Throughout his speech Jones emphasized Johnson's unwavering devotion to the Constitution even at the expense of alienation from many of his southern political contemporaries. The monument, erected by the Johnson family, also reflected this attribute. Crowned by an eagle, the shaft bears a hand atop an open Bible pointing to a copy of the United States's Constitution (Figure 1). This design displayed the proximity of Johnson's devotion to religion and the federal government and ensured that subsequent generations would view the ex-president as a good and pious American with an unshakable faith in the government and the people of his country.

After the Civil War, Americans remembered its events by writing about their experiences, holding festivals honoring soldiers and emancipation, and erecting memorials. Through the years various historians have studied the ways black and white Americans came to

¹⁰*Oration of Hon. George W. Jones, with Other Proceedings, at the Unveiling of the Monument to the Memory of Ex-President Andrew Johnson, at Greeneville, Tennessee, June 5th, 1878* (Nashville: The American, 1878), i.

grips with the war. Confederates tried to deal with their defeat without dishonoring their soldiers by formulating a group of ideals that eventually became known as the Lost Cause. This concept included glorification of white southern women, creation of a “faithful slave” image, and exaltation of Confederate heroes. Although white southerners initially set this idea in motion, white northerners eventually embraced portions of the Lost Cause as they sought reconciliation between Unionists and Confederates. In practice as historian David Blight emphasized, reconciliation became the reunification of *white* Americans. During reunions and memorial events mainly white veterans and their families came together to discuss the heroics of their own soldiers. As these white northerners and southerners reunited under exclamations of spirit and valor, they pushed blacks out of the memory of the war. White veterans wanted their story told in a certain manner and their view did not include issues of race and Reconstruction. As the two groups reconciled over soldiers’ valor, northerners became enamored with what another historian termed the “romance of reunion.”¹¹

East Tennesseans’ memory of the war mimicked American memory in some important ways. Generally, white citizens of Tennessee’s eastern portion dominated most memorializations in the region. These monument builders usually neglected the needs and

¹¹ For analyses on the Lost Cause see Gaines Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865-1913* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987) and Alan T. Nolan, “The Anatomy of the Myth,” in *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History*, eds. Gary W. Gallagher and Alan T. Nolan (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), 11-34; David Blight studied the rise of a white reconciliationist image in his work *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001); Various historians explored the evolution of Civil War memory in the United States. In her work *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865-1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), Nina Silber adds gender into the analysis by contemplating the ways northerners feminized the South initially as a means of belittling but eventually as an uplifting quality. John Neff, *Honoring the Civil War Dead* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2005) analyzed white northern and southern reunification by studying the uses of cemeteries and monuments to the Civil War dead. Other historians like John Coski, *The Confederate Battle Flag: America’s Most Embattled Emblem* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), and Paul Shackel, *Memory in Black and White: Race, Commemoration, and the Post-Bellum Landscape* (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2003) looked at specific objects to examine the evolution of Civil War memory. Coski’s work chronicles the uses and debates about the Confederate battle flag, and Shackel evaluates various Civil War monuments in order to depict the change in historical memory since the Civil War. Each of these historians also considers how whites rejected African American involvement in the war and the implications this had on the population.

contributions of African Americans, even as they initially developed a greater number of Unionist monuments. Specifically, however, East Tennessee monuments exhibited memorial intricacies of a people with a strong Unionist heritage in the midst of the Confederacy. At this time East Tennesseans developed a dominantly Unionist image that pertained to industrialization, railroad innovation, and the creation of an ostensibly patriotic region from which its citizenry could benefit and in which they could take pride. However, vestiges of Confederate support remained present (but limited by the general pursuit of a Unionist image) and they built at least one monument at this time; although, like their counterparts, the individuals who advocated this idea supported industrialization in East Tennessee. While they still maintained a generally moderate and conservative attitude toward radicalism and radical change, monument endorsers at this time saw the benefits of promoting their region to northern capitalists through a New South creed “that encouraged economic development . . . through greater capital investment to tap natural resources, improve transportation, and in general promote industrialization.”¹² The advantages of Union support led to the dominance of this idea in monument building, but East Tennessee’s tumultuous Civil War and Reconstruction history consistently complicated the effort.

Before and during the Civil War East Tennesseans faced dissention and discord. In February 1861 the Tennessee legislature called for a convention to consider the state’s future within the Union, but the citizens defeated the referendum. Still, the Tennessee government approved an alliance with the Confederacy less than a month after the events at Fort Sumter.¹³ Since South Carolina’s declaration of secession Tennessee governor, Isham G. Harris had been

¹² William R. Majors, *Change and Continuity: Tennessee Politics since the Civil War* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1989), 17.

¹³ Tom Lee, *The Tennessee-Virginia Tri-Cities: Urbanization in Appalachia, 1900-1950* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2005), 300; Oliver P. Temple, *East Tennessee and the Civil War* (n.p.: Oliver Temple, 1899; reprint, Johnson City, TN: Overmountain Press, 1995), 211.

consistently working to bring the state into the newly formed Confederacy. After southern forces fired upon Fort Sumter and President Abraham Lincoln called for troops to quell the rebellion, many individuals in central and western Tennessee rose to defend their southern home against an imposing government.¹⁴ On May 30 pro-Unionist groups, led by prominent East Tennessee politicians like William G. “Parson” Brownlow, Oliver P. Temple, Thomas A. R. Nelson, and Andrew Johnson, coalesced in Knoxville to hear urgent speeches against secession. Despite efforts from the Unionists Tennesseans approved the state government’s alliance with the Confederacy on June 8. Because the majority of the state supported secession from the federal government anti-secessionists reconvened in Greeneville to discuss the possible secession of East Tennessee from the rest of the state on June 17.¹⁵ Although Andrew Johnson was absent from the Greeneville meeting he affirmed his commitment to the Union when he refused to resign his senatorial seat after Tennessee seceded.

During the war East Tennessee held a large number of Unionists; however, the region was not devoid of Confederate sympathizers. Before the war slaves made up less than ten percent of the population and one in nine families owned at least one slave in East Tennessee. In June 1861 about one-third of the participating voters supported secession from the U. S. government.¹⁶ While these numbers did not nearly match the amount of anti-secessionists, the existence of Confederate sympathies in the region was an important factor to East Tennesseans’ memory of the war in later years.¹⁷ Various historians have speculated on the reasons for

¹⁴ James Welch Patton, *Unionism and Reconstruction in Tennessee, 1860-1869* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1934), 7; Paul H. Bergeron, et al. *Tennesseans and Their History* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1999), 132-136.

¹⁵ Temple, 341-343.

¹⁶ Bergeron, 122; James L. McDonough, “Tennessee and the Civil War,” in *Tennessee History: The Land, the People, and the Culture*, ed. Carroll Van West (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1998), 156.

¹⁷ In his survey of East Tennessee in the Civil War, Charles F. Bryan states that secessionist sentiment “was most prevalent in the lower portion of the region where Polk, Monroe, Rhea, Meigs, and Sequatchie counties on June 8 voted for the separation of Tennessee from the Union. Also Sullivan County . . . gave strong support to

division in the region. In 1934 James Welch Patton wrote that the Civil War in East Tennessee was characterized by a class struggle between Confederate supporters of “the wealthy and aristocratic classes in the cities” and Unionists “from the non-slaveholding classes in the rural and mountainous region.” Later, Robert Tracey McKenzie acknowledged the significance of class, but he added other causes including antebellum political affiliations and the foreign nativity of some East Tennesseans. No matter what the causes some East Tennesseans supported both the Union and Confederacy, but the majority stayed loyal to the Union.¹⁸

Militarily, 1863 was the most divisive year in the region. In the summer, federal forces under William S. Rosecrans seized Chattanooga, Tennessee, from General Braxton Bragg’s army. After Bragg defeated Rosecrans at Chickamauga, Georgia in September, his troops pushed the northern army back into its defenses at Chattanooga. After Ulysses S. Grant replaced Rosecrans federal forces defeated Bragg at Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge just outside of Chattanooga on November 24 and 25.¹⁹ Around the same time Union troops under Ambrose

secession and the Confederate cause.” He also goes on to say that cities located along the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad were more likely to support the Confederacy. Charles F. Bryan, “The Civil War in East Tennessee: A Social, Political, and Economic Study (PhD diss., University of Tennessee, 1975), 24-25 in ProQuest Dissertations and Theses, <http://proquest.umi.com/pqdweb?index=144&did=756532841&SrchMode=1&sid=1&Fmt=6&VInst=PROD&VType=PQD&RQT=309&VName=PQD&TS=1314805811&clientId=922> (accessed June 15, 2011).

¹⁸Patton, 51-52; Robert Tracey McKenzie, *Lincolmites and Rebels: A Divided Town in the American Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 124-126; Temple, 113. McKenzie states that on August 1, 1861 at the election of a new Confederate Congress, “68 percent of East Tennessee voters rejected the Confederate constitution.” McKenzie, 89. James McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 306, states the number of East Tennessee men who enlisted in the Union Army at 30,000. Mark Neely, *Southern Rights: Political Prisoners and the Myth of Confederate Constitutionalism* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1999), 103, states that 16.5 percent of the Confederacy’s known political prisoners came from East Tennessee. Richard Current, *Lincoln’s Loyalists: Union Soldiers form the Confederacy* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1992), discusses various problems in attempting to estimate numbers of enlisted men from East Tennessee. Due to some East Tennesseans’ enlistments in other states the number cannot be precisely determined, but Current estimates it at 42, 000 (p. 215). Conversely, historian Todd Groce, *Mountain Rebels: East Tennessee Confederates and the Civil War, 1860-1870* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2000), 75, estimates that only 20,000 East Tennessee men voluntarily enlisted in the Confederate Army.

¹⁹ For more information on the battles at Lookout Mountain, Missionary Ridge, and the surrounding areas see Robert Sparks Walker, *Lookout: The Story of a Mountain* (Kingsport, TN: Southern Publishers, 1941), 73-125; Peter Cozzens, *The Shipwreck of Their Hopes: The Battles of Chattanooga* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press,

Burnside and Confederates under James Longstreet clashed in northeastern Tennessee. On November 29 Longstreet attacked Burnside but was repelled from Fort Sanders in Knoxville.²⁰

It was not just the regular troops turning Tennessee into a bloody battlefield at this time. In his work on guerrilla violence in East Tennessee historian Noel Fisher explained that Unionists in the form of bridge burners and bushwhackers consistently gave the Confederates problems. In some counties loyalists threatened or murdered secessionists. Confederate troops took action against the Unionists by stealing horses, livestock, and other goods. Many southern soldiers, largely under the command of Brigadier General John Hunt Morgan, pillaged and plundered East Tennessee. These forces burned loyalists' homes, raped women, and killed several men.²¹

The chaos continued after the war. Newspaper editor and Methodist preacher William G. Brownlow made his gubernatorial ascension in 1865 and used his tenure to promote black enfranchisement—mainly because he assumed they would vote for him—and retaliation against former rebels. Despite the governor's ulterior assistance blacks faced vehement opposition to their pursuit of equality. Many whites resisted African American equality and the Ku Klux Klan held a significant presence in the state throughout the late 1860s and 1870s. Immediately after the war many ex-Confederate soldiers met with hostilities at the hands of retaliatory Unionists in East Tennessee. Together, these occurrences fueled resentment throughout Tennessee. Andrew Johnson returned to the region in 1869 to extravagant processions for his homecoming. People who had previously vilified Johnson for his loyalty to the federal government joined with his

1994); Steven Woodworth, *Six Armies in Tennessee: The Chickamauga and Chattanooga Campaigns* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 180-217.

²⁰ Bergeron, 143-147; Noel Fisher, *War at Every Door: Partisan Politics and Guerrilla Violence in East Tennessee, 1860-1869* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 122-135; For an overview of the conflict at Fort Sanders see Digby Gordon Seymour, *Divided Loyalties: Fort Sanders and the Civil War in East Tennessee*, 3rd ed. (Knoxville: East Tennessee Historical Society, 2002), 166-169; McKenzie, 166-171.

²¹ Fisher, 69-95, 118.

supporters to applaud the now ex-president's return. For the next six years Johnson quietly continued his political career. In January 1875 he achieved his comeback when he was elected to the United States Senate. However, he only served for a few months. While visiting his daughter, Mary, in Elizabethton, Tennessee, Johnson suffered two strokes that took his life in late July. Three years later the former president's family honored him by constructing a monument above his gravesite in Greeneville.²²

Andrew Johnson Gravesite Monument, 1878

One of the first Civil War memorials in East Tennessee was constructed atop Andrew Johnson's grave. The statue represented a man whose political career was indicative of both the division and conservatism that existed in the region during and after the Civil War. Throughout his speech at the monument dedication George Jones emphasized that Johnson "jealously guarded the reserved rights of the States, but held that the Union of these States, formed under the Constitution, was essential to their preservation."²³ As a Democrat from East Tennessee Johnson believed in the inviolability of the Union, but he insisted that the government did not have the constitutional right to interfere with the institution of slavery. In December 1860 Johnson gave a fiery senatorial address in which he expressed his grievances against the slaveholding states that sought secession as well as anyone who desired to undermine the Constitution. The *Knoxville Whig* reported that Johnson's speech evoked so much bitterness with secessionists in middle and west Tennessee that mobs hung and burned him in effigy in

²² For a short overview of Tennessee during Reconstruction see Bergeron, et. al., 158-180; Joseph H. Cartwright's prelude to *The Triumph of Jim Crow: Tennessee Race Relations in the 1880s* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1976), 3-21 reviews black struggles for power in Tennessee before 1880; See Hans L. Trefousse, *Andrew Johnson: A Biography* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1989), 353-379 for more information on Johnson's post-presidential life and death.

²³ Jones, 19.



Figure 1. Andrew Johnson Grave
Andrew Johnson National Cemetery
Greeneville, Tennessee
Photograph by Kelli Nelson

Nashville and Memphis.²⁴ Later, many Confederates labeled Johnson a traitor to his home because he chose to remain with the federal government after Tennessee seceded.

During the war many northern Republicans supported Johnson for his views against secession, but afterward some turned against the president for his leniency toward the South during Reconstruction. Despite his anti-Confederate position during the war Johnson sought a quick restoration of the rebellious states to the Union after its conclusion. In 1867 a newspaper editor claimed Johnson's leniency toward the South during Reconstruction stemmed from his indifference for African American struggles in the region after the war.²⁵ Historian William E. Hardy argued that Johnson's adherence to *laissez-faire* constitutionalism—where he refused to use governmental power to benefit one class of people over the other—along with his belief that

²⁴ “Andrew Johnson Hung in Effigy,” *Knoxville Whig*, 5 January 1861.

²⁵ Trefousse, 279.

blacks never constituted a class of people deserving of constitutional protection contributed to his benign plan for southern restoration.²⁶

In the battle over the war's memory East Tennesseans faced many of the same struggles that Johnson confronted because of his divided loyalties. Initially, Johnson believed that slavery was best protected under the Union. In his monument dedication speech in 1878 George Jones stated that Johnson never spoke out for the expansion or termination of slavery, but he did advocate its constitutional right to exist. Later in his career, however, Johnson came to understand that the institution would not survive the war and he freed his slaves in August 1863. Such actions were far from an endorsement of racial equality; Johnson continued to promote separation of the races. Other whites of the region also recognized that the Emancipation Proclamation did not mean equality for African Americans, and after the war's conclusion, many East Tennessee blacks faced similar circumstances as their compatriots in other areas of the South. In May 1866 the Tennessee government issued an order upholding African American testimony in state courts. At first this seemed like an improvement for blacks in the state, but they soon found that white officials continued to disregard and scorn the freedmen in court.²⁷ By 1888 Democrats once again held power over the Tennessee government, and blacks in the region eventually faced Jim Crow laws.²⁸

Overall, the Johnson monument honored a man who maintained the conservative attitudes that many other white East Tennesseans held. His adherence to the Union had more to do with resistance to class oppression than out of any sympathies for African Americans. Throughout his political career Johnson "waged a life-long crusade for the common man . . .

²⁶ William E. Hardy, "Reconstructing Andrew Johnson: The Influence of Laissez-Faire Constitutionalism on President Johnson's Restoration Policy," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 65 (Spring 2006): 75.

²⁷ Patton, 156-157.

²⁸ Bergeron, 196-199.

[the] mechanics, yeoman farmers, and artisans who had allegedly been trampled on by aristocrats.” He also maintained that the American government afforded these common, white men with the opportunity for improvement, “but blacks, whether slave or free, could not scale Jacob’s ladder because of the color of their skin.”²⁹ These ideas resonated in East Tennessee where few, if any, large plantation-style farms existed and where slaves made up less than ten percent of the population.³⁰ Later, white citizens of the region used these ideas to shape the memory of the war, and their monuments exhibited their viewpoints.

Ohio’s Tribute to Andrews’s Raiders, 1891

The next group to erect a monument in the area did so in Hamilton County in 1891. At this time an organization of Ohioans supported by a local Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) chapter dedicated a memorial to a group of Union soldiers and civilians in the Chattanooga National Cemetery. These soldiers, who came from various Ohio regiments, and their companions attempted to burn bridges along the railroad in East Tennessee. Subsequently, they became known as Andrews’s Raiders after their leader, James J. Andrews. While these men came from outside the state white East Tennesseans joined the Ohioans in celebrating their sacrifice. By doing this East Tennessee whites emphasized their commitment to Unionism and displayed their support for railroad innovation while deemphasizing racial tension in the city. Ultimately, the memorial stood as a representation of Unionism that allowed white East Tennesseans to claim a patriotic past and industrious future.

In 1862 Andrews, a civilian from Flemingsburg, Kentucky, led a group of Ohio infantrymen in an attempt to hijack a train engine. In order to accomplish their covert task the men posed as citizens seeking to join the Confederate Army. On the morning of April 12

²⁹ Hardy, 73.

³⁰ Bryan, 19.



Figure 2. Andrews's Raiders Monument
Chattanooga National Cemetery
Chattanooga, Tennessee
Photograph by Kelli Nelson

the group boarded the train at Marietta, Georgia as the conductor “scanned their faces and tickets.” When the train stopped at Kennesaw station, the crew and other passengers disembarked for a leisurely breakfast only to be distracted by “the whirr of engine wheels and escaping steam” as the raiders took off.³¹ Their mission was to take the train, disable the track, and cut off telegraph communication between Chattanooga and Atlanta. Along the way it seemed possible that their mission might result in success, but the conductor closely pursued the Unionists until they abandoned the machine and fled to the woods. In an attempt to evade capture the raiders split into various groups, but local Confederate troops and sympathizers pursued and caught each of the men.

³¹ “In Bronze and Stone: The Valorous, Daring Deeds of Andrews Raiders is Commemorated,” *Chattanooga Daily Times*, 31 May 1891.

Authorities housed the raiders in Chattanooga while they tried their leader. Although the court officials passed a guilty judgment upon their leader, many people of the region supported the Unionists, and Confederate forces moved twelve of the raiders to Knoxville.³² While in Knoxville seven men faced trial, and were condemned to hang. Once Union troops moved into East Tennessee Confederate law enforcement relocated the group of Unionists to Atlanta. Here, the raiders helped Andrews escape, but residents recaptured him within days. Local police executed Andrews on June 7, 1862, and buried him in an unmarked grave in the city. The other convicted raiders were hanged on June 18, but a local citizen ensured the marking of their graves. In the fall of 1862 the remaining fourteen raiders captured their guard and broke from the jail. While eight escaped the authorities recaptured six men. Confederate soldiers transported these six to Richmond where they exchanged the raiders for their own captured soldiers.³³

Although the Confederate Army designated the raiders as spies individuals of Ohio, Tennessee, and others involved in the expedition felt the men deserved a memorial in their honor. In April 1866 the United States Congress authorized the first wide-scale search for the bodies of Union soldiers for reburial in national cemeteries. As a part of this effort the Ohio government passed a resolution to have the executed raiders' remains moved to the Chattanooga National Cemetery. There, Chattanooga placed graves to the seven raiders in a semicircle near

³² "In Bronze and Stone," *Chattanooga Daily Times*, 31 May 1891.

³³ After the exchange, Secretary of War, Edwin M. Stanton interviewed the men and presented Private Jacob Parrot with the first Medal of Honor for his heroism during the expedition. Stanton also awarded medals to the other five: Sergeant Elihu Mason, Corporal William Pittenger, Corporal William Reddick, Private William Bensing, and Private Robert Buffum. The government later granted Medals of Honor to the eight raiders who escaped from prison and posthumously to four of the eight executed in Atlanta. Andrews and one other raider, William Campbell, were ineligible due to their status as civilians. The other two, George Wilson and Perry Shadrach, never received any award. Russell Bonds, *Stealing the General: The Great Locomotive Chase and the First Medal of Honor* (Yardley, PA: Westholme, 2007), 311-315, 320, 325.

the entrance of the memorial park.³⁴ Over twenty years later local citizens found Andrews's remains, and members of the Tennessee Department of the GAR, an organization for Union veterans, volunteered to reinter the leader in the Chattanooga cemetery. On October 16, 1887, the members of Chattanooga Post 45 of the GAR held an elaborate ceremony for Andrews's reburial. After Andrews's body came to Chattanooga local GAR members petitioned to have the memorial placed in their national cemetery.³⁵ More than 4,000 people attended the unveiling, and the entire scene resembled a large picnic. Local citizens brought lunches, gathered around the monument for the unveiling, and used "nearly 13,000 miniature flags" to decorate the soldiers' graves in the cemetery.

The Ohio organizers began the decoration services at one o'clock in the afternoon and scheduled the unveiling for two-thirty. Ex-governor of Ohio, Joseph B. Foraker, gave the oration. According to the *Chattanooga Daily Times* Foraker stepped up to the podium amidst resounding cheers. Although his hair was "tinged with gray" the writer described the former governor "as a young man, full of life and fire." No matter his age or appearance Foraker was passionate about the war and its causes. During his speech he stated that it was the leaders of the South who "induced [southerners] to engage in a causeless and hopeless rebellion." He claimed that northerners fought southerners not out of hatred but in order to quell slavery, which they believed to be the cause of division between the North and South. The *Times* reported that the governor had to pause many times throughout his address for exuberant applause from the crowd. Overall, the governor expressed beliefs that white East Tennesseans repeated in their later memorials. He emphasized slavery as a reason for the war, but he claimed that northerners sought to end the process not out of any sympathies for African Americans. Instead, he

³⁴ Bonds, 348-349.

³⁵ Frank M. Gregg, *Andrews Raiders, or the Last Scenes and the Final Chapter of the Daring Incursion into the Heart of the Confederacy* (Chattanooga: Frank M. Gregg, 1891), 69-70.

professed that white northern federal soldiers fought against the institution to save the Union. At the governor's conclusion the crowd gave three cheers for Andrews's Raiders.³⁶

Next, Marion L. Ross, nephew of executed raider Marion A. Ross, pulled the cord to reveal the monument. The stone sits in the southeastern section of the cemetery in the center of the semicircle created by the graves of the eight executed raiders and is a large granite rectangle capped by a bronze replica of the hijacked train engine known as the *General*. The front is etched with the words "Ohio's Tribute to the Andrews Raiders, 1862. Erected 1890." Along the edges of the plate containing this inscription are pieces of military paraphernalia including a canteen, hat, blanket, flags, guns, two swords, and a "U. S." belt plate. The names of the executed, exchanged, and escaped raiders adorn each side of the memorial along with each member's regiment or birthplace (Figure 2). At the time of the dedication the *Times* acknowledged the importance of the monument as a lasting image of the raiders "on the imperishable face of granite."³⁷ The *Times* estimated that over 6,000—mainly whites—attended the ceremony.³⁸ If any blacks did attend reporters made no mention of them.

The memorial expressed white East Tennesseans' desire to appear overtly Unionist. When the GAR endorsed this prominent example of Unionism in their area they advertised East Tennessee's loyalties during the war. The very act of placing this monument in Chattanooga showed contemporary individuals' willingness to identify themselves with the Union. The newspaper writers also helped paint an image of Unionist support both during and after the war. By emphasizing Chattanooga's backing of the raiders amidst their trials journalists depicted a city with Unionist leanings. One article concerning the monument dedication even spoke of the

³⁶ "Ohio's Tribute," *Chattanooga Daily Times*, 31 May 1891.

³⁷ "In Bronze and Stone," *Chattanooga Daily Times*, 31 May 1891.

³⁸ "Ohio's Tribute," *Chattanooga Daily Times*, 31 May 1891.

“mountain people” who assisted one group of raiders as they fled the train engine.³⁹ These specifications advertised the area as loyal to the Union throughout the struggle of the Civil War.

The building of a Unionist monument corresponded with the expansion and development of the city by northern investors. Just after the war northern Unionists, like General John T. Wilder and his companion Captain Hiram S. Chamberlain, opened manufacturing establishments that earned Chattanooga national prestige.⁴⁰ In later years two brothers from Maine, J. E. and B. S. Annis, started the Chattanooga Roofing and Foundry Company that, according to Chattanooga historian, Charles A. McMurry, “grew from a small shop, employing eight men [in 1893] to one of the largest manufacturing establishments in Chattanooga.”⁴¹ The railroad industry grew along with these developments. Like much of the rest of the South northern investment drove the growth of Tennessee railroad companies in the late nineteenth century.⁴² The designers of the Andrews’s Raiders monument represented railroad innovation in their replica of the famous engine, the *General*. According to historian and United States Army veteran, Colonel James G. Bogle, the replica atop the monument

is not that of the 1860s when the balloon stack prevailed and wood was the fuel. Rather the likeness is of the 1880s when that most colorful part of the steam locomotive had been replaced by a functional straight diamond shaped stack more suitable for the burning of coal.⁴³

³⁹ According to the writer of the *Chattanooga Times*, when William Knight and W. W. Brown fled the *General* they took refuge in a local house. As they first approached the dwelling of these “simple mountain folk,” the woman of the house brashly expressed her Unionist sentiments and made plain her distaste for Confederates. After the two recounted their tale, the family took them in and helped the raiders escape back to Union lines by leading them “from one Union house to another, much like the underground railroad work of the North in slavery days.” “In Bronze and Stone,” *Chattanooga Daily Times*, 31 May 1891.

⁴⁰ For a short history of Wilder and Chamberlain’s Roan Iron Company see John Benhart, Jr. *Appalachian Aspirations: The Geography of Urbanization and Development in the Upper Tennessee River Valley, 1865-1900* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2007), 27-56.

⁴¹ Charles A. McMurry, *Chattanooga: Its History and Geography* (Morristown, TN: Globe Book Company, 1923), 146.

⁴² Benhart, Jr., 58; See also John F. Stover, *The Railroads of the South, 1865-1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1955), 206-209.

⁴³ James Bogle, “The Andrews Raid: A Sequel,” *Atlanta Historical Bulletin* 16, no. 2 (Summer 1971): 42.

This difference in the shape of the engine exemplified the changes occurring in railroad development at the time, and displayed the usage of monuments to further support for such investments.

Bethel Cemetery Monument, 1892

Although the developers and promoters of the Andrews's Raiders memorial advertised Unionism in the area other individuals in the region sought to commemorate the Confederacy. During the Andrews's Raiders monument dedication Confederate women in Knoxville gathered funds for a statue in their own cemetery. By depicting some remaining divisions in the area but still advocating industrialization, the Bethel monument showed that Confederate support existed in the region and complicated other efforts to promote Union memory in the region. Their display, however, was more limited than Union dedications. The Ladies' Memorial Association (LMA) placed the memorial in a private cemetery and invited a speaker from within the state who deemphasized the need for outside capital to promote Tennessee's industries. The Bethel monument was an important contribution to memorial efforts, but the statue also exhibited Confederate limitations in East Tennessee at this time.

In 1868 women from Knoxville formed a LMA with a mission to "collect the remains of the Confederate soldiers [who died in Northeast Tennessee] and to watch over and protect the graves." By 1873 the women obtained custody of a portion of the county cemetery containing over 1,600 Confederate graves and renamed the location Bethel Cemetery. While the Ladies had hoped to build a monument from the beginning of their organization they did not have the ability to take up the project until 1882.⁴⁴ At this time the women requested funding from men in Knoxville and the South in general. Although the writer did not specify names the *Knoxville*

⁴⁴ *Our Confederate Dead* (Knoxville: S. B. Newman, 1892), 4.



Figure 3. Bethel Confederate Monument
Bethel Cemetery
Knoxville, Tennessee
In *History of the Confederated Memorial Associations of the South*

Daily Journal reported that both federal and Confederate individuals aided the Ladies in their pursuit and the group laid the cornerstone May 21, 1891.⁴⁵ Because women took up the task Knoxville veterans probably saw the memorial as a benevolent effort. In a recent work Carolyn Janney illustrated the roles of LMAs in Virginia. Like the women in Winchester and Oakwood, Virginia the members of Knoxville's LMA probably relied "on the nineteenth-century assumption that women were naturally nonpolitical" to further their memorial fundraising efforts.⁴⁶ Since women organized the monument effort Unionists might not have seen the statue as a statement to division and therefore, contributed to the fund without thought to any Confederate agenda.

⁴⁵ "_____ of Peace," *Knoxville Daily Journal*, 20 May 1892.

⁴⁶ Carolyn Janney, *Burying the Dead but Not the Past: Ladies' Memorial Associations and the Lost Cause* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 40.

A year later the Fred Alut and F. K. Zollicoffer camps of the Sons of Confederate Veterans joined the LMA along with several thousand local citizens to unveil the monument. Various men gave speeches that sounded both conciliatory as well as divisive tones, but Confederate General William Bate gave the main oration of the day. While the association invited both Union and Confederate veterans Bate's lecture consisted of a defense of the Confederacy, and he held that southern states resisted a government that they felt had become "destructive of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."⁴⁷ According to Bate Unionists intentionally distorted Confederate involvement in the war. He claimed that

the patriotic devotion, the individual heroism, the high resolves, the undaunted resolution, which illustrated and adorned the conflicts of the soldiers and citizens of the South, [had], in the victor's histories, fared no better than that of the first great fight of the ironclads, in the accounts and descriptions of which the victorious Confederate ironclad, *The Virginia*, [was] deliberately misrepresented as the defeated ship, and persistently called *The Merrimac*.⁴⁸

Bate, along with many other Confederates at the time, believed Unionists vilified the South in the history of the war.

The design of the Bethel monument represented the division Bate emphasized. Designed by local artist, Lloyd Branson, a Confederate soldier stands at "parade rest" atop a 48-foot shaft (Figure 3). Branson created the figure to look life sized to one standing on the ground. Although the monument is the centerpiece, the initial view from the cemetery entrance is the back of the memorial. While Bate emphasized federal financial assistance with the memorial, according to journalist C. W. Thomas of the *Knoxville Journal* "the face of the statue is turned away from the cemetery's . . . entrance, because, like the men whose gallantry it stands for, it was felt that it

⁴⁷ *Our Confederate Dead*, 25.

⁴⁸ *Our Confederate Dead*, 22.

must face into the North, and eternally proclaim their stand for ‘Dixie.’”⁴⁹ While the soldier stands in a non-combative position, he still exhibits a lasting impression of defense projected by East Tennessee Confederates at this time.

Later in his oration Bate alluded to a local Union hero, Admiral David Farragut, to create a patriotic image of Confederate soldiers. Due to his birth in Knox County Bate briefly referred to Farragut’s capture of New Orleans and his victory at Mobile Bay. According to Bate Farragut displayed “an *Americanism* that carried with it the force and effect of that heroic utterance of the dying [Captain James] Lawrence—‘Boys, never give up the ship.’”⁵⁰ Southern soldiers, including those for whom the Ladies erected the Bethel monument, also displayed this *Americanism*. Bate emphasized that southerners, like George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and others, helped create and sustain the government of the states. By making this connection Bate associated the Confederacy with the patriotism of the founding fathers. Like others in East Tennessee at this time, Bate legitimized the LMA’s commemoration of these soldiers by alluding to America’s origins. In addition Bate maintained Confederates’ loyalty to America because they only wished to “*preserve the Constitution* and thereby save the Union.”⁵¹ According to Bate the heroes of the South made and protected America, and Confederate soldiers of the region deserved recognition in history.

Overall, Bate’s emphasis on southern honor showed his attitude toward industrialization in East Tennessee. Bate resisted giving full credit to northerners for the prosperity of the region. Instead he acknowledged the exemplary attitudes of resolute white southerners “whose untiring energy, inexhaustible enterprise, and dauntless courage” allowed them to succeed “on the battle-

⁴⁹ C. W. Thomas, “Plot of Ground Enshrines Great Past,” *Knoxville Journal*, 9 November 1952.

⁵⁰ *Our Confederate Dead*, 46.

⁵¹ *Our Confederate Dead*, 27-29.

front of national development.”⁵² Although the orator acknowledged northern investment, he held that southern attitudes ultimately brought prosperity to the region. Unlike the Unionists of the region who used monuments to attract northern investment, Bate shunned the need for Yankee capital during the Bethel monument dedication.

Although the Bethel monument was one of the largest memorials in the region, it showed that Union memory was more widely accepted at this time. While men instigated most Union monuments during this period, the Ladies took the forefront of the Bethel memorial. Janney argued that during Reconstruction, Confederate men in Virginia could promote the valor of Confederate soldiers without fear of repercussions by letting women take the lead.⁵³ The Bethel monument suggests that this practice was still prevalent in East Tennessee well after 1877. It is also important to note that while monument developers placed Union memorials in national cemeteries and other public areas, the LMA placed the Confederate monument in a burial ground owned by their organization. In addition most Union monuments connected East Tennessee to other regions of the country or commemorated national figures while Bethel’s monument connected East Tennessee with the rest of the state. Bate, the main orator of the day, was a Tennessee governor (1883-1887) and senator (1887-1905) originally from middle Tennessee. His oration displayed his aversion to seeking outside assistance for internal, state improvements. In all, the Bethel monument stood as an example of Confederate sentiments that lurked in the shadows as other white East Tennesseans attempted to build a significant Unionist image in the late nineteenth century.

⁵² *Our Confederate Dead*, 50.

⁵³ Janney, 65.

Farragut Birthplace Monument, 1900

Although Bethel cemetery's statue commemorated Confederate valor, the next monument in the area exemplified East Tennessee Unionism. When Spanish-American War hero, George Dewey, visited Knoxville in 1900, the local chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR) erected a monument to Admiral David Farragut, under whom Dewey once served. Just before traveling to the South, Dewey announced his intention to run for the Democratic nomination in that year's presidential election. Although he withdrew from the race a few days after his visit to Knoxville, the East Tennesseans who developed the Farragut monument used the opportunity to advertise their Unionist heritage nationally. Confederate veterans and female supporters even joined in the effort to promote their region's connection to the federal Civil War hero. This helped exhibit the importance of building a Unionist image in the region at this time.

Upon his visit to the Knoxville area Admiral George Dewey participated in various celebrations. On the morning of May 14 the city sprang to life with sounds of cannon, guns, and industrial whistles in honor of the admiral. Later that day local citizens held a parade where numerous organizations marched through the streets of Knoxville. After the procession Dewey gave a short address before touring the local schools and colleges with his wife. That evening the honorary guests attended a social reception and banquet.⁵⁴ The next day Dewey and his wife attended the monument unveiling to mark Admiral Farragut's birthplace.

James Glasgow Farragut was born in the Knoxville area in 1801. After living in Tennessee for only a short time his father, Jorge Farragut, who served as a soldier in the American Revolution, moved their family to New Orleans. Here, the family met Sailing Master David Porter. Soon after Porter contracted tuberculosis and Farragut's mother attempted to care for him. In the process she too became ill and both died in 1808. Out of gratitude for Mrs.

⁵⁴ "Shriek of Whistles and Roar of Cannon," *Knoxville Journal and Tribune*, 14 May 1900.



Figure 4. Farragut Birthplace Monument
Stoney Point Farm
Knoxville, Tennessee
Photograph by Margot Kline

Farragut's care, Porter's son, David Porter, Jr., offered to take the young Farragut as his apprentice. At ten years old the future admiral joined the crew of Porter's ship, the *Essex*, and changed his name to "David Glasgow Farragut, out of gratitude to his benefactor."⁵⁵

When the Civil War broke out Farragut resided with his second wife, Virginia Loyall, in her hometown of Norfolk, Virginia. Although dedicated to the South the occurrences at Fort Sumter forced Farragut to decide "whether he would go into the new confederacy, or whether he would remain steadfast to the old flag under whose shadow he had lived so long, and within whose folds he had hoped to be wrapped in death." Ultimately, he chose to stay with the Union Navy despite not knowing whether his wife would join him.⁵⁶ In 1862 the federal government

⁵⁵ Kelley Weaver-Hayes, "David' Glasgow Farragut Never Lived in Farragut," *Knoxville Press Enterprise*, 6 May 1992.

⁵⁶ "Dewey Party Leaves in the Best of Spirits," *Knoxville Journal and Tribune*, 16 May 1900.

assigned Farragut the task of securing the lower Mississippi River by capturing New Orleans. This victory as well as his accomplishment at Mobile, Alabama in August of 1864 “secured the admiral’s place in Civil War history.”⁵⁷ In 1866 the United States government created the rank of “Admiral of the Navy” specifically for Farragut.⁵⁸

On May 3, 1900, a committee of four men from Knoxville submitted a report to the Chamber of Commerce concerning the admiral’s birthplace. The Knoxville government formed this committee, consisting of Colonel Lawrence D. Tyson, Joshua W. Caldwell, Esq., George F. Milton, and Judge Oliver P. Temple, to conduct research into Farragut’s birth site in order to host Admiral Dewey at the location upon his visit to the city.⁵⁹ At the time Farragut and Dewey were two of only three men granted the rank of Admiral of the Navy.⁶⁰ While Tyson, Caldwell, and Milton agreed that Farragut was born on a parcel of land once owned by his father, known as Lowe’s Ferry, Temple was not as sure. The judge and many other citizens of the area held that Farragut was not born at the ferry site but a few miles away at Campbell’s Station. This debate sparked much controversy at the time. In fact George W. Mabry, son of John Alexander Mabry who was sexton of Bethel Cemetery, and brother-in-law of Temple’s wife, went so far as to call the investigation and subsequent report on Lowe’s Ferry a fraud.⁶¹

⁵⁷ “Farragut Was the First Full Admiral in America,” *Knoxville News-Sentinel*, 4 July 1976.

⁵⁸ “Farragut Program to Honor First US Navy Admiral on His 151st Birthday,” *Knoxville Journal*, 4 July 1952.

⁵⁹ “Search of the Records to Dispel the Doubt,” *Knoxville Journal and Tribune*, 24 April 1900; Will T. Hale and Dixon L. Merritt, *A History of Tennessee and Tennesseans: The Leaders and Representative Men in Commerce, Industry and Modern Activities* (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Company, 1913), 7: 1995. Colonel Lawrence D. Tyson was a prominent Knoxville Democrat who was widely involved in Knoxville businesses and participated in the Spanish-American War; Joshua Caldwell was a Knoxville lawyer and author whose work on the constitutional history of Tennessee discussed the government of the State of Franklin and the Reconstruction constitution of 1870; Hale and Merritt, 7: 1940-1943. At one time, George Milton edited both the *Knoxville Sentinel* and the *Chattanooga News*. He also served under Tyson during the war with Spain; Hale and Merritt, 7: 1935-1936. Oliver Temple was a prominent Knoxville judge and Unionist. During his later years, he wrote three histories of people and events in Tennessee, including *East Tennessee and the Civil War*.

⁶⁰ David Porter, Jr. was the third.

⁶¹ George Washington Mabry, letter to Oliver Perry Temple, 8 May 1900.

Despite the debate members of Knoxville's Bonny Kate chapter of the DAR, Admiral Dewey, the Farragut committee, and other guests gathered at Lowe's Ferry on May 15 for the monument unveiling. Before the dedication ceremonies Dewey and his wife boarded a boat with members of the DAR and the reception committee to make their way to the monument location. Once there, the party joined a large crowd of people gathered under "a huge branching elm" that marked "the spot on which once stood the hewn log cabin in which Farragut was born." Then the visiting admiral removed the flag that covered the monument. The memorial consists of a large stone, embossed with a shield and inscription that designated the site as Farragut's birthplace (Figure 4).⁶²

Next, Colonel L. D. Tyson spoke. He emphasized his own Confederate heritage, but acknowledged his alacrity "to do honor to the brave men who fought on the other side." He also accentuated the importance of "the unveiling of a monument . . . to a federal hero on southern soil by southern hands." While he emphasized that Confederates had no need to apologize for their part in the war, he also stated that "it was far better for them that they were not permitted" to separate from the federal government. Farragut's success, and the subsequent success of the Union army, ultimately created a better country. Tyson defended the Confederacy in his speech, but he still held the Union's preservation was the best for every individual. Other white East Tennesseans expressed this view during the first period of monument building in the region.

Ultimately, the Farragut monument exhibited white East Tennesseans' contemporary attitudes. At this time creating a Unionist image remained more beneficial to the people of the region. By promoting Farragut's heroics in the Union Army and his father's involvement in the

⁶² In 2011, the memorial stood on privately owned property in line for development as a subdivision. Before and during this time, several local citizens were working to gain public access to the monument but were unable to do so. In August, property owner, Lylan Fitzgerald secretly removed the memorial from her land and gave the stone to an out-of-state historical collector. For more information see Margaret Kline's weblog "Preserve Farragut's Birthplace" (8 November 2010) <http://farragutbirthplace.blogspot.com/> (accessed 8 December 2010).

Revolution, white East Tennesseans uplifted their home as loyal to the American government. In honoring Farragut they also honored American “naval heroism and virtue” by bringing Admiral Dewey to speak. In addition dedicating this memorial on the occasion of Dewey’s visit allowed whites of the region to nationally promote their image. At least two newspapermen accompanied Dewey to Farragut’s birth site: one from New York and the other from Chicago.⁶³ The elaborate ceremonies various Knoxville citizens prepared for the occasion promoted a glorified image of the city, and they emphasized their loyalty to the federal government by including the monument dedication in the celebration.

Knoxville National Cemetery Monument, 1901

Like the Farragut monument the next memorial in East Tennessee promoted the glory of Union soldiers. In 1893 members of the Tennessee GAR voted H. C. Whitaker department commander. During his acceptance speech Whitaker expressed the need for a monument to the state’s Union soldiers. Within the next year the veterans formed a monument committee to take on the task of erecting a memorial. While many GAR members suggested locations the committee finally ruled on building the monument in Knoxville’s National Cemetery due to the city’s location at “the center . . . [of] East Tennessee, which section furnished the greatest number of federal soldiers from Tennessee.”⁶⁴ Members of the local Knoxville Ed Maynard Chapter Post of the GAR served on the monument committee. This included W. R. Carter who joined the Union ranks in 1862 when he crossed the mountains into Kentucky, and D. R. Samuels who was born in England but moved to America in 1848 and joined the Pennsylvania volunteers in 1862. Later, Henry T. Cooper, a founding member of Knoxville’s W. P. Saunders

⁶³ “Dewey Party Leaves in Best of Spirits,” *Knoxville Journal and Tribune*, 16 May 1900.

⁶⁴ “Federal Monument Dedicated Today,” *Knoxville Sentinel*, 24 October 1901.



Figure 5. Knoxville Union Soldiers Monument
Knoxville National Cemetery
Knoxville, Tennessee
Photograph by Kelli Nelson

Camp Sons of (Union) Veterans, volunteered his organization to assist with the monument construction and suggested the groups hold a cornerstone laying ceremony.⁶⁵

The monument committee and other Union veterans laid the cornerstone at a memorial in 1896. Before the proceedings at the cemetery, members of the GAR gathered for a parade leading into the area. Once the parade participants and other attendees arrived at the cemetery, Captain William Rule, one time journalistic student of William “Parson” Brownlow, editor of the *Knoxville Daily Chronicle* and the *Knoxville Daily Journal*, and member of the monument committee, recounted the history of East Tennesseans’ battle against secession. He pointed to the first battle of Bull Run as a pivotal incident in East Tennesseans’ disaffection from the rest of the state. According to Rule if the Union Army had won the battle “East Tennessee would have

⁶⁵ “Sketches of some Workers for Monument,” *Knoxville Sentinel*, 15 October 1896.

become a separate state in the Union as West Virginia did about the same time.”⁶⁶ Rule recounted that as tension mounted in the country, the mountain residents “had to decide between the commonwealth they loved when the contention was for state supremacy, and the flag of the Union defended by their fathers when the nation was in its infancy.” Most “chose to remain in the Union . . . and sealed their devotion to the cause they espoused, with their blood and their lives.”⁶⁷ The monument in the Knoxville National Cemetery commemorated these men (Figure 5).

Rule’s oration related to the popularity of the New South vision. He supported the idea of accepting northern investments into the region, but Rule believed southerners should contribute to their own prosperity.⁶⁸ Through his emphasis on the outcome of the first battle of Bull Run, Rule showed his connection between northern and East Tennessee success. If the Union had succeeded at the battle, this would have given the East Tennesseans the boost they needed to embark on their own. After the war Rule emphasized that help from the North would give the people of the region the energies they needed to succeed on their own. He contended against the growing image of mountain people as ignorant and lazy, and emphasized southerners’ ability to help themselves.⁶⁹ Rule’s ideas about the New South reflected many of the struggles white East Tennesseans faced. While they acknowledged the need for assistance after the war, white southerners sought to maintain honor amidst their calls for aid.

⁶⁶ “Martial Pomp,” *Knoxville Sentinel*, 15 October 1896.

⁶⁷ “The Stone Laid,” *Knoxville Tribune*, 16 October 1896.

⁶⁸ Robert Taylor, “The New South Mind of a Mountain Editor: William Rule, 1877-1898,” *East Tennessee Historical Society’s Publications* 47 (1975), 109.

⁶⁹ Taylor, 116-117. In *Appalachia on Our Mind: The Southern Mountains and Mountaineers in the American Consciousness, 1870-1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1978), Henry D. Shapiro emphasized the emergence of the idea of Appalachians as a peculiar people. This idea first arose from local color writers who used Appalachian inhabitants as subjects for their tales, but the image of the backward and underdeveloped mountaineer gained greater recognition. According to Shapiro, many Americans outside of the region began to categorize Appalachians as needy because they did not fit into the rising homogeneity of the country. For further reading on the development of the image of Appalachia as a distinct region, see Mary Beth Pudup, Dwight B. Billings, and Altina L. Waller, eds., *Appalachia in the Making: The Mountain South in the Nineteenth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995).

In 1901 the GAR officially dedicated their memorial. One orator at the ceremony personally knew the sacrifices many East Tennessee men undertook to join the Union Army. Judge Newton Hacker was born in Greene County, Tennessee in 1836. When the Civil War began he attempted to organize a regiment of Unionists from the area, but the occupying Confederate forces quickly stifled his efforts. Hacker, along with several other East Tennessee Unionists, attempted to cross the Cumberland Mountains to join the Union Army in Kentucky. While his first attempt was unsuccessful, Hacker eventually joined the federal forces and rose to the rank of captain before the conflict concluded.⁷⁰

During his oration at the monument dedication Hacker referenced America's founding as the origination of discord between North and South. While the Plymouth Pilgrims came to the country seeking relief from religious persecution, the Jamestown migrants sought only to improve their finances. These southerners originally brought African slave labor to the country. For this reason, the two groups could not remain indefinitely peaceful with one another, and East Tennesseans faced greater challenges because of their position between the North and South. In the end the judge demeaned slavery as immoral, but like other white East Tennesseans at monument dedications, he never avoided confronting the implications of freedom for formerly enslaved African Americans.⁷¹

Although Hacker emphasized East Tennessee Unionism throughout his speech, he ended his oration by promoting American imperialism. In his opinion American influence throughout the world helped bring northerners and southerners to a commonality. He called on the people to reunite to expand the country's influence throughout the world. Eventually, ideas like this helped reconciliation become the dominate emphasis of Civil War monuments in the area. After

⁷⁰ Hale and Merritt, 6: 1844-1845.

⁷¹ "Exercises in National Cemetery Very Fitting," *Knoxville Sentinel*, 24 October 1901.

1910 white East Tennesseans no longer sought federal monuments. Instead, the people of the region developed several memorials specifically devoted to reconciliation. Confederates in the region took advantage of this reunification sentiment to assert their presence in the region, but some remaining federal sympathizers contended against such activism. This was the nature of Civil War memory. While monument builders initially sought to create an overtly Unionist image in the region, the memorials they developed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century never solidified an immutable idea. As the region developed so did citizens' memory of the war. They found new reasons to promote variant images that allowed them to endorse numerous causes and ideals. Eventually, Unionism waned as East Tennesseans experienced changes in the beginnings of the twentieth century.

CHAPTER 3

“NOW CLASP A BROTHER’S HAND”

MONUMENTS AND THE PROGRESS OF RECONCILIATION, 1910-1919

On March 12, 1907, the *New York Times* reported that over 5,000 people paraded in the streets of Knoxville. These men, women, and children gathered to celebrate the recent vote to prohibit alcohol sales and consumption within the city. According to the *New York Times* article, titled “Knoxville Ousts Saloons. It’s Growing Difficult to Get a Drink in Tennessee,” many citizens carried white banners and shouted ““The saloons must go!”” and ““On to Chattanooga!”” Despite their calls and the general support for prohibition throughout the state, Chattanooga would remain one of only four “wet” cities in Tennessee until the legislature passed a statewide ban on alcohol in 1909. Just one year after Tennessee went dry, veterans gathered in Chattanooga to dedicate the New York Peace Monument atop Lookout Mountain. During their stay the *Chattanooga Times* reported that “the fact that Chattanooga is a prohibition city . . . does not seem to worry the old soldiers in the least.” According to the article, “Reminiscence is their stimulant and they are enjoying the old days all over again.” In fact the journalist for the *Chattanooga Times* wrote that one man remembered many soldiers who used to keep their canteens filled with whisky whenever possible, and added that he could not mention a single one of that crowd who is still alive. The remnant now is deduced to have been the cream of the army of the north, the best men from a moral standpoint as well as from a fighting standpoint.⁷² Ideas about morality and prohibition remained important in Tennessee politics throughout the next two decades. This, along with other progressive sentiments, occupied the minds of Tennesseans

⁷² “Blue-Clad Figures Revisiting Battlefields around Chattanooga,” *Chattanooga Daily Times*, 15 November 1910.

throughout the period and East Tennesseans expressed their opinions while they continued to build Civil War monuments.⁷³

As the twentieth century progressed, citizens throughout the country concentrated on reform. In the South the progressive sentiment was “a loosely coordinated attempt to modernize . . . [the region] and to humanize its institutions without abandoning its more desirable values and traditions.” Historian Dewey Grantham argued that southern progressivism could be divided into three categories: “social controls and state regulations” which included whites’ attempts to control African Americans, prison reform, and railroad regulation; “social justice,” where citizens fought child labor issues; and “social efficiency” which included southern agricultural reform. The progressive attitude in the region stemmed from economic and social changes that had recently occurred in the South. These included industrial development, urbanization, and “the growing importance of a new middle class made up of business and professional elements.” These urban middle-class whites often led reform drives to improve conditions in the South that would reinforce the existent status quo. According to Grantham most southern progressives were “middle-class and professional people convinced of the desirability, indeed the necessity, of their region’s industrialization, economic diversification, and urbanization.” After 1914 conflict in Europe gave the progressives new avenue for their reform sentiments. When America joined the fight in 1917 benevolent organizations banded together to show charity and patriotism at home in support the troops abroad.⁷⁴

⁷³ Paul Bergeron, et. al. *Tennesseans and Their History* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1999), 215; Lucile Deaderick, ed., *Heart of the Valley: A History of Knoxville, Tennessee* (Knoxville: East Tennessee Historical Society, 1976), 114-115; Dianne Luce, *Reading the World: Cormac McCarthy’s Tennessee Period* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2009), 27.

⁷⁴ Dewey Grantham, *Southern Progressivism: The Reconciliation of Progress and Tradition* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1983), xv-xxii, 111; Tom Lee, *The Tennessee-Virginia Tri-Cities: Urbanization in Appalachia, 1900-1950* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2005), 98.

In East Tennessee monument builders continued to support industrialization as an impetus for improvement in the region, but they began to erect more reconciliationist and Confederate memorials due to southern progressive attitudes. At the same time the urban leaders of monument building fought for prohibition in East Tennessee and many citizens supported improvements in education and roads. In 1910 monument builders began to emphasize reconciliation between white northerners and southerners. As they did so Confederate sympathizers strengthened their presence in the region and built a greater number of memorials in public areas. The United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC), whose mission included “benevolent, historical, educational, and social” objectives, played an important role in the rise of Confederate memory during the era. Their charity work—limited to the benefit of Confederate men, women, and their descendants—led historian Karen Cox to dub the women “Confederate Progressives.”⁷⁵ During this time the United States was growing as a world power, and many citizens used monument dedications as an opportunity to show support for this increase. When World War I broke out nationalist ideas became even more vital. Women of the UDC led efforts to purchase war bonds and emphasized the importance of patriotism. In addition other groups in East Tennessee used monuments to support the war effort and promote nationalism; however, some citizens refused to accept the changes in Civil War sentiments during this time. Overall, progress and nationalism defined East Tennessee Civil War memory before 1920 and the citizens of the region continued to project their attitudes through monuments and monument dedications.

Changes in Civil War memory throughout the nation contributed to the developments in East Tennessee. In his work historian David Blight demonstrated that by the beginnings of the

⁷⁵ Karen Cox, *Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003), 73-92.

twentieth century, white citizens of the United States preferred to think of the war as a conflict “between two foes struggling nobly for equally honorable notions of liberty.”⁷⁶ This was true in East Tennessee as white citizens came together in support of reconciliationist memorials. Like Blight Anne Marshall showed that as time progressed further from the war, “Union memory . . . became too closely associated with emancipation and African American progress” for whites to continue to support the idea.⁷⁷ As guardians of a specific antebellum social order the growing UDC displayed white East Tennesseans’ commitment to white supremacy. Progressive ideas included measures to manage the African American population through “disfranchisement, segregation, and black proscription” that they believed “not only constituted a workable system of racial control but also promised less corruption in politics, more consideration of ‘real’ political issues, and a greater degree of social stability and public calm.”⁷⁸ The women of local UDC chapters reflected this idea as they followed the direction of a national organization that promoted the perpetuation of an Old South image where “African Americans . . . should remain faithful to their former masters.”⁷⁹ Northerners who came to the region also conformed to national racial trends as they endorsed Confederate valor, deemphasized regional Unionism, and generally remained silent on racial issues. All the while East Tennessee African Americans faced segregation, oppression, and violence. In the midst of white reunification and reform sentiment local African Americans contended against the growing influence of regional Confederate women working to solidify the Lost Cause in East Tennessee and United States history.

⁷⁶ David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 391.

⁷⁷ Anne Marshall, *Creating a Confederate Kentucky: The Lost Cause and Civil War Memory in a Border State* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 5.

⁷⁸ Grantham, xix.

⁷⁹ Cox, 39.

New York Peace Monument, 1910

One of the largest monument building efforts in East Tennessee occurred with the opening of the country's first National Military Park at Chattanooga, Tennessee and Chickamauga, Georgia. In 1880 Congress began their initial efforts to preserve a Civil War battlefield when they appropriated funds for surveying the grounds at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. While this commenced the first large-scale monument movement on an American battlefield, the government meant the area's preservation strictly for Union soldiers. In May 1888 former colonel Ferdinand Van Derveer and Henry Van Ness Boynton visited Chickamauga and began efforts to promote the location as a military park. Unlike Gettysburg, Boynton envisioned the Chickamauga and Chattanooga Park as a place of memorialization for both Union and Confederate veterans. On August 19, 1890, President Benjamin Harrison finalized the first official step toward this goal when he signed a law establishing a National Military Park at the Chickamauga battlefield.⁸⁰ From then on representatives began erecting monuments to military divisions and veterans from each state involved in the battles around the area. Erected from 1895-1910 most groups placed monuments on the Chickamauga field, but many parties from various states placed their memorials in Chattanooga. Interestingly, Tennesseans never placed a monument commemorating their troops' involvement at Chickamauga and Chattanooga in their own state. Although Tennessee representatives did place six monuments and forty-three markers at Chickamauga, they only designated one for Union soldiers from the state.⁸¹

⁸⁰ John C. Paige and Jerome A. Greene, *Administrative History of Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park* (Denver: United States Department of the Interior, 1983), under "Establishment and Dedication of Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park, http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/chch/adhi1.htm (accessed December 5, 2010).

⁸¹ Jack Kerr, *Monuments and Markers of the 29 States Engaged at Chickamauga and Chattanooga: Was Your State Here?* (Collegedale, TN: College Press, 2003), 5.



Figure 6. New York Peace Monument
Point Park
Lookout Mountain, Tennessee
Photograph by Kelli Nelson

Despite the number of memorials at the Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park, New York's Peace Monument is one of the most impressive and "imposing military [monuments] . . . erected by any of the State commissions."⁸² In 1894 the New York legislature passed a law calling for

the erection of suitable monuments, memorial structures and markers in honor of and to the memory of the soldiers of the state of New York who engaged in the military operations around Chattanooga, comprising the battles of Wauhatchie, Lookout Mountain, Missionary Ridge, and Ringgold, in eighteen hundred and sixty-three.⁸³

Previously, the state had appointed a commission to erect memorials at Chattanooga and other areas of conflict, including Gettysburg. Soon after creating the commission the government

⁸² "Report of the Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park Commission," in *Annual Reports of the War Departments for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1900*, Secretary of War (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1900), 177.

⁸³ New York (State), *Laws of the State of New York Passed at the One Hundred and Seventeenth Session of the Legislature, begun January Second, 1894, and Ended April Twenty Seventh, 1894, in the City of Albany* (Albany: James B. Lyon, 1894) 1: 789.

appointed General Daniel E. Sickles as chair. The committee, designated as the New York Monuments Commission (NYMC), placed their first monument at Gettysburg on July 2, 1893, then began work for a memorial in Chattanooga.⁸⁴ The committee initially sought two memorials honoring only Union soldiers, but they eventually expanded their focus. Sickles and the other members reserved 100 square feet at the summit, but the NYMC faced an obstacle in the mountain itself. At an elevation of about 1600 feet the builders struggled to transport the 40 to 50,000 pound stones used to create the ninety-foot monument up the side of the mountain.⁸⁵ It took workers several years to complete the project, but over 400 veterans helped dedicate the memorial on November 15, 1910.

The evening prior to the dedication the visitors attended a reception at the Lyric Theater where various individuals spoke about industrial development and reconciliation. First, Mayor T. C. Thompson of Chattanooga welcomed the New Yorkers to the city. Thompson stated that his father was a Confederate soldier, but that he “would be recreant to his [father’s] teachings if [he] did not extend the right hand of fellowship and a warm welcome to those who won that great victory which made all men free and preserved every star” on the American flag. Next, New York state legislator Daniel D. Frisbee “prophesied a great commercial career for Chattanooga” due to its location and stated that the city was “destined to become a worthy rival of the best in this country.”⁸⁶ Then Sickles spoke about the work of the NYMC and described the monument in length. His design, titled “Reconciliation,” crowns the shaft and depicts a Union and Confederate soldier shaking hands under the American flag (Figure 6). Lastly, Dr. J. W. Bachman of Chattanooga promoted the benevolence of the region by relaying a story about

⁸⁴ James Hessler, “Dan Sickles: The Battlefield Preservationist,” Civil War Preservation Trust, <http://www.civilwar.org/education/history/on-the-homefront/battlefield-preservation/dan-sickles-the-battlefield.html> (accessed November 21, 2010).

⁸⁵ “Obstacles for Peace Monument,” *Boston Evening Transcript*, 30 July 1900.

⁸⁶ “Veterans and Citizens Join in Delightful Reunion,” *Chattanooga Daily Times*, 15 November 1910.

Missionary Ridge. According to Bachman, “a number of men and women had come from the New England states to this section animated by the preaching of [David] Brainard,” an early New York minister. The people who traveled to Chattanooga named the ridge after their purpose to spread the gospel throughout the nation.⁸⁷

The next morning the veterans and other visitors made their way up the mountain. The *Chattanooga News* estimated that 1,500 people attended the dedication. The proceedings began at eleven o’clock when Sickles called the assembly to order and a New York reverend gave the benediction where he thanked God for the nation “united under one government, one flag . . . the inspiration of ideals for the loftiest citizenship, the purest patriotism, sanctified and concentrated by the blood of the best type of Christian faith.” Directly after this volunteers revealed the memorial by releasing the ties of a large American flag draped over the shaft. Again, Sickles took the stand. This time he alluded to the battle that took place in 1863. He emphasized the glory of Union leaders like Williams S. Rosecrans, Joseph Hooker, and George H. Thomas as well as Confederate commanders like Braxton Bragg, William J. Hardee, and John C. Breckenridge. He continued to emphasize reconciliation between Unionist soldiers of the North and “our old adversaries, here in the South,” but never mentioned any Unionists in the region. This was a significant change from the numerous Unionist dominated monuments constructed in the region prior to 1901. After this Sickles discussed the United States’s rising influence around the world. He asked the attendees to “pause for a few moments” to

look at our country to-day and see where we stand in the eyes of the world. Our population has more than doubled; our resources and our wealth have more than quadrupled. We raise in this country every year now over eight thousand million dollars worth of crops. Think of it! This record is not approached by any nation on the face of the earth anywhere. We have been blessed by God since peace was declared.

⁸⁷ “Tennessee’s Welcome to New York Extended to Hundreds of Veterans,” *Chattanooga News*, 15 November 1910.

The general then took the opportunity to discuss business in the region. He claimed that the South had “grown in wealth and prosperity,” and emphasized that slavery’s abolition helped southerners reach their full manufacturing potential.⁸⁸ This was an important factor in the era as many citizens moved away from racial issues of the war while continuing to promote industry in the region. In the end Sickles recounted humorous stories about Union soldiers that kept “the veterans . . . in a roar of laughter.”⁸⁹

Next, Captain H. Clay Evans of Chattanooga, representing the governor of Tennessee, Malcolm R. Patterson, gave a short speech. Like Sickles, Evans discussed some aspects of the battles around Chattanooga in 1863 and used the allusions to depict both the industrial and progressive sentiments that permeated many monument dedications at this time. He emphasized the railroad as an essential component of the city’s importance during the war. Similarly, he alluded to Chattanooga’s industries and natural resources and claimed that “instead of monuments erected to the heroism of soldiers,” the visitors would find memorials dedicated to “the great industrial peace of our land.” Evans continued his appraisal of the region by stating that they were “a progressive people.” For this reason the New Yorkers would find “monuments erected to the cause of education; and right where one of your batteries stood and belched forth deadly missiles of war there you will find a great monument dedicated to the cause of Christ.”⁹⁰ African American jubilee singers finished out the ceremonies and most visitors returned home within the next few days.

⁸⁸ New York (State) Monuments Commission, *Report on the New York Monuments at Chattanooga and Proceedings of Dedication of the Central Historical Memorial or Peace Monument on Lookout Mountain* (Albany: J. B. Lyon Company, 1928), 113, 115, 117.

⁸⁹ “Monument is Unveiled on Lookout Mountain,” *Chattanooga News*, 15 November 1910.

⁹⁰ New York (State) Monuments Commission, *Monuments at Chattanooga*, 121.

In Chattanooga members of the local UDC and Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) escorted the New Yorkers around the city. Before the Lyric Theater reception Sickles and the other NYMC members attended a charity event hosted by the Daughters of the Confederacy. The *Chattanooga News* reported that the northern visitors “occupied seats of honor at the head of the armory and watched with interest the southern cross drill by the sixteen old Confederate soldiers in uniform and the sixteen pretty girls who marched with them.”⁹¹ Colonel D. A. Bradford of the local GAR was in charge of registering the visitors and reported to the *News* that he enjoyed hosting the New Yorkers in the city. That members of these two groups entertained the visitors was reflective of the reconciliationist attitude that surrounded the monument proceedings. However, these reunification sentiments only concerned white soldiers. At previous monument dedications speakers usually referenced slavery as a cause for the war—even if they downplayed the harsh realities of the institution—but orators at the New York Peace monument dedication never mentioned any racial issues. Conversely, one newspaper writer said that the “old plantation melodies” sung by the African American jubilee singers reminded the veterans of “the happy times ‘befo’ de wah.”⁹²

Overall, the speakers at the New York Peace monument dedication displayed their views on social and political ideals of the time. This memorial, atop one of the largest mountains in the region, gave the orators an occasion to display their support of industrialization progressive reform like educational improvement. Together, the monument and speakers showed a rising emphasis on reconciliation between white Unionists and Confederates. As these white New Yorkers and Chattanoogaans joined the rest of the nation in accepting Confederate soldiers as

⁹¹ “Daughters of South and Veterans of North Trip Light Fantastic,” *Chattanooga News*, 16 November 1910.

⁹² “Tennessee’s Welcome to New York Extended to Hundreds of Veterans,” *Chattanooga News*, 15 November 1910.

honorable and worthy of praise, East Tennessean Confederates became bolder. Whereas they were previously limited to private endeavors or overshadowed by strict Unionism, these individuals and groups began to place memorials in public areas that openly displayed their existence in the region after 1910. The next year citizens of Bradley County exhibited Confederates' strengthening presence in the region.

Cleveland Memorial to Confederate Dead, 1911

In 1905 Cooksey Hardwick of Cleveland, Tennessee organized a local chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy.⁹³ Their main purpose and first project was to erect a monument to Cleveland's "Unknown Confederate Dead" (Figure 7).⁹⁴ This memorial represented one of the first monuments Confederate East Tennesseans erected in a public area, since groups previously built Confederate memorials in privately owned cemeteries like Bethel in Knoxville. However, the women of the Cleveland UDC changed this trend when they placed their memorial on what the *Chattanooga Times* called "the most prominent corner" in Cleveland where Robert E. Lee Highway splits to become Ocoee and Broad streets. The memorial also represented urban progressive's willingness to adhere to Confederate memory. Women who joined Hardwick were part of Cleveland's urban middle-class and they participated in various charitable endeavors throughout the region.⁹⁵

Hardwick invited several women to her home to consider organizing a United Daughters of the Confederacy chapter in Cleveland in April 1905. After establishing a motto and other specifics, they formed the Jefferson Davis Chapter No. 900.⁹⁶ Many of these women came from

⁹³ "Confederate Monument Unveiled in Cleveland Saturday, June 3," *Cleveland Journal and Banner*, 6 June 1911.

⁹⁴ Annie E. Cody, *History of the Tennessee Division United Daughters of the Confederacy* (Nashville: Collum and Ghertner Company, [1947?]), 292.

⁹⁵ "Monument is Unveiled," *Chattanooga Times*, 4 June 1911.

⁹⁶ "UDC Jefferson Davis Chapter No. 900," <http://www.udcjeffersondavischapter900.com/> (accessed 9 July 2011).



Figure 7. Cleveland Confederate Monument
Cleveland, Tennessee
<http://www.photosofcleveland.com/> (accessed December 30, 2010)

middle and upper-class families of East Tennessee. Cooksey Harris, born in Georgia, married Joseph H. Hardwick from Cleveland, Tennessee in 1875. Joseph's father, Christopher, was an ardent Confederate supporter during the war and lost his fortune when the Confederacy dissolved in 1865. By 1879, however, he had rebuilt his business and began the Cleveland Woolen Mills the next year.⁹⁷ Later, he helped Joseph and another son, John, begin their own stove manufacturing business. The Cleveland Stove Works employed 60 people and sold stoves throughout the South by 1899.⁹⁸ Shortly after this Cooksey and Joseph's son, C. L. Hardwick,

⁹⁷ Roy G. Lillard, *Bradley County* (Memphis: Memphis State University Press, 1980), 105.

⁹⁸ History Committee, Bradley County Chapter East Tennessee Historical Society, *The History of Bradley County*, ed. Roy G. Lillard (Cleveland, TN: Bradley County Chapter, East Tennessee Historical Society, Cleveland-Bradley County American Revolution Bicentennial Commission, 1976), 258.

began managing the company. In 1910 the *Cleveland Journal and Banner* named him as one of the main supporters of the monument.⁹⁹

At least six other charter members of the Jefferson Davis chapter were part of the Hardwick family including Joseph's mother, Isabella. Many other women in the Cleveland UDC were also connected to the Hardwicks and other prominent families in the region. C. L. Hardwick married Clyde Johnston in 1902. Clyde's aunt, Ruth Nuckolls Johnston, served as the president of the UDC chapter during the monument unveiling. Ruth's husband, Josiah Emmett Johnston, was a prominent banker in the area. He was the fourth president of the Cleveland National Bank and served as the first president of the Cleveland Bank and Trust Company when it was chartered in January 1906.¹⁰⁰

By 1909 the women of the Cleveland UDC were already raising funds for their memorial. In 1910 they contracted with a firm in Marietta, Georgia to construct the monument. Next, they sought a suitable place for the twenty-eight foot shaft. While many individuals assumed the UDC would place the statue in a cemetery, Hardwick and her allies sought a more public arena for the memorial. In 1910 the organization applied for space on the Public Square on the corner of Ocoee and Lea (now Broad) streets.¹⁰¹ The court granted their request and they began moving the private memorial already in place on the patch of land. They initially intended to move the existing monument to the cemetery, but local families of the men for whom the city dedicated the memorial protested.¹⁰² Despite the setback the Daughters unveiled their monument on Confederate Decoration Day, June 3, 1911. A Confederate soldier crowns the top and is

⁹⁹ "Contract Let for Confederate Monument," *Cleveland Journal and Banner*, 21 January 1910.

¹⁰⁰ Zella Armstrong, *Notable Southern Families*, vol. 2 (Chattanooga: Lookout Publishing Co., 1922), 207; Bradley County Chapter East Tennessee Historical Society, 105, 107.

¹⁰¹ "Contract Let for Confederate Monument," *Cleveland Journal and Banner*, 21 January 1910.

¹⁰² "Fight over Monument," *Cleveland Journal and Banner*, 30 May 1911.

inscribed with the motto of the Jefferson Davis Chapter, “Man was not born to himself alone, but unto his country.”

At the dedication the speakers focused on Confederate memory, but remained cordial to Unionists. The *Chattanooga Daily Times* reported that “the boys who wore the blue, as well as those who wore the gray, were present in good numbers.”¹⁰³ Mayor Charles S. Mayfield elaborated on the work of the Jefferson Davis Chapter. He repeatedly emphasized that the “monument [was] not erected in malice or anger” toward the Unionists but in loving remembrance of Confederate soldiers. The contributions of northerners like William C. Nevin, a businessman from Pennsylvania who married into a prominent Cleveland family, and his wife, Mary Johnston Steed, did “more to wipe out the bitterness of sectionalism than anything else [had] done.” Nevin and others contradicted “the rantings of petty politicians and dirty demagogues, like . . . Foraker of Ohio” who kept the flames of sectionalism alive.¹⁰⁴ Many ex-Confederates remembered Foraker, who spoke at the unveiling of the Andrews’s Raiders monument in Chattanooga, for his adamant refusal to return rebel flags when President Grover Cleveland gave the order in 1887.¹⁰⁵ Whereas some East Tennesseans celebrated Foraker’s appearance at the Andrews’s Raiders monument dedication in 1891, Mayfield publically lambasted the ex-governor in 1911. Mayfield asserted that Foraker only added to the already heated conflict that existed between Union and Confederate veterans when he refused to return the flags. Mayfield cried that the South was “stung by the corrupt and unjust insults heaped upon the memory of [the Confederate] dead.”¹⁰⁶ As citizens in the region and throughout the nation

¹⁰³ “Monument is Unveiled,” *Chattanooga Daily Times*, 4 June 1911.

¹⁰⁴ “Confederate Monument Unveiled in Cleveland Saturday, June 3,” *Cleveland Journal and Banner*, 6 June 1911.

¹⁰⁵ Joseph Benson Foraker, *Notes of a Busy Life*, 2nd ed. (Cincinnati: Stewart and Kidd Company, 1916) 1: 242.

¹⁰⁶ “Confederate Monument Unveiled in Cleveland Saturday, June 3,” *Cleveland Journal and Banner*, 6 June 1911.

sought white reconciliation, Foraker represented radicals who sought to elevate tensions. In this progressive era men like Foraker undermined their pursuits of public calm. Other orators spoke similar sentiments at the unveiling. Then thirteen girls, one representing each state in the Confederacy as well as Missouri and Kentucky, decorated the base of the memorial with flowers.

Next, Colonel W. A. Henderson, Knoxville citizen and representative from the Southern railway, spoke. He began by denouncing demagogues on both sides who helped keep sectionalism alive. According to Henderson the South ultimately won because “slavery was an incubus upon the South, wrong in morals, wrong in intellect and wrong in business.” He stated that southerners made more out of the war than northerners because the cessation of slavery allowed them to prosper. Henderson ignored the importance of slavery’s abolition for African Americans. In fact, he ignored local African Americans overall. After the war the South gained “a great volume of business” that was continuously growing.¹⁰⁷ This was true in Cleveland at the time. At the end of the nineteenth century various Cleveland citizens organized businesses that expanded in the beginning of the twentieth century. The Hardwicks’ mercantile and stove businesses boomed during this period to reach throughout the South. Other businesses organized at this time included the Cleveland Milling Company, Cleveland Coca-Cola Bottling Works, and Dixie Foundry.¹⁰⁸

Throughout the proceedings various speakers claimed the Cleveland monument was the first Confederate memorial in the region. Although untrue the monument represented a significant development in East Tennessee Civil War memory. As reconciliation rose in the region Confederate supporters gained more power. Unlike Knoxville’s Confederate monument in Bethel Cemetery, the women of the Cleveland UDC sought and obtained public space in

¹⁰⁷ “Confederate Monument Unveiled in Cleveland Saturday, June 3,” *Cleveland Journal and Banner*, 6 June 1911.

¹⁰⁸ Lillard, 105-109.

which to place their memorial. The men who spoke at the dedication also represented changes occurring in the region. Mayfield was a local lawyer whose company usually represented large corporations like the Southern Railway Company, the Tennessee Power Company, the Cleveland National Bank, and the Cleveland Bank and Trust Company.¹⁰⁹ Along with men like Henderson he represented businessmen with Confederate connections that were now able to openly express their sentiments.

The benevolent work of UDC during the Progressive Era allowed the women to promote their ideas through monuments in the region. Like other UDC chapters throughout the region the Cleveland women of the Jefferson Davis Chapter No. 900 participated in various charitable endeavors. According to their own chapter history the organization provided “generous contribution to Red Cross, Infantile Paralysis, [and] Child Welfare.” After America entered World War I in 1917 the women sold over \$1,000,000 in war bonds.¹¹⁰ Throughout this time the Jefferson Davis chapter also established “educational scholarships for Confederate descendants.”¹¹¹ Their charitable work amalgamated with the reform sentiments of the Progressive Era. The women gained a reputation that then allowed them to promote their image of Confederate valor in a region where Unionism had once been the focus. As the decade progressed women in other UDC chapters promoted the Lost Cause throughout the region, but remained willing to uplift both their own soldiers as well as Unionists who were willing to accept them.

¹⁰⁹ William T. Hale and Dixon L. Merritt, *A History of Tennessee and Tennesseans: The Leaders and Representative Men in Commerce, Industry and Modern Activities* (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Company, 1913), 8: 2346.

¹¹⁰ Cody, 292-293.

¹¹¹ *Proceedings of the Twenty-Third Annual Convention Tennessee Division United Daughters of the Confederacy Held at Knoxville, Tennessee May 14-17, 1919* (Jackson, TN: Long-Johnson, [1919]), 62.

Confederate Fort Sanders Monument, 1914

In November 1863 Confederate troops attacked federal soldiers at Fort Sanders in Knoxville. The battle that followed became the focus of two monuments in the vicinity. In 1914 Knoxville's United Daughters of the Confederacy Chapter 89 erected the first memorial at Fort Sanders to commemorate the 600 Confederate soldiers who fell during the conflict. According to newspaper reports housing development was taking over the battlefield and the women of Knoxville's UDC sought to mark the site before it was gone. Like the Cleveland monument this memorial depicted the Confederate presence in the region and displayed many citizens' growing adherence to the Lost Cause rhetoric of valorous Confederate heroes. According to the women and the speakers at the dedication, these brave Confederate soldiers withstood the hardships of war to defend their beliefs in states' rights, not in defense of slavery. The speakers also consistently referred back to the Bethel Cemetery, where the Ladies Memorial Association placed their memorial in 1892. In 1914 the women of the UDC used the Fort Sanders monument to reemphasize the sacrifice of the men for whom the Bethel monument was dedicated. This showed the growing presence of Confederate memory in the region.

November 29, 1914, was a cloudy, drizzly day in Knoxville. Due to the inclement weather organizers of the Fort Sanders Confederate Monument ceremonies changed the plans for dedicating the memorial. First, several UDC members and veterans gathered at the monument for the unveiling before the party moved into a local church for the remainder of the program.¹¹² John P. Kern, president of Knoxville's Royal Marble Company, donated the monument to the UDC.¹¹³ One corner is carved to depict a Confederate battle flag draped over

¹¹² "Unveil Monument on Fort Sanders to Honor Memory of Fallen Confederates," *Knoxville Sentinel*, 28 November 1914.

¹¹³ Gifford Pinchot, et al., *The First Exposition of Conservation and Its Builders: An Official History of the National Conservation Exposition, Held at Knoxville, Tenn., in 1913 and of Its Forerunners, the Appalachian*



Figure 8. Fort Sanders Confederate Monument
Knoxville, Tennessee
Photograph by Kelli Nelson

the side. The north side is inscribed with an iron cross with the words, “United Daughters of the Confederacy—To the U. C. V.” A panel beneath the cross designates the monument “to the memory of the Confederate soldiers who fell in the assault on Fort Sanders November 29, 1863” and contains the last four lines of Theodore O’Hara’s poem “Bivouac of the Dead” (Figure 8).

According to the *Knoxville Sentinel* various Confederate veterans and at least one Union veteran attended the ceremonies at Fort Sanders.¹¹⁴

Missie Ault of the Knoxville Ladies’ Memorial Association (LMA) spoke first at the dedication. Her short address emphasized the valor of the southern troops, and she emphasized

Expositions of 1910-11, Embracing a Review of the Conservation Movement in the United States from Its Inception to the Present Time (Knoxville: Press of Knoxville, 1914), 145. The U. D. C. awarded Kern a cross of honor because his father, Peter Kern, fought in the Confederate army. Peter Kern was also mayor of Knoxville from 1890-1892 and established one of the most prominent businesses in the city, Kern’s Bakery. Mary U. Rothrock, ed. *The French Broad-Holston Country: A History of Knox County, Tennessee* (Knoxville, TN: East Tennessee Historical Society, 1946), 437.

¹¹⁴ “Veterans at Unveiling Who Fought in Battle,” *Knoxville Sentinel*, 28 November 1914.

Bethel's connection to Fort Sanders.¹¹⁵ In the decades following the Civil War the LMA relocated the bodies of 600 Confederates who fell at the fortress before erecting their own monument in the cemetery. By having Alut speak at the Fort Sander's monument dedication the women of Knoxville's UDC brought the cemetery into the public light. While the women of the LMA could not publically advertise their Confederate heritage in 1892 because of the region's overall emphasis on Union memory, progressive and reconciliatonist attitudes allowed the women of the UDC to do so in 1911.

Wesley T. Kennerly, historian of the Henry M. Ashby camp of the Sons of Confederate Veterans, delivered the next address at the dedication program. Kennerly was born in West Tennessee, but moved to Knoxville and graduated from the University of Tennessee in 1901 with a degree in law. He was a veteran of the Spanish-American War, a member of the Knoxville legal firm Pickle, Turner, and Kennerly, and was elected city attorney in January 1912.¹¹⁶ During his speech Kennerly briefly mentioned the armies' positions within Knoxville in 1863. He said the fort was incomplete when Burnside arrived in the city, and the Union forces enlisted local citizens "and several hundred slaves" to complete the structure before the Confederates arrived. By calling attention to Union soldiers' use of slaves to finish the fort, Kennerly alluded to Lost Cause images of the war. According to the philosophy, slavery was not the cause of the war, and the image of Union soldiers employing slaves to do their work evidenced this idea. The rest of his oration contained information about the Confederate assault on the fort. He also felt it necessary to include one federal soldier's report of shooting a rebel in the face while the Confederate attempted to scale the fortress. Kennerly then acknowledged the Union soldiers who fought in the battle. He completed his speech by praising the women of the

¹¹⁵ "Unveil Monument on Fort Sanders to Honor Memory of Fallen Confederates," *Knoxville Sentinel*, 28 November 1914.

¹¹⁶ Hale and Merritt, 5: 1462-1463.

Confederacy who “joined their brothers in taking up the serious work of life and attempting to rehabilitate our devastated section.”¹¹⁷

Amidst the orations Mrs. Lucie D. A. Tipton, poet for the state UDC, recited a poem dedicated to the Confederate soldiers at Fort Sanders. Her verses portrayed a significant image of Confederates that was prominent in both national and East Tennessee Civil War memory at this time. Tipton began by describing the soldiers’ attitude. These men, who arose “from the Southland,” armed themselves “with the courage that scorned defeat, / Daring to die, but ne’er retreat.” They were humble soldiers, ready to fight bravely. She then described the scene at Fort Sanders. In the bitter cold of winter, the men stood against the “Frost King” without “thought of their bleeding feet so torn, / No thought of their ragged shoes so worn.” With this Tipton alluded to a Lost Cause image that described shoeless Confederate soldiers struggling against the odds. Led by a Georgia regiment, the men then attacked the fort. “Over the slay stretched and tripping wire / They fell, blown to death by grenade fire.” They continued the attack even as many died. One man, however, made it into the fort. Alfred O’Brien, brother of Mrs. William G. Brownlow, was the only Confederate soldier to make it through the Union defenses, but he was quickly taken captive. The men who followed O’Brien were not as fortunate. However, Tipton’s poem emphasized the endurance of their brave deeds “in tongues of stone, / in song, history, poesy, story,” thanks to women who told of “their deathless glory.”

Tipton’s poetic projections formed a pleasing image of the Confederate soldiers who attacked Fort Sanders in 1863. This was one of the UDC’s main goals. Their description of Confederate soldiers emphasized their views of the Civil War that glorified the Old South. In 1914 East Tennesseans, and many Americans, were more willing to accept this depiction than

¹¹⁷ “Unveil Monument on Fort Sanders to Honor Memory of Fallen Confederates,” *Knoxville Sentinel*, 28 November 1914.

they had ever been in the past. Instead of dealing with debates over racial equality whites throughout the country concentrated on reconciliation and industrial development. White progressives' attitude embraced the UDC who participated in benevolent efforts and promoted an image of racial stability. Monuments to Union soldiers also promoted valor on both sides due to whites' pursuit of reconciliationist images. While Confederates erected more memorials displaying their soldiers, Unionists created monuments with lasting reconciliationist themes. Four years after the UDC placed their memorial at Fort Sanders, the New York Monuments Commission returned to East Tennessee to place a statue to reunification between federal and Confederate soldiers.

New York Highlanders Monument, 1918

The New York Monuments Commission (NYMC) dedicated the second memorial at Fort Sanders in 1918. Dedicated to New York's 79th Volunteer Infantry, known as the Highlanders, the monument commemorated a group of men who defended the fort in November 1863. Although developed to memorialize Union soldiers, the monument overwhelmingly displayed reconciliation. The artwork depicted reunification between Union and Confederate soldiers by displaying two men shaking hands, and many orators stressed the importance of dissolving past tensions. The speakers also used the occasion to show support for American involvement in World War I. They emphasized the importance of the war for the protection of democracy and American strength throughout the world. In many cases the orators invoked the contemporary conflict to stress reunification; however, the impact of the war only reinforced reconciliationist sentiments that already existed in East Tennessee. Overall, the Highlanders monument represented the general trend of white reunification that East Tennesseans sought at this time.



Figure 9. New York Highlanders Monument
Knoxville, Tennessee
Photograph by Kelli Nelson

During the Civil War the New York Highlanders participated in various campaigns including the battles at Antietam and Vicksburg. In November 1863 the New Yorkers joined other troops in defense of Fort Sanders when Confederate troops under James Longstreet attacked the structure during the siege of Knoxville. Fifty-four years later, Colonel Andrew D. Baird of the Highlanders visited Knoxville with a company of veterans of his command and the NYMC “for the purpose of investigating the matter of an appropriate site for a monument they proposed erecting . . . to their regiment at or in the vicinity of Fort Sanders.”¹¹⁸ Later that year the New York legislature appropriated \$5,000 to accomplish the Highlanders’ task. The Knoxville City Commissioners and Board of Commerce donated a site for the stone obelisk on

¹¹⁸ “Monument to Seventy-Ninth New York to be Unveiled Monday,” *Knoxville Sentinel*, 21 September 1918.

the corner of 16th Street and Clinch Avenue where the fort once stood.¹¹⁹ The north, east, and south sides of the monument depict the New York state coat of arms, an army badge, and a Scottish Emblem. Although the commission dedicated the memorial to the Highlanders, the stone also represented reconciliation within East Tennessee. The west side is engraved with a Union and Confederate soldier shaking hands under the American flag (Figure 9). Beneath the image is a verse by Irish poet, J. I. C. Clarke that reads,

The hands that once were raised in strife
Now clasp a brother's hand,
And long as flows the tide of life-
In peace, in toil, when war is rife-
We shall as brothers stand
One heart one soul for our free land.¹²⁰

This inscription on the front of the monument creates a lasting impression of reconciliation that was important to East Tennessee Civil War memory at this time.

The events surrounding the monument dedication displayed East Tennesseans' concerns at the time. American involvement in World War I began in April 1917 when President Woodrow Wilson declared that "the world must be made safe for democracy." After that time the Great War occupied the minds of many Americans. Those involved in the monument proceedings had to manage the celebrations in the midst of stipulations brought on by the conflict. New Yorkers arrived in Knoxville on September 22, 1918. In preparation the dedication organizers placed a request to the Federal Fuel Administration to supply the visitors with transportation, but they eventually decided to withdraw their application and provided "a special electric street car" instead. According to the *Knoxville Sentinel*, "this was done in the

¹¹⁹ New York (State) Monuments Commission, *Report of the New York Monuments Commission on the Dedication of Monument to the Seventy-Ninth Regiment Highlanders New York Volunteers, Knoxville, Tenn., September 23, 1918* (Albany: J. B. Lyon Company, 1919), 3, 5.

¹²⁰ "Monument to Seventy-Ninth New York to be Unveiled Monday," *Knoxville Sentinel*, 21 September 1918.

faith that the patriotic spirit and occasion that brought the delegation to Knoxville also would inspire the New Yorkers' approval of the absence of gasoline cars, out of a patriotic deference to the wishes of the government."¹²¹ Patriotism defined the memorial events and contributed the reconciliationist sentiments that abounded. The monument represented, and the speakers emphasized, the strength of a unified country in the face of adversity.

The exercises began the next afternoon with a "welcome" address from Knoxville City Commissioner, Samuel E. Hill. Hill began his oration by welcoming the Highlanders to the city. He briefly overviewed the conflict at Fort Sanders, but he concluded that reunification under one flag made "the United States the most powerful, the most prosperous and the most contented democracy in the world." This strength allowed the men of the country to help make "the rest of the world safe for democracy also." Together, each state could supply "their quota of the help required for carrying to a successful issue the great war that is being waged on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean against ruinous and rampant militarism." According to Hill the reunification of Unionists and Confederates within the country was important for American strength all over the world. His ideas of reconciliation, however, were predisposed to courting certain racial ideas of slavery-supporting Confederates. According to Hill the two groups—New York Unionists and Knoxville Confederates—could take comfort in the fact that New York City's mayor "was among the most fervent and demonstrative anti-abolitionists of them all" when the war began in 1861.¹²² This idea resonated with southern progressives who sought to disfranchise African Americans as a means to retain social control. By alluding to anti-abolitionism Hill expressed a desire to reunify with a people who understood the importance of keeping African Americans under control.

¹²¹ "Monument to Seventy-Ninth New York to be Unveiled Monday," *Knoxville Sentinel*, 21 September 1918.

¹²² New York (State) Monuments Commission, 9, 12.

Colonel Lewis R. Stegman of the NYMC spoke next. The colonel understood that Americans were occupied with thoughts of “those cataclysms that are now rending Europe asunder: children not long separated from their perambulators lisp of them, and their grandfathers and great-grandfathers are apt to be interrupted by thoughts of them saying their morning and evening prayers.” Americans could not escape the war during those times, and Stegman regretted that he and his fellow Civil War veterans could not join the military effort. He deplored “the slacker” who did not respond to the call of his country and claimed that the “veterans often wish that we were as young as we used to be so that we could answer the tocsin of war again.” The iconic image of the willing soldier—and his counterpart, the contemptible draft-dodger—reinforced reconciliation in the region. According to speakers like Stegman both Union and Confederate soldiers answered the call of their country and fought to defend their beliefs; for this reason, both deserved accolades and honor in history.¹²³

Two Knoxville representatives—one from the local Grand Army of the Republic and the other from Knoxville’s United Confederate Veterans—spoke later in the proceedings. First, Captain William Rule, former mayor of Knoxville and GAR representative at the Union monument dedication in the Knoxville National Cemetery in 1901, addressed the attendees. During his speech, Rule referred to local support for the Union. When the Highlanders came to Knoxville Rule claimed there were many citizens in the region who “delighted to see them marching under ‘Old Glory,’ whose precious folds they had but rarely seen for quite an interval previously.”¹²⁴ Later, Reverend W. R. Barnett, of the Knoxville United Confederate Veterans, took the opportunity to promote his interpretation of the war. During his oration at the Highlanders monument dedication Barnett illustrated his role in the late “misunderstanding

¹²³ New York (State) Monuments Commission, 17-18.

¹²⁴ New York (State) Monuments Commission, 29-31.

between the states.” The Unionists and Confederates of the country, “having held different opinions about certain questions of State,” fought honorably for their beliefs only to reunite under the flag of a stronger country. Barnett admitted that it would have been better for the South to remain in the Union in 1861 because secession led to so much bloodshed, but he did not renounce the Confederate military. Instead, he claimed that the Union troops outnumbered the Confederate soldiers.¹²⁵ Barnett’s ideas were also indicative of the era. Many Confederate supporters joined the rest of the South in emphasizing Lost Cause ideas. These views of overwhelming odds against the Confederacy that ensured their defeat from the beginning escalated as reconciliation and nationalism became the focus of northerners and southerners. By combining these ideas with concerns about the war in Europe, white East Tennesseans and New Yorkers created an image of patriotism that allowed both groups of white soldiers to claim honor and valor during the 1860s conflict.

Greeneville Union Soldiers Monument, 1919

Despite the reconciliationist attitude in Knoxville other white citizens of East Tennessee rejected reunification. Greeneville Union veterans displayed the greatest antipathy to acknowledging Confederate valor. The town of Greeneville played a fundamental part in the Civil War. Before the conflict prominent leaders held conventions to discuss Unionism and secession in the town. During the war Unionists killed Confederate General John Hunt Morgan and a specific group of bridge-burners emerged from the county. After the war, local citizens erected monuments to many of these events. The Andrew Johnson grave monument was the first in the area, but Greeneville citizens placed the next memorial to Union soldiers in 1919. While

¹²⁵ New York (State) Monuments Commission, 34-36.



Figure 10. Greeneville Union Soldiers Monument
Greene County Courthouse
Greeneville, Tennessee
Photograph by Kelli Nelson

the people of Greeneville had many reasons for erecting memorials, a prominent conflict of the time may have sparked the pursuit to build this specific monument. Divisions between North and South largely waned as Americans moved further from the war. Reconciliation spread as white citizens all over the country began to view Confederate soldiers as honorable despite their defeat. However, several men in Greeneville refused to accept this idea.

In 1903 the federal government opened the ninth National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers (NHDVS) in Johnson City, Tennessee. This facility, called Mountain Branch, contained a domicile for disabled Union veterans and included a greenhouse, library, zoo, theater, baseball field, and infirmary.¹²⁶ From their inception the U. S. government intended these homes exclusively for Union veterans. In order to establish the home in East Tennessee Congressman

¹²⁶ Watauga Association of Genealogists, *History of Washington County Tennessee 1988* (n.p.: Walsworth Press, 1988), 200.

Walter P. Brownlow, nephew of former Unionist and governor William G. Brownlow, invoked the image of Unionist East Tennessee. According to historian Tom Lee the managing board of the soldiers' home initially rejected Brownlow's proposal, but he arranged a five-minute meeting where he "repeated the oft told story of East Tennessee's loyalty during the Civil War." This quickly incited interest in placing the facility in Johnson City and the House of Representatives passed the bill in 1901.¹²⁷

In 1915 California Senator John D. Works proposed a bill concerning soldiers' homes for Confederate veterans. According to Captain William E. F. Milburn of Greeneville Works's first proposal contained a description to make Johnson City's Mountain Branch NHDVS into a facility for Confederate soldiers and their wives.¹²⁸ This alleged designation incited strong protest from the members of the Greeneville Grand Army of the Republic. In March 1916 the Greeneville *Searchlight* contained a letter of grievances from the local GAR Burnside Post No. 8. Organization commander, O. T. French listed several resolutions against the bill including local Union soldiers' regard that it was

an insult to the loyalty, patriotism, fidelity and courage of the Union soldiers dead and living, a humiliation of the patriotism of East Tennessee, to drive out the . . . aged, war-worn veterans from this Home and install in their stead some of the same men who drove them from their mountain home in 1861-1865.

White Greeneville Union veterans were appalled at the idea of letting former Confederates into the federal facility.¹²⁹

The Greeneville GAR expressed the veracity of their opposition in other resolutions against the bill. These Union veterans were also against the decree because it proposed to allow

¹²⁷ Tom Lee, "The Lost Cause That Wasn't: East Tennessee and the Myth of Unionist Appalachia," in *Reconstructing Appalachia: The Civil War's Aftermath*, ed. Andrew L. Slap (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2010), 313-314.

¹²⁸ "Soldiers Home a Monument," Greeneville *Searchlight*, 23 March 1916. Captain Milburn was once commander of the Department of Tennessee GAR and Quartermaster at the Mountain Branch National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers. Hale and Merritt, 6: 1790.

¹²⁹ "Union Soldiers Oppose Bill," Greeneville *Searchlight*, 9 March 1916.

Confederate veterans' wives into the facility while Union soldiers' wives could not become members at all. Instead, Union wives had "to camp on the outside," and could "not be pensioned unless . . . married before July 27th, 1890." Although, according to French,

the ex-Confederate soldier can marry any old courtesan the day before he is admitted, or the day of admission, or any old time thereafter, and his wife is admitted, housed, clothed, fed, furnished medical attention, at the public expense.

These Greeneville veterans believed the bill was an insult to the sacrifices of their fellow Unionist East Tennesseans in various ways.¹³⁰

The conflict did not end with this opposition. Apparently, a few days after the GAR's protest, the editor of the *Greeneville Democrat* expressed his own feelings. While this editorial no longer exists the *Searchlight* printed the GAR's heated reply where they called the *Democrat* editor "venomous, unpatriotic," and "void of the true principles of manhood." The Union veterans ended their reply by encouraging the editor to recite "the Lord's prayer in earnest and stop his blasphemy and live on the doctrine contained in the 7th Chapter and 12th Verse of St. Matthew's Gospel. If this Editor has no Bible the GAR will loan him one."¹³¹ In the end the members of Greeneville's Burnside Post No. 8 felt it an insult to allow Confederate veterans, "whose only title would be that they shot at the Flag," into their NHDVS.

When the local government began planning for a new Greene County courthouse in June 1916, the Burnside Post members already had plans to erect a Union soldiers' monument in front of the new structure. The next year they created a monument commission consisting of prominent Greene county men, including Newton C. Myers, whose father was a Union veteran, and W. H. Piper, county court clerk and local lawyer.¹³² These men headed an extensive effort

¹³⁰ "Union Soldiers Oppose Bill," *Greeneville Searchlight*, 9 March 1916.

¹³¹ "G. A. R. Replies to the Editorial," *Greeneville Searchlight*, 23 March 1916.

¹³² Greene County History Book Committee, *Historic Greene County, Tennessee and Its People: 1783-1992* (Waynesville, NC: Don Mills Inc., 1992), 253.

to raise funds for the memorial on a plot of land donated by the county court. Each month the *Greeneville Searchlight* included a list of contributors. As of October 1917 the commission had raised over \$1,000 toward the monument fund.¹³³ The *Greeneville Sun* finally reported the arrival of the statue in March 1919.¹³⁴ Like other monuments of the time the memorial is made up of a large stone base capped by a soldier standing at parade-rest. The four sides of the base contain various inscriptions. The front reads “To the memory of the Union soldiers who enlisted in the Union Army from Greene County, War 1861-1865.” The left side and back commemorate the Greeneville Burnside Post No. 8 of the GAR and the Union Soldiers’ Monument Association for their involvement in erecting the memorial. Finally, the inscription on the right side captures the GAR members’ general feelings at the time. It says, “In the hour of their country’s peril they were loyal and true” (Figure 10). The Union soldiers were the true patriots and the GAR members resisted assisting Confederate veterans who previously fought against them.

The conflict that led to the Greeneville monument was indicative of post-World War I American attitudes. As men returned to the United States the country’s economy fell as numerous workers flooded a lacking job market. In addition “the nation’s wartime unity disintegrated” without a mutual enemy to rally behind. The monument in Greeneville displayed the tension at least between white soldiers, but according to Matthew Lakin, anxiety was especially acute along racial lines. Previously, whites of the region had ignored African Americans in their memorial celebrations. This attitude stemmed from white progressives’ desire to control the African American population through disfranchisement and segregation; however, tensions rose as black World War I veterans returned to the United States. The veterans represented a problem to the racial order of the Progressive Era. These men who fought

¹³³ “Union Soldiers’ Monument Fund,” *Greeneville Searchlight*, 18 October 1917.

¹³⁴ “Union Soldiers Monument Arrived,” *Greeneville Sun*, 20 March 1919.

alongside whites against foreign threats to democracy returned home to have their rights stripped.

Tennesseans did not escape the repercussions of this conflict. During the same year that the Union soldiers' monument arrived in Greeneville a race riot exploded in an East Tennessee city that had once "prided itself on its peaceful race relations." Since the Civil War, Knoxville's population steadily rose as both whites and blacks moved into the industrial hub. Racial tension was part of everyday life in the city, but it only became violent on a few occasions. The anxiety exploded into violence when a prominent black man was accused of murdering a local white woman in late August 1919. White mobs stormed the Knoxville jail as authorities shouted that guardsmen had already moved the suspect to Chattanooga. Once inside the mob members ransacked the building and freed the white prisoners. Then the fighting moved outside where black Knoxvillians had armed themselves for the approaching attack. The two groups warred in the streets until 3 a.m. when a regiment of National Guardsmen arrived to quell the conflict. The numbers of killed and wounded remained a mystery as rumors circulated of body counts from two to hundreds.

The suspect, Maurice Mays, returned to Knoxville for his trial in late September. Judge Thomas A. R. Nelson, Jr., whose father was one of East Tennessee's most ardent Unionists, presided over the trial. Despite their existence Nelson would not allow testimonies from three white women who were similarly attacked while Mays was imprisoned, and an all white jury convicted him of the murder. Nelson sentenced Mays to the death penalty, but recent Tennessee state law afforded this responsibility to the jurors. Due to Nelson's mistake the Tennessee Supreme Court overruled the conviction and ordered a new trial. The new trial took place in April 1921. Again, the testimonies of the assaulted women were excluded, and the jury once

again convicted and sentenced Mays to death. In March 1922 Maurice Mays died in the electric chair in Nashville.¹³⁵

The legacy of the riot remained in Knoxville's memory throughout the 1920s and 1930s. The city verged on violence against accused African American men in 1921, 1929, and 1933.¹³⁶ Although no significant event occurred, the fear of mob brutality lingered as whites and blacks mingled within the city. Changes within East Tennessee society also caused tension as working-class whites fought to sustain social superiority. The next monuments did not appear until the late 20s and early 30s and were all designated for Confederate men and women. Local UDC chapters headed these efforts and the memorials demonstrated the evolution of the Lost Cause in the region. As racial tensions flared white East Tennessee women promoted images of brave Confederates and continued their work to protect white superiority. The riot signified the attitudes many East Tennesseans held during the 1920s. Racial ideas remained important as rural citizens of the region flooded local cities to find jobs and the optimism of the Progressive Era faded as citizens asked whether the region, "which they had once hoped would be saved by industrialization, could now be saved from it."¹³⁷

¹³⁵ For a synopsis of the events during the 1919 Knoxville race riot see Matthew Lakin, "A Dark Night: The Knoxville Race Riot of 1919," *Journal of East Tennessee History* 72 (2000): 1-29.

¹³⁶ Lakin, 28.

¹³⁷ James Cobb, *Industrialization and Southern Society, 1877-1984* (Chicago: Dorsey Press, 1984), 4.

CHAPTER 4

“TO KEEP GREEN SOUTHERN VALOR”

EAST TENNESSEE UNITED DAUGHTERS OF THE CONFEDERACY AND THE MAKING OF A CONFEDERATE TRADITION, 1920-1931

In March 1925 Governor Austin Peay of Tennessee signed the Butler Act into law. This measure, initially proposed by a Middle Tennessee preacher, forbade teaching evolution in the states' public schools. A few months later three men, gathered at F. E. Robinson's drugstore in Dayton, Tennessee, began discussing the measure. Together, the men formulated a plan to enlist a local teacher to challenge Tennessee's new law and they invited John Thomas Scopes to join their conversation. Scopes, a local physics and math teacher, did not initially agree to the measure—mainly because he only tutored biology and could not be assured that he had actually violated the law—but he eventually accepted the challenge. The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) agreed to back Scopes, and he was charged on May 7. ACLU lawyer, Clarence Darrow defended the young teacher against the fundamentalist and three-time presidential candidate, William Jennings Bryan. Darrow, an agnostic, took the opportunity to challenge religion in the region and made the trial into a battle over Christianity. During the trial Darrow challenged Bryan's literal interpretation of the Bible and questioned the validity of the law. Despite Darrow's impassioned defense a jury convicted Scopes on July 21, 1925. In the end Scopes paid the fine for violating the law and eventually moved on, but the implications of the so called “Monkey Trial” resonated in the region for many more years.¹³⁸

The trial in East Tennessee was indicative of broader issues in Appalachia at the time. At this time white citizens of the region were experiencing a conservative backlash to the changes

¹³⁸ Paul H. Bergeron, et. al. *Tennesseans and Their History* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1999), 249-253; Edward Caudill, Edward Larson, and Jesse Fox Mayshark, *The Scopes Trial: A Photographic History* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2000), 1-20.

occurring the in 1920s. World War I shattered the optimism of the Progressive Era and people began to retaliate against the ills of industrialization. In their pursuit whites sought to return to traditional social, racial, and gender roles. While Appalachians did not fully reject the modernization that gave them new opportunities in urban areas at a time of rural recession many experienced “a life of struggle, hardship, and despair” when the factories and mills did not yield economic prosperity as promised.¹³⁹ Many lost their former independence as they moved from their farms into the cities. For this reason white Appalachians focused on the issues they could control: religion, family, and racial stability. They concentrated on Christianity and maintaining a familial structure where men provided both capital and protection. Women were meant to respect their husbands and blacks faced persecution and violence if they stepped over the line drawn by local whites. The Scopes trial represented the search for traditional values in East Tennessee as fundamentalists railed against teaching any theory that “denied the story of the Divine Creation of man as taught in the Bible, and to teach instead that man has descended from a lower order of animals.”¹⁴⁰ This attitude defined East Tennessee throughout the 1920s.

Southern historians often emphasize transition from a rural to urban world in explaining southerners’ reactions to modernism.¹⁴¹ This transformation also shaped East Tennessee as cities experienced an eighty percent population increase on average while their surrounding counties only increased seven percent from 1920-1930. In 1910 only two of Tennessee’s five largest cities were located in East Tennessee. By 1930 three more cities in the eastern portion of the

¹³⁹ Ronald Eller, *Miners, Millhands, and Mountaineers: Industrialization of the Appalachian South, 1880-1930* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1982), xxiv.

¹⁴⁰ “Tennessee Evolution Statutes: Public Acts of the State of Tennessee Passed by the Sixth-Fourth General Assembly, 1925,” <http://law2.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ftrials/scopes/tennstat.htm>, (accessed October 23, 2011).

¹⁴¹ For more information see James Cobb, *Industrialization and Southern Society, 1877-1984* (Chicago: Dorsey Press, 1984); William R. Majors, *Change and Continuity: Tennessee Politics since the Civil War* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1989); Paul H. Bergeron, et al. *Tennesseans and Their History* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1999); and Tom Lee, *The Tennessee-Virginia Tri-Cities: Urbanization in Appalachia, 1900-1950* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2005).

state emerged as urban areas giving East Tennessee five out of the eight largest cities in the state.¹⁴² As the cities grew many East Tennesseans confronted modernism by reinforcing traditional values. The Ku Klux Klan (KKK) organized klaverns throughout the region and the group held significant support in northeastern Tennessee's booming cities of Johnson City, Kingsport, and Bristol.¹⁴³ Cities in the region also saw several labor disputes at this time. Female garment workers went on strike in Chattanooga in 1922, and workers in Elizabethton, Carter County's largest town, walked off their factory jobs at local rayon plants in 1929.¹⁴⁴ Many African Americans in the state joined the "Great Migration" out of the South and sought jobs in northern industrial cities, while those who stayed experienced continued oppression and violence in the region. Factory life was dull, hard, and unsatisfying and people sought to elevate themselves in other ways as they trudged through the monotony. Blacks and whites contended for jobs that paid pittance. Women joined their husbands in the workplaces, but families still struggled. In all the woes experienced by East Tennesseans at this time coalesced to create an atmosphere where the people of the region mourned "the loss of a (perhaps mythical) rural would of Christian faith and social harmony."¹⁴⁵

This search for tradition legitimized the efforts of the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) to promote Confederate memory in one section of southern Appalachia. During the 1920s and into the early 1930s the Confederate image promoted by the UDC appealed to white East Tennesseans. The courageous Confederate soldier, dignified southern lady, and the loyal slave were images that fit Appalachian needs and helped white citizens find

¹⁴² Bureau of the Census. *1930 Census of Population and Housing: Population: Tennessee*. Washington, DC: Bureau of the Census, 1930. <http://www.census.gov/prod/www/abs/decennial/1930.html> (accessed August 9, 2011).

¹⁴³ Lee, 116-118; Bergeron, 247-249.

¹⁴⁴ "Miller Strikers Issue Challenge," *The Garment Worker*, 1 September 1922 in *The Garment Worker: Official Organ of the United Garment Workers*, 21 (n.p.: United Garment Workers, [1922?]), 357; Lee, 139-152.

¹⁴⁵ Bergeron, et. al., 243-244, 247.

power in history where none existed in the present. In addition, they helped educate the region's youth to perpetuate the Lost Cause in society. While this was not largely dissimilar from their previous counterparts, the women in the 1920s East Tennessee UDC solidified an idealized Confederate image in a region that once contained significant Union strength. In order to accomplish their task the women concentrated on providing approved books to local libraries and schools to ensure youth's access to their versions of southern history. In addition monuments served as educational tools to perpetuate a Confederate image to others in the region and many more generations. The stones represented the women's attitudes as they merged modernism with traditional values at the dedication ceremonies. Their efforts effectively eliminated promotion of a Unionist legacy and tied Confederate history to traditional values in East Tennessee. Overall, women's work through the UDC and the regional search for traditional values among the rapidly changing society allowed Confederate memory to dominate in East Tennessee after 1920.

Most of the women who led the East Tennessee UDC in the 1920s were part of a generation born during or after the war. They had little to no recollection of the conflict and some probably could not recall the events of Reconstruction. As the first generation of Confederate descendents without direct knowledge of the war, they formulated their ideas based on their parents' teachings. For this reason the women represented a significant hinge to perpetuating the legacy of the Lost Cause. While caring for aging veterans remained the organization's priority, chapters throughout the region also concentrated on educating the next generation on their views of southern history. The East Tennessee chapters worked to place "accurate" southern histories into local schools and raised funds for scholarships for deserving Confederate descendents. The women also encouraged their chapters to form auxiliary organizations of Children of the Confederacy (C. of C.). At least five of the seven C. of C.

chapters in East Tennessee were chartered after 1920. Various women in UDC chapters throughout the region also championed education. Florence Goodman of Knoxville established one chapter of the C. of C., Mattie Yearwood of Sweetwater served as “the first President of the Public School Improvement Union, the forerunner of the Sweetwater Parent-Teachers Association,” and Mollie Kavanaugh of Chattanooga was Chairman of Education for the state division UDC during this time.¹⁴⁶

The books promoted by the East Tennessee UDC displayed their racial ideas and views on the causes of the war. One work, *Women of the South in War Times*, argued that the war was never about slavery because the slaves were happy. In fact writer Michael Page Andrews contended that the slaves “all were savages taken from the lowest forms of jungle life” and “it was largely the women of the South who trained these heathen people, moulded [*sic*] their characters, and, in the second and third generations, lifted them up a thousand years in the scale of civilization.” Andrews also claimed that the conflict could not have been over slavery because there were several instances of northern emancipationists who came to the South before the war and joined the Confederacy when the fighting began.¹⁴⁷ In the 1920s the East Tennessee UDC chapters joined with the rest of the Tennessee Division to disseminate Andrews’s work to other citizens throughout the region and state. One other work that the Erwin UDC endorsed at this time was R. G. Horton’s *Youth’s History of the Great Civil War in the United States from 1861 to 1865*. Written in 1867 the writer began by claiming “the cause of Truth” as the purpose for the work. Horton maintain that his book would give the history of the two American political parties and show that the war “has changed the entire character and system of our Government,

¹⁴⁶ Annie E. Cody, *History of the Tennessee Division United Daughters of the Confederacy* (Nashville: Collum and Ghertner Company, [1946?]), 136-137, 168-169, 216-217, 224.

¹⁴⁷ Matthew Page Andrews, *Women of the South in War Times* (Baltimore: The Norman, Remington Co., 1920), 5, 10, Google Books, http://books.google.com/books?id=zkgEAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false (accessed October 20, 2011).

overthrown the ancient rights of the States, and forced upon the country a so-called Amendment to the Constitution, in the time of war, and against the free and unbiased action of the people.”¹⁴⁸ These were just a few of the many books the East Tennessee women endorsed during the 1920s and each displayed their attitudes about the Civil War that echoed racial order in the Appalachian South.

A few of the East Tennessee UDC members also wrote their own pieces to depict their views. In an article titled “To Keep Green Southern Valor,” Mrs. H. M. Branson, treasurer of the Sam Davis Chapter No. 410 UDC in Morristown, argued that one of the most important goals of the UDC was to promote southern valor. While elaborating on this idea Branson also explained the organization’s racial attitudes. She argued against immigrants and claimed that the United States could not “exist half European, half American.” In fact Branson vilified anyone outside of the “Anglo-Saxon race.” Valor, specifically southern valor, thrived best in white citizens of the country and southerners like Branson and her UDC sisters were thankful that “ninety-eight percent of the white population of the Southern States” was made of “the purest Anglo-Saxon blood to be found in any section” of the country. The men of this pure race shaped the country from “ocean to ocean” and consistently “filled and refilled the presidential chair.” According to Branson whites also made up the entire army of the United States and were “admired all over the world as a soldier.” Sam Davis, a Confederate soldier who was executed for possessing Union battle plans when captured by the federal army and subsequently refused to tell where he obtained the papers, embodied Branson’s ideal. As “a plain soldier of the Confederacy,” Davis “was one of the greatest heroes in all history.” Throughout her speech Branson stressed the

¹⁴⁸ R. G. Horton, *A Youth’s History of the Great Civil War in the United States, from 1861 to 1865* (New York: Van Evrie, Horton, & Co., 1867), iv, Google Books, http://books.google.com/books?id=ILVvUd8R7XcC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0# (accessed October 22, 2011).

importance for the UDC to carry on this image. She believed their work would “be the salvation of the world in years to come.”¹⁴⁹

Branson’s writings represented a shift in attitudes during the 1920s. Whites of the region feared racial and political upheaval. They not only feared that African Americans would climb the social ladder, but they also worried that immigrants would bring Communism and socialism to America. In the immediate post-World War I years people panicked at the thought of a socialist uprising in the country and tensions led to the resurgence of the KKK.¹⁵⁰ In northeast Tennessee, local men formed klaverns in the early 1920s. According to historian Kenneth T. Jackson, the members of the Knoxville Klan were typically “thirty-five years of age, 157 pounds in weight, and Fundamentalist in religion.” In addition they had little education, and “only one member in fifteen boasted of a high school education.”¹⁵¹ These men from Knoxville branched out through upper East Tennessee to form other klaverns in the Tri-Cities area where citizens were experiencing urban booms. Historian Tom Lee emphasized that the appearance of the KKK in this area “in the early 1920s reflected the importance of race to the rise of manufacturing and the urban ethos.” The KKK’s presence in the region signified average fears at the time and the organization “had much in common with those intent upon maintaining social stability in a rapidly changing society.”¹⁵²

The women of the UDC kept a similar attitude as they promoted the purity of Anglo-Saxonism in the region. Their outlook not only tied to images of African Americans in the region, but it also reflected stereotypes of whiteness in Appalachia. Historian Henry Shapiro argued that local color writers painted an image of Appalachians a people with a pure Anglo-

¹⁴⁹ Branson, 259-260.

¹⁵⁰ Allen, 39.

¹⁵¹ Kenneth T. Jackson, *The Ku Klux Klan in the City, 1915-1930* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), 64.

¹⁵² Lee, 116-117.

Saxon heritage. The mountaineers represented contemporary American ancestors, reflective of the pioneers, who maintained an “otherness.” These exceptional harkened their ancestry from Scottish Highlanders with perfuse individualist attitudes. After World War I the mountaineers represented “a crucial link between the United States and our British ally.”¹⁵³ By claiming Confederate valor in Anglo-Saxons Branson further tied the region to the Confederacy and helped promote the UDC image of the South.

When the 1930s began the women who made up the East Tennessee UDC during the last decade began to build monuments to their ideal soldiers. Northeast Tennessee women, sometimes in conjunction with the state division, erected three memorials in 1930 and 1931. Together, these monuments represented the UDC’s creation of a Confederate image that embodied their views of southern valor that included honor for white men and women and separation of the races. By building these stones the UDC left a lasting impression of Confederate heroism that contemporary citizens could embrace. The Confederate soldier represented a brave leader who cared for his family; the southern lady depicted the image of moral guardian; and the faithful slave embodied the obedient African American. The memorials represented the glory and stability that white East Tennesseans sought amidst dissatisfaction with industrial life.

Erwin Memorial, 1930

The Rosalie Brown Chapter No. 1763 erected the first Confederate memorial of the 1930s in Unicoi County’s governmental seat, Erwin. The Tennessee government established Unicoi County from portions of northeaster neighbors Washington and Carter counties in March 1875. Throughout its history the county population remained relatively small, but the citizens

¹⁵³ Henry Shapiro, *Appalachia on Our Mind: The Southern Mountains and Mountaineers in the American Consciousness, 1870-1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1978), 218.



Figure 11. Erwin Confederate Monument
Erwin, Tennessee
Photograph by Kelli Nelson

experienced industrial growth during the 1920s. Road improvement and development occurred in the first half of the decade when the Board of Mayor and Aldermen approved an ordinance “providing for paving streets in the newly developed residential areas: Opekiska, Catawba, Clinchfield, Union, Tucker, Park, Third, and Elm Street.” In 1923 the Carolina, Clinchfield, and Ohio Railway (CC&O) acquired twenty new engines “to handle increased traffic” from the coalfields of Virginia and North Carolina and the company undertook a major construction project to house their expanding business.¹⁵⁴

Throughout its history the railroad played an important role in the county. In 1886 the Charleston, Cincinnati, and Chicago Railroad (3-C) came through Unicoi County in the northern section of the region. In addition workers began what would become the CC&O in 1893, but the

¹⁵⁴ James A. Goforth, *Erwin Tennessee: A Pictorial History, 1891-1929* (Johnson City, TN: Overmountain Press, 2004), 93-97.

rail line experienced problems and was not completed until 1909.¹⁵⁵ At this time railroad entrepreneurs sought workers to operate the machines and their facilities and provided jobs to many citizens of the county. Despite the early success of the railroad in the area workers were unsatisfied with their treatment after World War I. After increasing pay throughout the war years employers sought to reduce wages in 1921 and 1922. While workers accepted the decrease in 1921 they refused to take another reduction and the shop employees went on strike in July 1922. The availability of labor undermined their efforts, however, because railroad employers simply hired other workers to replace those who refused to budge. In the end many of the laborers lost their jobs or returned to work at even lower rates.¹⁵⁶

The same year that the workers went on strike women from Unicoi County's principle town of Erwin formed the Rosalie Brown Chapter of the UDC and began efforts to build a monument in their city to "Confederate Veterans, to the women of the Confederacy, and to the Boys of the World War." The monument, an eleven-foot obelisk with a four-foot square base, stands in a triangular patch of grass between Ohio Avenue and Unaka Way.¹⁵⁷ Three sides contain commemorations while the fourth acknowledges work of the Rosalie Brown Chapter (Figure 11). The face toward Unaka Way contains an American flag and an inscription from President Woodrow Wilson. This dedication to the soldiers of World War I helped validate the work of the UDC by connecting the Confederate memorial to a more recent event in national history. The women chose to include a portion of Wilson's armistice speech where he said that World War I veterans, "in righteous cause . . . won immortal glory, and nobly served their nation in serving mankind." While they attributed the words to the former president on the memorial,

¹⁵⁵ Unicoi County Heritage Book Committee, *Unicoi County Tennessee and Its People, 1875-1995* (Waynesville, NC: Don Mills, 1995), 1; Goforth, 40-41.

¹⁵⁶ Goforth, 46-48.

¹⁵⁷ "A Fitting Program Will be Arranged by Chapter," *Erwin Record*, 2 May 1930.

the language of the quote closely resembled the UDC's rhetoric about the valor of Confederate soldiers. This connection helped solidify the women's depictions of the legacy of Confederate valor to future generations. During their meetings throughout the 1920s the East Tennessee women consistently referred to the men "that wore the khaki," and the various chapters in the region joined UDC women throughout the nation to identify the World War I veterans with Confederate lineage. In 1920 the Chattanooga General A. P. Stewart Chapter No. 81 reported "625 names of men of Confederate ancestry who served in the World War."¹⁵⁸

The Confederate battle flag adorns the front of the monument with a dedication to the Confederate soldiers "who died for a sacred cause and to those who lived to win a nobler victory in time of peace." While the monument endorsers did not specify what they meant by this inscription, it could imply a victory over Reconstruction in the state. After the Civil War Governor William G. Brownlow concentrated on not only punishing Confederate sympathizers, but also ensuring African Americans exercised their right to vote (and cast their ballots for Brownlow and his allies). After 1870, however, Democrats regained control of the state government and Jim Crow reigned. By 1905 black and white Tennesseans were separated in schools, hotels, railroad cars, and streetcars.¹⁵⁹ Historian Bruce Baker argued that southern politicians worked against Congressman Henry Cabot Lodge's 1889 bill to protect African American voting rights by invoking images of the horrors of Reconstruction, and their work killed the bill by 1891.¹⁶⁰ Because of the images the UDC women promoted at this time it is

¹⁵⁸ United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Twenty-Fourth Annual Convention Tennessee Division* (Jackson, TN: Long-Johnson, 1920), 69.

¹⁵⁹ "Jim Crow Laws: Tennessee," <http://www.jimcrowhistory.org/scripts/jimcrow/insidesouth.cgi?state=Tennessee> (accessed October 22, 2011).

¹⁶⁰ Bruce Baker, *What Reconstruction Meant: Historical Memory in the American South* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2007), 22-25.

likely that overturning equality measures that African Americans gained during Reconstruction was the “nobler victory” they sought to honor with the Erwin memorial.

Like other towns in the region Erwin experienced labor tension in the 1920s. The Clinchfield Railroad strike demonstrated workers’ dissatisfaction with their jobs and the Klan held a significant presence in the town.¹⁶¹ Women also played important roles in industrial recruitment. In the late 1910s CC&O employees sought industry for cities and towns through which their rail line ran. One of the most important factors in Erwin was the local availability of women willing to work in low paying jobs.¹⁶² In 1930 the UDC women relayed their views on women’s roles in society and probably felt this was an important issue in light of the increasing numbers of women joining the workforce in their town. The back of the monument celebrates Confederate women “whose fidelity, whose purity, whose courage, whose gentle genius in love and in counsel, kept the home secure, the family a school of virtue, the state a court of honor, who made of war a season of heroism and of peace a time of healing—the guardians of our tranquility and of our strength.” This inscription represented traditional female roles that the women of the Confederacy embodied. According to Karen Cox the UDC women prided themselves on acting like “southern ladies” of the Old South whom they saw in opposition to immoral women of the 1920s.¹⁶³ For this reason they uplifted Confederate women who protected traditional gender roles and the Erwin monument reinforced the idea of women as moral guardians of their homes.

The *Erwin Record* estimated that approximately three hundred people attended the dedication ceremonies. The Rosalie Brown Chapter president first introduced Dr. J. L. Rosser

¹⁶¹ Goforth, 103.

¹⁶² Lee, 78.

¹⁶³ Karen Cox, *Dixie’s Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003), 33.

from Bristol, Tennessee, who gave a speech entitled, “The Inspiration of the Confederate Soldier.” According to the *Erwin Record* Rosser spoke eloquently about “the influence of Jefferson Davis, and the beloved leader of the Southland, Robert E. Lee not forgetting the great part the heroic women of the South played during the four years of unceasing warfare.”¹⁶⁴ Next, Mrs. Wade Barrier, state historian for the UDC, gave an oration about Confederate women; then R. W. Brown of the local Veterans’ Committee presented the Southern Cross of Honor to Erwin’s only living Confederate Veteran at the time, Elbert L. Bailey. A saxophonic “Dixie” rang through the air “as the feeble old man, proudly erect, with eyes shining like the stars, stepped forward to have this badge of honor pinned on his coat.” D. H. Rosier of the Unaka Post American Legion spoke for local World War I veterans who held “deep honor and reverence . . . for those who wore the gray of the Confederacy.”¹⁶⁵ Ultimately, the monument depicted Unicoi County as Confederate despite that it developed out of two Unionist counties.

General Morgan Monument, 1931

In 1931 the lawn of the courthouse in Greeneville already contained a monument to Andrew Johnson and Union soldiers in the area, but members of East Tennessee’s UDC sought to erect a second memorial. Although Greeneville only held a population of just over 5,500 people in 1930 the town experienced a similar percentage of growth as the largest cities in East Tennessee during the 1920s. Two regional urbanites played important roles in erecting the memorial on the Greeneville courthouse lawn. Mary Vestal Monday of Knoxville and Samuel Cole Williams of Johnson City helped develop the monument, although they seem to have

¹⁶⁴ “Impressive Memorial Program Featured the Unveiling U. D. C. Monument on City Parkway,” *Erwin Record*, 6 June 1930.

¹⁶⁵ “Impressive Memorial Program Featured the Unveiling U. D. C. Monument on City Parkway,” *Erwin Record*, 6 June 1930.



Figure 12. General Morgan Monument
Greene County Courthouse
Greeneville, Tennessee
Photograph by Kelli Nelson

placed the stone in secret. According to a report in 1975 the individuals involved in the erection of the Morgan monument placed the memorial on the courthouse lawn in the middle of the night.¹⁶⁶ Although this statement remains unconfirmed due to a lack of records 1930s newspaper reports show that the stone was already in place when the locals held a small dedication ceremony on May 10.¹⁶⁷ Despite when the monument was placed it still represented East Tennesseans' glorification of Morgan as a hero and the East Tennessee UDC's efforts to solidify Confederate history as in the region.

Although there is no evidence as to when the monument was placed on the courthouse lawn UDC historian, Annie E. Cody, later wrote that Mary Monday "secured the beautiful

¹⁶⁶ Bill Wilburn, "Courthouse Monuments: Echoes from a Living Past," *Greeneville Sun Week-ENDER*, 29 March 1975.

¹⁶⁷ "Tennessee Division U. D. C. Will Unveil Monument to Gen. John H. Morgan in Greeneville, Sunday," *Johnson City Chronicle*, 9 May 1931.

marble shaft, had it lettered, delivered and erected on the Court House lawn in Greeneville, Tennessee, honoring John H. Morgan” in 1931.¹⁶⁸ The monument is a stone block that stands about six feet tall and is four feet wide. Both the sides and back remain rough, while the front is smooth and bears an inscription written by Johnson City judge and historian, Samuel Cole Williams (Figure 12). The inscription lists many of Morgan’s military accomplishments including holding the rank of first lieutenant in the Mexican War, colonel of the 2nd Kentucky Cavalry, and his appointment to brigadier general in December 1862. Williams also shortly described Morgan’s involvement in the Civil War by stating that the general’s

command, never exceeding 4000 men, was composed largely of Kentuckians and Tennesseans. It was renowned for boldness and celerity on raid, carrying terror into the region north of the Ohio.

The “Great Raider” was surprised at night and killed by a detachment of the command of Gen. A. C. Gillem on the premises of the Williams home near this spot September 4 1864.

The inscription ends with a tribute to Morgan, whose “heroism is the heritage of the South.”¹⁶⁹

According to the monument Morgan was a great hero of the South that Union troops killed at the height of his accomplishments. In reality Morgan and his men were involved in some of the bitterest instances of guerilla violence in East Tennessee. As Unionists sought to banish secessionists out of the region Confederate troops retaliated against locals in the area. Both sides pillaged and plundered, and Morgan’s men played a central role in the skirmishing. Morgan’s raiders burned homes, raped women, and killed Unionists. According to historian Noel Fisher the “men reportedly burned thirty-seven homes in Johnson County, drove the

¹⁶⁸ Cody, 219.

¹⁶⁹ During the Civil War, General Morgan was known as one of the most ferocious raiders in the South. His company of men slashed and burned their way through the region on various different raids through Tennessee, Indiana, Kentucky, and Ohio. The men instilled a fear in both Union soldiers and civilians as they robbed trains, burned homes, and murdered. According to historian Anne Marshall, the Confederate army was even looking into Morgan’s activities when Union troops killed him in Greeneville. Anne Marshall, *Creating a Confederate Kentucky: The Lost Cause and Civil War Memory in a Border State* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 172.

inhabitants out of the region, and killed several men” in July 1864.¹⁷⁰ Despite the violence that occurred during the war the monument in Greeneville depicts a gallant man who boldly upheld the Confederacy. The newspaper reports furthered this image. According to a writer with the *Johnson City Chronicle*, the general “was one of the most picturesque figures of the Confederacy and ‘Morgan’s Raiders’ one of the most dashing and fearless bands of cavalymen.”¹⁷¹

Ultimately, the newspapers and the monument depicted Morgan as a debonair hero who bravely protected the Confederacy despite the number of atrocities he and his men committed in the heat of war.

Mrs. Wade Barrier of the Johnson City UDC helped further this image of Morgan when she wrote an article for the *Confederate Veteran* about the memorial and the unveiling. According to Barrier the “plan to mark the place where Gen. John H. Morgan was killed . . . was first suggested at the East Tennessee District meeting, UDC, at Johnson City in 1928.” The growth the town, however, prevented the women from placing the monument directly on the spot where Morgan fell, and they instead chose the courthouse lawn because it was “near the scene of the tragedy.” The women obtained permission from the county court to place the memorial and the Tennessee Division voted to erect the monument during their 1929 convention in Chattanooga. In her article Barrier briefly overviewed the memorial ceremony in which Edith O’Keefe Susong, a prominent newspaper and businesswoman in Greeneville, gave a speech concerning Morgan’s war career. According to Susong Morgan’s ferocity “made life possible for the Southern sympathizers living in those sections loyal to the Union.” Barrier then recounted the last hours of Morgan’s life. After Unionists killed Morgan they threw the general’s body “across the pommel of a trooper’s saddle” and headed to the Union camp. Once

¹⁷⁰ Fisher, 118.

¹⁷¹ “Tennessee Division U. D. C. Will Unveil Monument to Gen. John H. Morgan in Greeneville, Sunday,” *Johnson City Chronicle*, 9 May 1931.

there, Barrier claimed that Unionists threw Morgan's body to the ground and celebrated "over the bleeding form." The Morgan monument represented the strength of Confederate memory in the region. The women of the UDC promoted Morgan as a valiant hero and claimed that the citizens of Greeneville accepted the memorial "as an integral part of a stainless record" of southern valor.¹⁷²

While Barrier's account revealed some information about the development of the memorial, local folklore suggests that the women secretly placed the stone one night in May 1931. Apocryphal or not, the Morgan monument represented an important step in Civil War memory in East Tennessee. The citizens of the northern portion of the region were in the midst of urbanization during the 1920s and Greeneville was no different. Between 1920 and 1930 the population of the town almost doubled, while the surrounding county's population only increased by two percent. With such rapid change it is likely that Greeneville citizens experienced similar dissatisfaction with urban life as others in the region. While still somewhat controversial the image the UDC created of Morgan allowed the citizens to claim a heroic past that included men who boldly defended their beliefs. The stone also stood as an accomplishment for Confederate memory in the region. By placing the monument in Andrew Johnson's hometown and where two Unionist conventions were held prior to the war, the women of the UDC complicated the federal image of the town and gained a victory for Confederate memory.

Johnson City Training Camp Monument, 1931

Later that year Confederate veterans from Johnson City dedicated their own monument. Despite dwindling numbers Confederate veterans still held an annual reunion at this time. During their 1930 convention in Columbia, Tennessee, veterans from Johnson City invited the Tennessee department to hold the 1931 meeting in their city. The participants approved the

¹⁷² Mrs. Wade Barrier, "Where Morgan Fell," *Confederate Veteran* 39 (December, 1931), 451-452.



Figure 13. Johnson City Training Camp Monument
Lamont Street
Johnson City, Tennessee
Photograph by Kelli Nelson

proposal from the East Tennesseans, and the veterans ended their 1930 gathering with a parade where Tennessee Division United Confederate Veterans (UCV) commander, General Rice Pierce “and his staff rode on an ante-bellum carriage driven by a former slave.”¹⁷³

During the era Johnson City became one of Tennessee’s largest cities. In the early twentieth century, the city was a hub for three different rail lines: The East Tennessee and Western North Carolina; The Carolina, Clinchfield, and Ohio; and the Southern Railway, which incorporated the East Tennessee Virginia and Georgia Railroad. The importance of these connections affected Johnson City as railroad boosters recruited industries during the 1910s and 1920s. They advertised the city’s healthful climate and abundance of labor willing to work for low wages. From 1915 to 1930 recruiters’ efforts aided industrial growth in the city as

¹⁷³ “U. C. V. to Hold 1931 Convention Here; Pierce Reelected to Head,” *Johnson City Chronicle*, 5 October 1930.

companies like Johnson City Shale Brick Corporation and Inter-State Foundry and Machine Company established business in the city. The latter industry “began business solely as a machine shop [in 1924], adding a foundry in 1927 so that it could make steel cases for the rayon industry, mainly American Glanzstoff and American Bemberg in Elizabethton.”¹⁷⁴

Connections with Elizabethton industries were important to Johnson City. The establishments of the two rayon plants in the town benefitted Johnson Citians by creating more jobs that attracted citizens and other industries to the area. In 1925 the Johnson City Chamber of Commerce issued a pamphlet advertizing the city’s benefits to industries. According to historian Marie Tedesco the brochure emphasized the city’s “proximity to southern cotton fields, . . . cheap hydroelectric power, . . . and the chemically pure water of the area.”¹⁷⁵ Connection to the plants also had a negative effect on Johnson City when the workers at both the Glanzstoff and Bemeberg plants went on strike in the 1920s. Because they had “bound their prosperity to the fortunes” of the industry, the city suffered when workers threatened to shut down the facilities by refusing to work.¹⁷⁶ Workers’ problems stemmed from employers’ attitude that surrounded labor in the region. In April 1929 the St. Petersburg, Florida *Independent* reported William Green president of the American Federation of Labor (AFL) accused local boosters of stating “that labor was cheap in this section and that the people of the region were simple minded and wanted but little.” The Johnson City Chamber of Commerce vehemently denied Green’s allegations and offered a \$1,000 reward for substantiation of the claims. According to the Chamber of Commerce their representatives had only claimed that region workers could learn quickly.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁴ Marie Tedesco, “Business and Industry,” in *History of Washington County, Tennessee*, eds. Joyce Cox and W. Eugene Cox (Johnson City, TN: Overmountain Press, 2001), 374-378.

¹⁷⁵ Tedesco, 379-380.

¹⁷⁶ Lee, 141.

¹⁷⁷ “Challenges Labor Leaders to Prove Their Statements,” *St. Petersburg (Florida) Independent*, 11 April 1929.

Although they may not have stated their views just as Green relayed, local boosters maintained a somewhat demeaning attitude toward laborers as they advertised worker abundance and claimed that employers need not fear any uprisings.¹⁷⁸

On October 8, 1931, men began to arrive in Johnson City for the Confederate Veterans reunion. During their stay Johnson Citians hosted the veterans, and the guests stayed in the city's most prominent hotel named after Tennessee's first governor, John Sevier. As Johnson City experienced prosperity the John Sevier Hotel displayed these gains. The first phase, completed in 1924, cost the city one-half million dollars.¹⁷⁹ The luxurious facility became a venue for courting citizens traveling on the three rail connections, and many of the Confederate veterans stayed at the hotel. During their stay the UDC hosted a ball for the visitors at the Sevier Hotel when they arrived in city, and the *Elizabethton Star* reported that the event "was one of the most brilliant held in Johnson City in a number of years."¹⁸⁰

While in Johnson City the veterans elected officers for the Tennessee Division UCV. At this time, the men reelected Pierce state commander. During his opening speech Pierce acknowledged the women of the Confederacy for their work. Later that week the veterans held a parade to close out the reunion. According to the *Knoxville Journal* the mile long procession included "flags, banners, decorated automobiles, soldiers and school children."¹⁸¹ As the participants moved through town they stopped at the corner of Lamont and Tennessee Streets to dedicate a monument erected by the women of the local UDC (Figure 13). The memorial, a square stone marker, commemorated a group of Confederate soldiers who trained at a camp in the city. The memorial reads, "1861 Here was training camp of Confederate regiments from the

¹⁷⁸ Tedesco, 376.

¹⁷⁹ Jon Ruetz, "Good Years: Life and Entertainment," in *History of Washington County Tennessee*, eds. Joyce Cox and W. Eugene Cox (Johnson City, TN: Overmountain Press, 2001), 408.

¹⁸⁰ "Veterans Reception," *Elizabethton Star*, 8 October 1931.

¹⁸¹ "Parade Closes U. C. V. Reunion," *Knoxville Journal*, 10 October 1931.

South on their way by rail to Virginia to join General Lee. In front of this marker was the parade ground. Erected by J. C. Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy.” Judge Williams, who wrote the inscription for the Morgan monument, gave the oration at the dedication.

Williams’s speech revolved around General John H. Savage’s troops who trained and camped in Johnson City before joining the Confederate troops in Virginia. After Williams spoke Boy Scouts held American and Confederate flags over the memorial while the local high school band played.

The Johnson City memorial displayed the UDC’s emphasis on the region’s importance to the Confederacy. By alleging that the troops joined General Robert Lee in Virginia the women connected the city with one of the most sainted men in the Confederacy. This image gave Johnson Citians an important connection to the glory of the Confederacy and legitimized the UDC’s efforts in the region. The memorial also displayed the women’s emphasis on teaching the next generation. Youth participation in the dedications allowed children to become a part of developing a Confederate image in East Tennessee. The women of the UDC also understood that the experience would give youth a lasting, positive memory of the Confederacy. With this image the young people would be more likely to continue the traditions set forth by these women. Due to their efforts East Tennesseans accepted Confederate memory as their own by 1931. Both Union and Confederate East Tennesseans had joined the war in 1861, but the local UDC chapters helped place the region solidly within the Confederacy. The 1931 events in Johnson City displayed the impact of the women’s work. This reunion was the first of its kind to be held in an East Tennessee city. During the proceedings the veterans made plans to visit the region for their next annual reunion in Morristown.¹⁸²

¹⁸² “Parade Closes U. C. V. Reunion,” *Knoxville Journal*, 10 October 1931.

In the end the women of the local UDC were able to make an impact because their image of the Confederacy spoke to the ills of the region. Where Unionism had once prevailed, now a Confederate heritage—with its valiant soldiers, faithful slaves, and stately women—appealed to the mountaineers. As many moved from the countryside to the cities, white East Tennesseans most likely experienced what historian James Cobb called “a sacrifice of . . . self-respect” as they lost their rural autonomy. They reacted conservatively as they looked for ways to promote morality and maintain racial segregation. The Confederate image endorsed by the UDC embodied this by providing a chivalrous, racially divided past that white East Tennesseans could invoke. Rightly or not, the women had depicted East Tennessee as a Confederate stronghold, and their efforts had a lasting impact on the region that continued to resonate even as the nation began the Civil War’s sesquicentennial in 2011.

CHAPTER 5

EPILOGUE

Since East Tennesseans began to build Civil War monuments, their memory of the events has evolved through various stages. Initially, many people of the region recognized the benefit of appealing to national industries by emphasizing their Unionist heritage. As time progressed and whites throughout the nation began to emphasize reconciliation, East Tennesseans joined the movement to promote reform within growing industrialization. Many whites began to build monuments emphasizing reconciliation and used the dedications to promote nationalism. This progressive attitude allowed women in the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) to promote their views of the war without fear of public backlash in their region. Their charitable missions and views on racial stability legitimized the organization in the white public's view and Confederate memory grew stronger in the region. After World War I, however, progressives lost much of their optimism. The war brought racial tensions to the forefront as rural whites flooded regional cities in search of jobs. Loss of autonomy and monotonous factory work left East Tennesseans in search of traditions of valor, honor, and glory and the women of the UDC provided this with their images of Confederate memory. Overall, these local women helped morph the region's Civil War memory from one of dominant Unionism to an important contribution to Confederate memory.

Erection of monuments allowed specific citizens to solidify their ideas in the region. The monument developers gathered speakers to reinforce their views at dedications, and newspaper reports disseminated the ideas to literate citizens throughout East Tennessee and the nation. By invoking depictions of Unionism or the Confederacy individuals and groups within the region were able to promote their views. Their efforts to mold memory of the Civil War allowed

specific businessmen, politicians, and middle-class women to display their viewpoints on industry, morality, and other changes that took place in East Tennessee during this time. The monuments they left perpetuated particular ideas about the war and allowed future generations a glimpse into contemporary society. However, memorial efforts did not end in 1931. Individuals, historical societies, and lineage associations continued to develop monuments dedicated to various aspects of East Tennessee Civil War history.

In the eighty years since the Johnson City Chapter UDC erected their monument East Tennesseans continued to mold Civil War memory. During this time Andrew Johnson's home in Greeneville became one of the most important in the region. Martha Johnson Patterson, Andrew Johnson's oldest daughter, died in 1901. Upon her death she willed her father's home and gravesite to the national government. Twenty years later the state of Tennessee appropriated \$15,000 for the preservation of the ex-president's tailor shop in Greeneville. In 1935 Tennessee Representative B. Carroll Reece, originally from East Tennessee, and Senator Kenneth McKellar sponsored legislation combining Andrew Johnson's tailor shop and homestead with the local cemetery into a national monument. After some debate President Franklin D. Roosevelt finalized the measure in 1942. In the early 1960s the United States National Park Service (NPS) acquired Johnson's "Early Home" and the government renamed the location the Andrew Johnson National Historic Site (ANJO). Today the site incorporates and manages three buildings and the Andrew Johnson National Cemetery that extends the length of historic downtown Greeneville (Figure 14).¹⁸³

The Johnson Site has experienced various interpretative changes throughout its history. For the first few decades visitors wandered freely through the facilities with little assistance from

¹⁸³ Cameron Binkley, *Andrew Johnson National Historic Site: Administrative History* (Atlanta: Cultural Resources Southeast Region National Park Service, 2007), 6-8, 121.

the staff. Beginning in the 1970s, however, park rangers developed a living history interpretation that featured local musicians playing the parlor piano in nineteenth century dress. In 1988 Union reenactors used the Johnson site for their encampment and developed an educational image to “demonstrate what life was like during the impeachment trial of President Andrew Johnson.” The managers incorporated guided tours of the Homestead to give visitors the chance to ask the park rangers questions in 1993. In the next few years the NPS established a long-range plan for the facility that included three primary themes:

- (1) The Presidency and the U. S. Constitution, national reunification following the Civil War, impeachment, the pardoning of ex-Confederate soldiers, Black Codes and the Freedman’s Bureau.
- (2) Johnson as the Common Man, the Champion of the Working Class; the Homestead Act and Civil War demobilization, Johnson’s office succession and his role as Governor of Tennessee.
- (3) Family life, Johnson’s humble origins, migration, women’s role, tuberculosis and disease.

As site managers prepared their new interpretations, they formulated an idea for an interactive impeachment exhibit that would allow visitors to cast mock ballots in Andrew Johnson’s trial. Coincidentally, this coincided with perjury and obstruction of justice allegations against President William Clinton. During the dedication ceremonies in May 1998 the NPS brought Tennessee Senator Fred D. Thompson to cast the first ballot in the site’s symbolic impeachment vote only a few months before “he was called to vote for real in a Senate trial to determine the guilt of the impeached President Clinton.”¹⁸⁴

In their new exhibit, the site managers also worked to incorporate “the relationship of slavery to the Civil War.” In 1993 the Johnson site hosted a special exhibit that included interviews with Tennessee slaves taken by the members of the Works Progress Administration

¹⁸⁴ Binkley, 85-102.

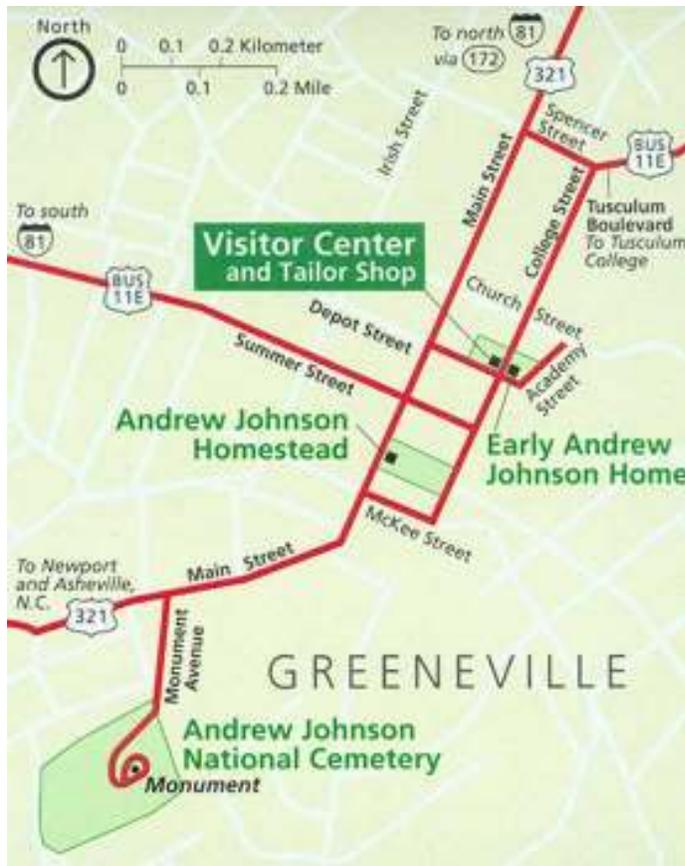


Figure 14. Andrew Johnson National Historic Site Map
Greeneville, Tennessee
<http://www.nps.gov/anjo/planyourvisit/upload/site-locations.jpg> (accessed December 15, 2010)

during the Great Depression. Two years later the park rangers displayed a temporary exhibit detailing Johnson’s veto of the extension of the Freedmen’s Bureau Bill proposed by Congress in 1866. In addition the park also acknowledged Johnson’s slaveholding status “as well as the fact that he freed the slaves of Tennessee after Abraham Lincoln appointed him the state’s military governor.”¹⁸⁵

In 2008 three historians visited the ANJO to evaluate the contemporary interpretations. Upon their visit representatives asked the academics to provide recommendations based on their evaluation of the site. Benjamin Hufbauer, an art historian from the University of Louisville, suggested that the managers further explore Reconstruction in the videos provided to audiences at the location. A professor from Montgomery College in Maryland, Leigh Fought, who

¹⁸⁵ Binkley, 110-112.

specializes in the history of women and slavery, recommended that the site provide more interpretation of feminine roles during Johnson's era. Lastly, Andrew Slap of East Tennessee State University suggested that the park find ways to present the reality of Johnson's racial views. Although many modern individuals wish to avoid thoughts of racism and white supremacy in their views of men like Johnson, it does not negate the importance of displaying historical attitudes on the subject. According to the *Greeneville Sun* Slap argued that the site presented Johnson as "'no match' for the Radical Republican 'juggernaut' of northern congressmen at the time" and made "'Johnson a hero' for resisting Reconstruction." The professor advised that a "better understanding of 'the conditions of freedom' during Reconstruction would make it possible to present the time without vilifying one group or the other, or vilifying Johnson." Despite Slap's attempt to relay racial ideas of the time period one man in the audience stated that "words such as 'racist' and 'white supremacist' are 'things I don't want to believe' about Johnson."¹⁸⁶

While the Johnson site perpetuated a legacy of heroism to the 17th president another man in Greene County worked to combat the villainous reputation of five local Union soldiers. In November 2002 Donahue Bible proved "it's never too late to honor heroes" when he dedicated a monument to the Pottertown Bridge-Burners. These men attempted to thwart the Confederates in the region by burning a nearby railroad bridge at Lick Creek in November 1861. Confederate soldiers arrested and subsequently executed the five men who, according to the monument, left "nearly twenty fatherless children." After their execution "many of the men's descendants . . . refused to talk about them because they were viewed as turncoats." Bible considered the men

¹⁸⁶ Tom Yancey, "Three Visiting Historians Praise Andrew Johnson Historic Site," *Greeneville Sun* 7 July 2008, <http://greenevillesun.com/printstory/294962> (accessed December 8, 2010).

heroes, however, and sought to relay this image to others by erecting a monument in honor of the bridge-burners.¹⁸⁷

The monument project began in the late 1990s when an aluminum manufacturer sought property adjacent to a family cemetery where two of the bridge-burners are buried. Upon hearing the plans for the projected factory Bible began working against the development to retain public access to the small cemetery. After obtaining local support to prevent the factory project Bible, in conjunction with the Greene County Historical Trust, negotiated with the aluminum company who eventually donated part of the land to Greene County for the development of a memorial park. Bible then initiated efforts to erect a monument on the site to prevent “future incursion by those wanting to convert it once again to some sort of industrial site.” The Trust formed an organization, called the Harmon Cemetery Park Corporation, for placing the memorial and a flagpole in front of the cemetery. Bible wrote the inscription that provides information about the five bridge-burners and their mission. The head of the hexagonal memorial is inscribed with the same words found on the Union Soldiers Monument in front of the Greene County courthouse, “In the hour of their country’s peril, they were loyal and true” (Figure 15). In 2010 Bible stated that he wished to make a specific connection to the courthouse monument because “the story of the five hanged bridge-burners was also the story of hundreds of their comrades from Greene County.”¹⁸⁸

Although Bible dedicated the Bridge-Burners Monument to a group of Union heroes he did not vilify Confederate soldiers for their part in the hangings or the war in general. In an e-mail message to the author on December 1, 2010, Bible stated that “the underlying factors that

¹⁸⁷ Fred Brown, “Man Proves It’s Never Too Late to Honor Heroes,” *Knoxville News-Sentinel*, 4 November 2002, http://docs.newsbank.com/openurl?ctx_ver=z39.88-2004&rft_id=info:sid/iw.newsbank.com:NewsBank:KNNB&rft_val_format=info:ofi/fmt:kev:mtx:ctx&rft_dat=0F77583E349EB519&svc_dat=InfoWeb:aggregated5&req_dat=F10522ABC2DF4F9FBF5AA579D806C0A6 (accessed September 30, 2010).

¹⁸⁸ Donahue Bible, e-mail message to author, 10 November 2010.



Figure 15. Pottertown Bridge-Burners Monument
Mosheim, Tennessee
Photograph by Kelli Nelson

brought the war about have perhaps become lost in time.” Based on genealogical research into his own family, Bible believed that “the common men of either side were probably [not] as dedicated to their particular cause as we are often led to believe.” With at least one Confederate and two Union ancestors who “were average dirt farmers,” he concluded that most common men “really [had] ‘no dog in the fight’ until circumstances forced their hand.” Like East Tennesseans during the 1910s, Bible’s viewpoint exhibited an acceptance of soldiers on both sides. Bible believed that the common soldiers went to war to protect their own lives. They tried to make a simple living “from the slate hillsides and small fields along Dodson Creek in Hawkins County,” but they became “caught up in circumstances not of their making.”¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁹ Donahue Bible, e-mail message to author, 9 November 2010.

Modern supporters of Confederate memory do not display the same attitude. In 2010 the James Keeling Camp Sons of Confederate Veterans dedicated a memorial to the unknown Confederate dead in East Hill Cemetery in Bristol, Tennessee. According to Commander John Hawthorne of the local Sons of Confederate Veterans, an early 1900s commander of a Bristol military unit first suggested the monument when he visited the cemetery. A real effort, however, did not begin until East Tennessean named Jim Maddox began pursuing the goal. Although Maddox passed away in 2007, other members of the Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV) ensured the memorial's success. Various citizens worked to gather the names of the soldiers buried in the cemetery, which they included on three sides of the pyramid shaped memorial (Figure 16). However, the researchers could not identify every man and the builders left the fourth side blank in hopes that someone might one day discover the names of the remaining Confederate soldiers.

At the memorial proceedings various members of the SCV and UDC spoke. Bristol journalist, Daniel Gilbert, wrote that the speakers at the dedication sometimes “spoke . . . defiantly of pride in their heritage” and “praised their ancestors in spite of the ill-fated struggle against Union forces.” One speaker praised the Confederate women who protected their homes and families. Wearing a black dress and bonnet, Clara Ingram of the Order of Confederate Rose, a non-genealogical organization formed in 1993, connected with regional Confederate ancestors by stating, “We kept the farms going. We raised the children. We were the backbone of the Confederacy. . . . We were fighting for our homes and our way of life.” Sullivan County Archivist Shelia Hunt commended the participants for their efforts in erecting the monument and emphasized the importance of disallowing “Southern history to be whitewashed.”¹⁹⁰

¹⁹⁰ Daniel Gilbert, “Ceremony Dedicates Monument Bearing Names of Confederate Dead Buried in Bristol Cemetery,” *Bristol Herald Courier*, 30 May 2010, http://www2.tricities.com/news/2010/may/30/ceremony_



Figure 16. East Hill Confederate Monument
East Hill Cemetery
Bristol, Tennessee
Photograph by Kelli Nelson

Other participants stressed the need to uphold the name of the Confederacy, and Michael Bradley, a retired professor from Middle Tennessee and past commander of the Tennessee Division SCV, presented an impassioned speech. He spoke of the Confederate soldiers who “came here for a cause—the cause of protecting their homes,” and vilified John Brown as “a man guilty of an ax murder.” He also vilified Abraham Lincoln who “warned the South that if they did not follow his proposals then more Browns would surely arise.” As he developed the image of the Confederate soldiers, he alluded to their protection of a government established by their Revolutionary fathers and claimed that the Confederates fought “for the cause of limited government and the sovereign power of the states.” His ideas mimicked contemporary

dedicates_monument_bearing_xml_names_of_c-ar-233953/ (accessed November 2, 2010); Sons of Confederate Veterans Camp 52, Bristol, TN, “Dedication of Monument to Confederate Veterans: East Hills Cemetery, Bristol, TN,” 29 May 2010 http://ltrobertdpowell1817.com/uploads/DEDICATION_OF_MONUMENT_TO_CONFEDERATE_VETERANS.pdf (accessed June 14, 2011).

conservative ideas and he reminded the audience that the issues defended by the Confederacy “are alive and well today.” He ended with a vehement defense of protecting southern memory against the “loud and discordant voices . . . saying that what we do here today is wrong and wrongheaded.” According to Bradley these antagonists “stand guilty in the court of history. By saying we should neglect our dead it is they who show no tender sympathies, who show disrespect for the laws of man, and who indicate a total absence of loyalty to higher ideas.”¹⁹¹ Overall, Bradley’s speech embodied many typical sentiments of modern Confederate advocates who continue the legacy of the 1920s and 1930s UDC.

In all, debates at the Andrew Johnson National Historic Site along with the Pottertown Bridge-Burners and East Hill Cemetery monuments depict modern Civil War memory in East Tennessee. While some citizens avoid the issues of racism and white supremacy present during the nineteenth century, Confederate sympathizers adamantly deny the centrality of slavery to the conflict. Instead, they emphasize Confederate soldiers’ defense of “states’ rights” over the voice of the federal government. In addition, these groups vilify anyone who disagrees with allegations of “Yankee” heritage and treason against southernism. These sympathizers maintain the image of the women who worked to bring East Tennessee symbolically into the Confederacy over eighty years ago. In the end the issues between Union and Confederate memory that have affected the region since the war will continue to have an impact as long as some citizens find uses for Civil War memory.

¹⁹¹ Michael Bradley, “Confederate Memorial Day” (speech, East Hill Cemetery, Bristol, TN, May 30, 2010).

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