

Nineteenth Century



*Sculptors
& Monuments*

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Editor

Warren Ashworth

Guest Editor

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Consulting Editor

William Ayres

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Managing Editor / Graphic Designer

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Committee on Publications

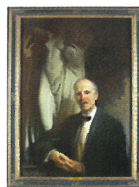
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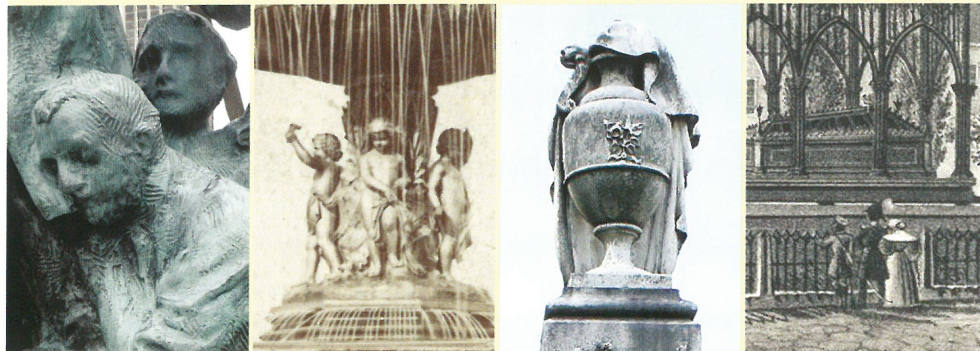
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For information on *The Victorian Society in America*, contact the national office:

24 Wilkins Avenue
Haddonfield, NJ 08033
(856) 216-8124
Fax (856) 216-8125
info@victoriansociety.org
www.victoriansociety.org



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John C. Johansen
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THANK YOU TO OUR PEER REVIEWERS

Nineteenth Century would like to acknowledge our peer reviewers. We at the editorial board are, as always, deeply grateful to this group of anonymous scholars who review all our author submissions for accuracy of content and application of up-to-date methods of research and scholarship.



The Confederate monument in Indian Hill Cemetery, Hampshire County, West Virginia. Erected in 1867, it was the first of two Confederate monuments installed that year. This one has a rare funeral urn top. Author's collection.

Forever in Mourning

UNION AND CONFEDERATE MONUMENTS, 1860 - 1920

Ernest Everett Blevins

In the first two decades of the twenty-first century, Confederate monuments have received a large amount of critical attention from scholars and the public. Across the country, many Confederate monuments have been removed or are in the process of litigation for removal, due to shifting political and social interests. Confederate monuments are in the news and academic journals, but there is little attention to the relationship between the rise of Union and Confederate monuments. Born out of the same war, their contribution to the shared memory culture and legacy in the United States is unnoticed. This essay is a first attempt to weave the history of Confederate monument-making back into the broader landscape of Civil War monuments. This perspective does not suggest that Confederate monuments do not deserve the critical attention they are receiving, but that there is more to say about how and why monuments were placed. This paints a picture that shows points of connection between North and South that is today missing from most discussions.

This article is based on my long familiarity in documenting both Union and Confederate monuments, especially on the East Coast and encompassing a variety of monuments and memorials created by Americans after the Civil War. The whole subject is too vast for a single article as there are many types of monuments in both the North and South, including highways which were named as part of the Good Roads Movement.¹ Many schools, public buildings, and parks are named for leaders in the Union and the Confederate armies. For this work memorial buildings, almost all constructed by the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) or their Allied Orders as meeting halls, are not included.² Additionally, both Union and Confederate veterans placed monuments on the battlefields marking the location of their positions, where leaders directed significant battle movements or died on the field. In the twenty-first century, battlefield monuments tend to be less controversial and are protected by the National Park Service—they are not a focus of this study. The focus of this work is on the Monument Movement, specifically addressing the monuments scattered across cemeteries, town squares, and public parks that are part of the built environment. The findings, however, can be applied to the resources mentioned above.

Emerging in the post-war years, the Monument Movement was a national effort to memorialize the tremendous loss of human life in the war, and is thus dominated by Union and Confederate monuments and memorials—the most significant war in American history, with the greatest loss of life. The post-war Monument Movement began haltingly after the American Revolution, expanding from a handful existing before 1860 to thousands by the turn of the twentieth century, coinciding with the City Beautiful and American Renaissance, which placed hundreds of new, large bronze monuments in major cities across the United States. The examples included in this essay come from

both the more visible artistic commissions, to the more common and utilitarian community-based monuments—often purchased from catalogs (discussed later). In her preface to *Civil War Monuments*, Ellen J. Beckman writes:

Barely a town or village, north or south, in existence at the close of the war failed to erect some kind of monument in the town center, courthouse, village common, village green, or in the soldiers' plot of the local cemetery.³

There are many books on the rationale, memory, meaning, and interpretation of Confederate monuments; however, there is little about Union monuments beyond descriptions or scholarship focused on large works by well-known sculptors, such as Augustus Saint-Gaudens. The Monument Movement is an overlooked phenomenon of American culture warranting further study of which this work is a beginning.

Methodology

For this study, the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) list of Confederate monuments was utilized as a primary source. The Union monument list was created following the methodology the SPLC used to create its Confederate list from a variety of internet searches, archival documents, and personal visits to monuments. One variation is the Union list noted themes of the monuments.⁴ In contrast, in the specially created “Whose Heritage?” database, updated in May 2019, the SPLC does not list a theme. The SPLC overarching directive is to explore the symbolic language of white supremacy and its relationship to Confederate monuments, without consideration of other factors.⁵ Confederate monuments surveyed by the SPLC appeared typically at a rate of two a year from 1871 to 1876 except for four in 1872, and two each in 1867, none in 1868, and one in 1869.⁶ The SPLC survey leaves gaps in the location with five on courthouse grounds, one listed as “other government grounds” and seven as “other.” Future research will determine clearer definitions and define the locations to more fully compare Union monuments against Confederate monuments, while utilizing similar terminology.

The War Years⁷

The Civil War was the first war for Americans where, in the aftermath, there was a movement to raise monuments to the local communities' contributions to the war effort. Possibly the first monument was to Confederate Col. Francis S. Bartow of the 8th Georgia Infantry Regiment who was killed commanding a brigade during the First Battle of Manassas (July 21, 1861).⁸ The “small pillar, in all respects like a milestone...erected on the spot where General Bartow fell” was built by September 1861.⁹ The Bartow monument was destroyed less than a year later in the Battle of

Second Manassas (August 29-30, 1862). The base is the only surviving reminder of the memorial.¹⁰ Bartow, the first high ranking Confederate killed in battle, is also memorialized with a small monument in Forsyth Park, Savannah, Georgia; and namesakes in Bartow County, Georgia; City of Bartow in Jefferson County, Georgia; City of Bartow, Florida; and an unincorporated area called Bartow, West Virginia.

An early effort for Union war monuments is to the 32nd Indiana. The monument is believed to be the oldest monument

from Company F, 9th Indiana under the command of Lt. Edward Crebbin built the monument between June and October 1863.¹²

The earliest Union monument not on a battlefield is the Ladd and Whitney Memorial in Lowell, Middlesex County, Massachusetts. Dedicated on June 17, 1865 to young Privates Luther Ladd and Addison Whitney, the monument is an early example to specific individuals and to enlisted soldiers. Ladd and Whitney were mill workers who joined Company D "Lowell Guards" 6th Massachusetts Volunteer Militia. Upon arriving in



Dedication ceremony for a Confederate monument, Union, West Virginia, August 1, 1901. After this monument was erected, at least two more were dedicated in the state of Virginia. Monroe Watchman Collection, West Virginia State Archives.

surviving to the memory of the war casualties. After the December 1861 Battle of Rowlett's Station in Munfordville, Kentucky, Private August Bloedner carved the memorial to mark 13 fallen members of the 32nd Indiana completing it in January 1862. It was moved to a cemetery in 1867 along with most of the remains. In 2008, it was removed for conservation and on display at the Frazier History Museum in Louisville, Kentucky.¹¹

The earliest Union monument *in situ* is the Hazen Brigade monument near Murfreesboro, Rutherford County, Tennessee. Named for Col. William B. Hazen of the 41st Ohio, he held the line during the Battle of Murfreesboro in December 1862. At the site of the burial of the fallen, Hazen and Col. Isaac C. B. Suman, 9th Indiana Volunteers decided there should be a monument. A detail

Baltimore, Maryland, Ladd and Whitney were among the four soldiers and 12 civilians killed by a secessionist mob on April 19, 1861.¹³ Lowell placed the Ladd and Whitney monument in a public square across from the town hall.

The above are examples of exceptions to the emergence of memorializing the war.¹⁴ The Northern monuments recorded in the survey work to date lists 11 examples erected before 1866 including the previously mentioned monuments. Another ten monuments were documented in 1866 with 11 more in 1867 by the time the first post-war Confederate monuments were erected in Indian Mound Cemetery in Romney, Hampshire County, West Virginia and Saint David's Cemetery in Cheraw, Cheraw County, South Carolina in 1867.¹⁵ Both Romney and Cheraw claim the first,

although the Cheraw dedication on July 27, 1867, was months before the Romney dedication in September 1867.¹⁶

The Post-War Years and the Late Nineteenth Century Monument Movement

Union monuments first appeared in cemeteries. An early, and possibly first, example of a non-cemetery monument is in Bristolville, Trumbull County, Ohio where a memorial was placed in a park in 1863. The earliest surveyed Union Monument in the Deep South is in Key West, Monroe County, Florida where the Key West Navy Club erected a Union monument in Clinton Place (a park) in 1866. The Union held Key West throughout the war thanks to fast action by the local regular garrison at the outbreak of the war. This monument appears to be decades before a non-cemetery or battlefield monument appeared in the Deep South. Later, a Confederate veteran added a decorative fence around the monument.¹⁷

The earliest town hall monument to general memory of the community is recorded in the survey is in Gorham, Cumberland County, Maine placed in 1867.¹⁸ Of the 66 Union monuments surveyed erected from 1867 to 1876, only 18 were in cemeteries while 26 were in a park, commons, or town square with six at a city or county hall or the state capitol. Twenty-six others were undetermined locations.¹⁹ In the South, the Chalmette National Cemetery, on the site of the 1815 Battle of New Orleans, was dedicated with a monument in 1874.²⁰ In Beaufort, South Carolina, which fell to Union hands in 1861, the Tabernacle Baptist Churchyard installed a memorial in 1876 to Robert Scott Smalls.²¹ Smalls, enslaved and a native of Beaufort, stole *The Planter* and with his family sailed it to the Federal Navy blockading Charleston Harbor in 1862.²²

Over the next decade, 1877 to 1886 (including the 20th and 25th anniversaries of the Civil War), a dozen Union monuments surveyed had unknown locations with eight erected in cemeteries. Parks, commons, and public square type of public spaces added 14 monuments with another seven built at a town, county or statehouse government grounds. A monument to the Unknown Union Dead appeared in a cemetery in Salisbury National Cemetery, Salisbury, Rowan County, North Carolina in 1877.²³ Tennessee was split between Union and Confederate loyalties. Greeneville, Greene County, Tennessee was a Union stronghold in East Tennessee. A Union monument was placed on the town hall grounds in 1916.²⁴ In May 1931, a monument to Confederate General John Hunt Morgan, who died in September 1864 in Greeneville, was dedicated. The city believes it is the only town hall that honors both sides of the war with monuments.²⁵ President Andrew Johnson, Greeneville resident and Lincoln's vice president then became president in 1865, died in 1875. In 1878, the family put a monument at his grave, now the Andrew Johnson National Cemetery in Greeneville, Tennessee.²⁶

Dual monuments appear scattered across the Border States. Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland, and Delaware were slave states that did not join the Confederacy although Kentucky and Missouri maintained two state governments during the war. In Vanceburg, Lewis County, Kentucky, located on the Ohio River, the Union monument was erected in 1884 noting the sentiment of "The War for the Union was Right, Everlasting Right; And the War Against the Union was Wrong, Forever Wrong." Despite sending approximately two-thirds of the state's recruits to the Union, there are an estimated six times as many Confederate monuments than



Detail of the soldier on the Confederate monument in Union, West Virginia. Visible is the design element of a cut log; a funerary motif symbolizing a life cut short. Its use is not limited to Confederate monuments, as it appears on some World War I monuments. Author's collection.

Union monuments.²⁷

In terms of divided states, West Virginia was created in Wheeling, Ohio County when the area seceded from Virginia; West Virginia finally joined the Union in June 1863. Wheeling is located in the northern panhandle of West Virginia approximately 250 direct miles, not accounting for slow travel and mountainous terrain, from the Virginia and Confederate capital of Richmond. Ohio County is bordered on the east by Pennsylvania and Ohio on the west with Wheeling on the eastern bank of the Ohio River. In 1880, the Soldiers' and Sailors' monument was built at the state capitol building in Wheeling, but not dedicated until 1886.²⁸

Twenty-six surveyed Union monuments in public spaces of parks, commons, and squares appeared in the decade of 1887 to 1896. Cemeteries were still popular sites installing 17 memorials, while the memorials on government grounds remained steady



The Tennessee Grand Army of the Republic monument, Knoxville National Cemetery. The cornerstone of the monument states “In Memoriam Union Soldiers of Tennessee October 15, 1896.” Originally topped with an eagle, the monument was struck by lightning in 1904. It was rebuilt and rededicated in 1906 with the figure of a soldier replacing the eagle. Author’s collection.

with eight in the decade. Undetermined sites in this decade are 15 for a total of 66. This decade was the peak of the Grand Army of the Republic’s membership with 1890 the highest membership of over 400,000 members.²⁹ Thirty-one Confederate monuments were erected from 1887 to 1896 with most dedicated to the memory of the losses with ten noted on courthouse ground and at least two on battlefields.

The Early Twentieth Century Monument Movement

In the decade from 1897 to 1906, when the United States entered the twentieth century, there were 23 Union monuments erected in cemeteries—the same rate as the previous decade. Although those built in parks, commons, and public squares dropped slightly to

32, the number on government grounds such as courthouses, statehouses, and libraries more than doubled to 20. During the decade, 112 Confederate monuments were erected with 68 appearing in 1901-1905 with 21 in 1905, spiking quickly and reaching a peak between 1910 and 1915, during the 50th anniversary years.

Closing out the period of interest, World War I took a toll on the Monument Movement. The installed monuments were likely ordered before the outbreak of World War I. Ten Union memorials went up in 1917. The numbers quickly dropped to four in 1918 and one in 1919. A decline in the Confederate monuments also occurred during the same period with 11 monuments erected in 1917 and eight in 1918 with only four in 1919 and 1920.

Monumental Themes and Meanings

The survey noted the themes of the Union monuments based on the memorials’ wording. Monuments represent the loss of sailors and soldiers of the Union; however, some monuments elaborate as to the *why*. Common Union themes were Defenders of the Union (24), Died so the Nation Might Live (20), Preservation of the Union (16), and Preservation of the Constitution (4) which sometimes appear in combination. Most of the monuments have an infantry soldier, although variations include multiple soldiers and/or sailors, or Liberty in the form of a female classical goddess frequently holding a sword.

All Union monuments reflected the community’s loss of soldiers and/or exhibiting their contributions of men to the war effort. However, the Bristolville monument (1863) in Trumbull, County Ohio, is on the only Union monument in the survey with a funeral motif depicting a “funerary urn and decorated with crossed swords, cannon and rifles.”³⁰ Another in mourning Union monument is the Soldiers and Sailors monument (1870) in Clark County, Ohio where the soldier is portrayed with his gun inverted and his hands on the gun butt known as “Rest on Arms” which is used for Funeral Honors.³¹ Both monuments are in Ohio parks.

Funeral motifs are common in Confederate monuments. The depiction of a log, cut stump, or a broken column is a funeral symbol for a life cut short. The logs may be from the influence of the Woodmen of the World. The Woodmen of the World, established in 1890, is a large fraternal benefit society that placed carved stone logs as headstones to their insured, particularly in the early years of the organization.³² Many Confederate monuments have an upright stump, or less often, a horizontal log behind the soldier. One question to ask is; does this represent the life cut short of the soldier or the short life of the Confederacy? (which leaves this meaning open to interpretation). A sheet over the stone is another “life cut short” or “burial” motif. A variation is the use of a Confederate battle flag, such as the Fort Sanders Monument in Knoxville, Knox County, Tennessee and at the site of Camp Beauregard in Fulton County, Kentucky.³³

Like Union monuments, Confederate monuments are inscribed with various meanings. The Spartanburg, South Carolina Confederate monument proclaims “teach our children’s children to the honor the memory and the heroic deeds in the Southern soldier who fought for his rights granted to him under the Constitution.” This reflects on one of the South’s views that secession fulfilled the spirit of the United States Constitution. The Civil War was a build-up over time over a variety of grievances; the order and even significance of each is of academic debate, but the war was not monocausal.³⁴



The Grand Army of the Republic monument in Ripley, West Virginia, inscribed "Erected 1915 in Memory of Federal Soldiers War 1861-5." Several mountain howitzers (cannons) are on display as part of the memorial. These small cannons were well suited for the mountainous terrain of West Virginia, as they were easily transportable on pack animals. Author's collection.

Some monuments have a snippet of literature, typically part of poem indicating mourning for the losses of the conflict. These small pieces can be misunderstood in the modern contexts due to the assumed meaning, use of words from the nineteenth century and early twentieth century altering their meanings by the twenty-first century, and the lack of a broader context of the words. Many contain a poem such as the Carroll County monument (1910) in Carrollton, Georgia, which lists the words from Englishman William Collins' 1746 poem "How Sleep the Brave." The poem is about soldiers who made the supreme sacrifice for their county written during the War of Austrian Succession (1740-1748).³⁵ The Augusta, Richmond County, Georgia monument (1878) uses wording from a poem by Philip Stanhope Worsley of Oxford, England who was thinking of General Robert E. Lee.³⁶ One portion of this poem etched on the Augusta monument is the line "No nation rose so white and fair." The references to "white and fair" in Worsley's poem, which I interpret as pure and fair, again citing the interpretation of the Constitution as one of the causes of the war.³⁷

In the nineteenth century, one unanswered question was: could a state that voluntarily joined a union leave it? The Constitution did not address this, and it took a war and more than

600,000 war casualties to answer the question. Most Confederate monuments simply state variations of "Our Confederate Dead" as the main memorial with some utilizing the idiom "Lest We Forget."³⁸ The Confederate monuments, as with Union monuments, address the mourning and community loss although the former also reflects on the loss of their young nation.

Union monuments often have a variation to the community dead generalizing along the theme of "those who gave lives from (name of the community)." Later monuments, erected by the Allied Orders, memorialized the loss of the Grand Army of the Republic Posts as veterans died off and posts closed.

While no Confederate monuments appear to mention slavery in wording or image, a small number of Union monuments do. Three of the 422 (0.71%) of the surveyed Union monuments mentioned slavery. The New Bedford Monument (1866) in New Bedford, Bristol County, Massachusetts is likely the earliest citing slavery noting: "Erected by the Citizens of New Bedford in Tribute of Gratitude to her Sons who fell defending their Country in the Struggle with Slavery and Treason." It is the only one surveyed to mention treason. New Bedford is where escaped slave Fredrick Douglass ended his journey on the Underground Railroad; later marrying a local woman.³⁹

The Grand Army of the Republic monument (1880) in the Brookdale Cemetery in Dedham, Norfolk County, Massachusetts makes a longer statement of the community's sentiments:

Erected in 1880 as a monument to the loyal soldiers and sailors of Dedham, who served in the war of the rebellion 1861-1865. Many of whom died, and rest, in unknown graves and dying broke the bondman's chain and made the slave a man.

Dedham was the home of Edmund Quincy who was an anti-slavery writer and abolitionist leader involved in the abolitionist movement since the 1830s.⁴⁰ The 1887 Lincoln, Penobscot County, Maine monument cites "Preserved the Union/Destroyed Slavery/Maintained the Constitution." This monument was paid for by an individual rather than an organization. Charles Stinchfield of Detroit, Michigan and a native of Lincoln, Maine, paid for it in honor of his father, Jacob Stinchfield, though he never served in the war.⁴¹

Union monuments, like Confederate monuments, reflect the loss the life in the conflict, most monuments are a standing soldier, soldiers, and sailors, or stones with wording written on them. As time progressed from the war, and cannons were retired, the monuments began to include cannons as the primary focus or in surrounding a central memorial. The North and South varied on the themes of the war. Southerners proclaimed Constitutional rights. Northern monuments considered preserving the Union, and in some cases defeating the rebellion.

Monument Marketing and Production

Companies mass-produced many of these soldier monuments. Hollowell Granite Company in Maine is noted as producing at 12 works on the Union survey. Two firms built many of the soldier monuments in Ohio. The Monumental Bronze Co. of Bridgeport, Connecticut specialized in zinc, also known as white bronze, with monuments in multiple states; however, only produced one Union monument in Connecticut. The company's original casting was done in Bridgeport, but later opened offices in Chicago, Detroit, Des Moines, Philadelphia, and New Orleans. In 1882, the company was advertising a foundry to be built "soon" in Atlanta, Georgia. Monuments to the war were not the primary business as the company widely advertised over 500 designs of grave makers in their catalog all across the United States.⁴²

The W. H. Mullins Company of Salem, Ohio supplied many Union monuments in Ohio, but also across the unified nation. Their catalog of 1913, titled *The Blue and the Gray*, pitched monuments with examples of completed works across the North and South. The foreword states:

...the memory of men and deeds—men who gave their lives for the deeds for a cause in which they honestly believed—goes on into indefinite generations. Those now living, on each side of the civil conflict [of 50 years ago] for each knows the sounds and scenes of battle; each known the heroism of the other...the permanent memorials that of the living heroes erect, in commemoration of their deeds, and those of their fallen comrades, will withstand time and all elements."

After the foreword, the catalog shows photographs of 30 Union monuments, nine Confederate monuments, four from the Revolutionary War at Guilford Courthouse, North Carolina, and a Spanish-American War memorial. Twenty-five pages showing off

the various standard figures and flat plaques available demonstrates a willingness to memorialize the North-South conflict. It also acknowledges the Monument Movement dedicated monuments to other wars and honorees.⁴⁵

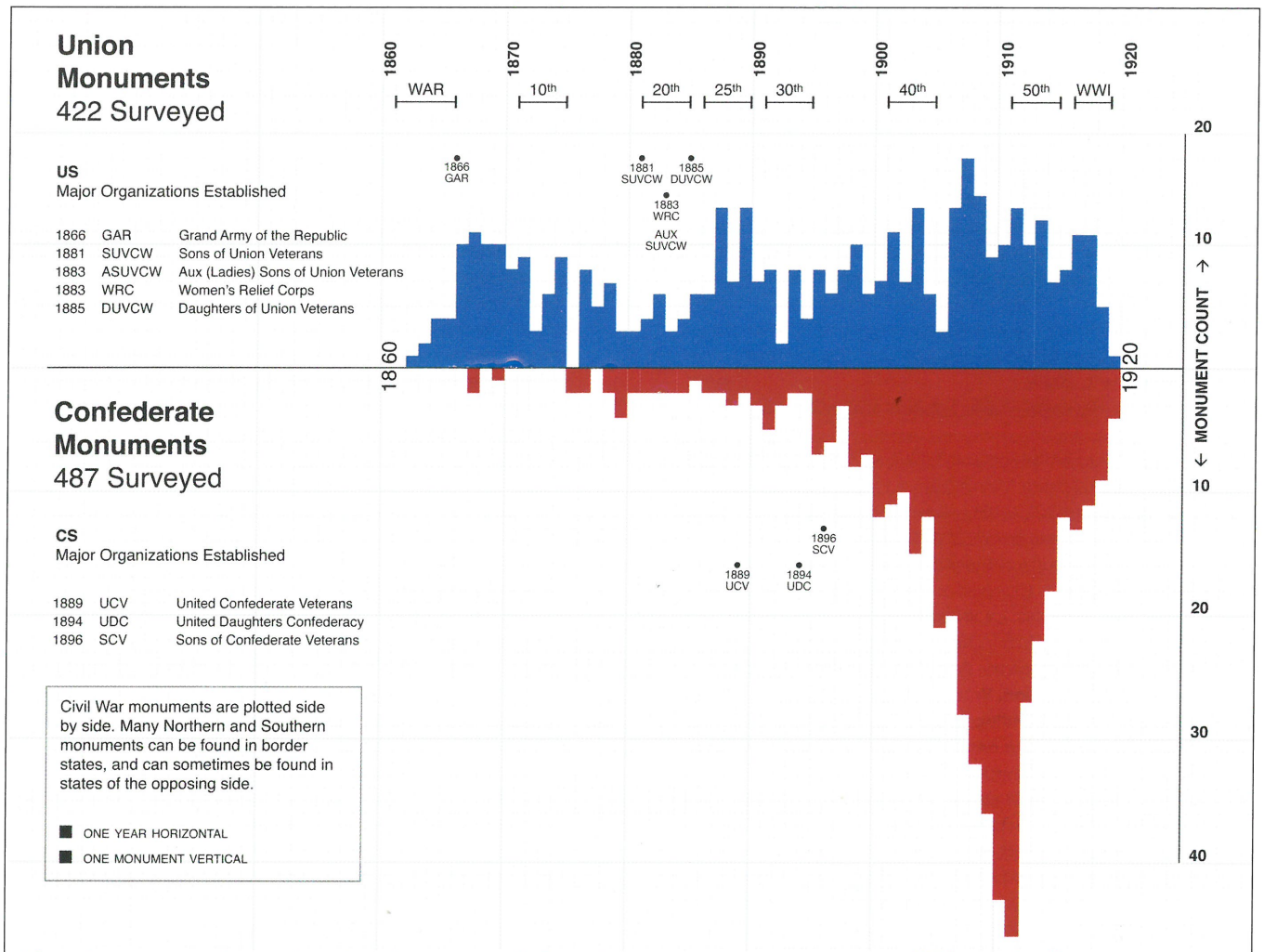
One notable—but likely untrue—mix up of the Monument Movement involves the monuments of Kingstree, Williamsburg County, South Carolina and York, York County, Maine.⁴⁶ Erected in 1906 for \$1,929, the York Soldier's Monument Committee paid Frederick Barnicoat of Quincy, Massachusetts for a monument. The monument features a soldier with a bedroll across the shoulder and a slouch hat, features typical of Confederate soldiers.⁴⁷ In 2017, Mike Dow of York, Maine made the case that the monument was not a Confederate, but has the features of Spanish-American War soldiers, noting that Barnicoat did many monuments.⁴⁸ Although debate still surrounds York's memorial, it is not conclusively a Confederate, Union, or Spanish American monument.⁴⁹

In Kingstree, South Carolina, the city is "content with [its] handsome Yankee friend" known as the "Kingstree Yank."⁵⁰ While the myth persists on the switch, it is commonly believed the York-Kingstree mix up is unlikely. A Massachusetts company created the York monument in 1906, and a Spartanburg, South Carolina company created Kingstree monument in 1910.⁵¹ However, it does not rule out a crossing in monuments elsewhere. The York-Kingstree debate illustrates the mass production of monuments and potential for mix up or misrepresentation in the soldiers portrayed.

Monuments are Community Memorials

What is clear about the Monument Movement is that it was a national movement. Specific groups of veterans, veterans' families, and monument associations in a community created the Union and Confederate monuments. These communities came together in the time of war, contributing their men and boys (and a few documented women), then they came together again to memorialize these soldiers and their contributions to the cause as they saw it. Citizens paid subscriptions to memorials, to monument associations, or taxes were issued for raising needed funds. Major organizations such as the Grand Army of the Republic, Allied Orders, the United Daughters of the Confederacy, and the United Confederate Veterans all lead fundraisers for monuments. Northern companies made Confederate and Union monuments crossing former lines of conflict for communities to memorialize their losses. As such, these resources are part of the cultural landscape, and should be regarded as the historical monuments.

Today community support for monuments varies due to several factors. In the 150 years since the Civil War and Reconstruction, many communities have experienced drastic demographic, generational and social change. This fluid population's opinion is mixed on preserving monuments of the past, moving monuments to new locations, adding monuments to other histories, or putting new interpretation in place. This debate is sometimes racial, and sometimes about differing concepts of the role of history in local communities. The lines are often drawn between those that wish to retain honors of the past for the community, and those that want to redefine the community with contemporary or different views of the community and/or history. Much of the most recent research focus is on Confederate monuments and their possible meanings. The same attention is



This chart graphs the number of monuments identified to date. The top (blue) is the Union monuments with the Confederate monuments on the bottom (red) for comparison, based on the years the memorials were erected. It is the author's opinion that while the Southern Poverty Law Center source for the Confederate monuments is relatively complete, more Union monuments will be added with further research. The major organizations commissioning monuments in the post-war period are identified with creation dates along with the anniversaries of the Civil War.

lacking for Union monuments. Union monument resources are mostly a listing and local histories of the memorial containing no context to the larger historical picture. This work is a beginning towards a deeper understanding of Confederate and Union monuments and how they fit into the national post-war Monument Movement.



Ernest Everett Blevins works as a structural historian in Review & Compliance at the West Virginia State Historic Preservation Office and consults outside of West Virginia under Blevins Historical Research. He is a member of the Sons of Confederate Veterans and the Sons of Union Veterans of the Civil War. In 2009 his interest grew in Confederate and Union monuments while participating in the 100th anniversary of the Carroll County Monument. In 2010, he researched and produced a video "Always Looking North" (shown at the Dixie Film Festival in Athens, Georgia and on YouTube), and a brochure. He writes a regular history-oriented column for the Charleston (WV) *Gazette-Mail*. Ernest lives with his wife, Lisa, and their six children in Charleston, West Virginia.

Notes

- Such examples include the Lincoln Highway: the first transcontinental highway (designed in 1913). Further South, the Bankhead Highway (laid out from 1916 to 1920) was the second transcontinental highway, and the first all-weather highway. It is named after Confederate Veteran and father of the Good Roads Movement, John Hollis Bankhead. This area of study also includes the pre-1925 highway names of Lee, Dixie, Jefferson Davis, GAR (Grand Army of the Republic), and Blue-Gray Highway. In 1925, modern U.S. highway numbers were used to designate routes.
- The Allied Orders are the ladies organizations of Auxiliary to the Sons of Union Veterans of the Civil War, Ladies of the Grand Army of the Republic, the Woman's Relief Corps, Daughters of Union Veterans of the Civil War, and the successor of the GAR, the Sons of Union Veterans of the Civil War.
- Mildred C. Baruch and Ellen J. Beckman, *Civil War Union Monuments* (Washington, DC: Daughters of Union Veterans of the Civil War, 1861-1865, 1978).
- From the SPLC database of 1,875 Confederate memorials of all types (physical, names, songs, license tags, etc.), I reduced the selection to focus on 834 recorded monuments. This list further

- was reduced to end in 1920 leaving 487 physical monuments. The Union monument survey consisted of 700 sites which included buildings during the early work. The list was then reduced to 628 monuments of which 422 were dated to before 1920. For the analysis, monuments without a date were removed, though future research may date these to the period in question. It should be noted that both lists should not be considered complete. It is believed the sampling covering North, Border, and Southern States is sufficient to begin drawing conclusions about the post-war Monument Movement. Ninety-five Union monuments have no date or an accurate date. Sixty Confederate monuments have no date
5. "Executive Summary," www.splcenter.org/20190201/whose-heritage-public-symbols-confederacy#executive-summary (accessed June 1, 2019)
 6. SPLC, "Whose Heritage? Public Symbols of the Confederacy," (2016) www.splcenter.org/sites/default/files/com_whose_heritage.pdf. SPLC database (updated May 2019) www.splcenter.org/20190201/whose-heritage-public-symbols-confederacy (accessed June 1, 2019). The two 1867 monuments are personal knowledge of the author and are not on the SPLC list, but added to count in the chart.
 7. The war from the secession of South Carolina in 1860 to the cession of hostilities in mid-1865 is known by many names including, but not limited to, the War Between the States, Civil War, War of the Rebellion, War of Northern Aggression, and the Confederate War. Depending on one's view of the war, its origins, or side of the conflict, the names of the conflict will vary. Some monuments reflect various names for the war.
 8. "Francis S. Bartow," www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/francis-s-bartow-1816-1861 (accessed July 7, 2019). Hazen Brigade Monument, www.nps.gov/places/hazen-brigade-monument.htm (accessed July 7, 2019)
 9. Bartow was a colonel leading a regiment, typically the position of a Brigadier General. No paperwork for rank advancement is known to exist. It is possible that if he survived, he might have received a promotion.
"Francis S. Bartow," www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/francis-s-bartow-1816-1861 (accessed July 7, 2019)
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