"The Shaft is in the Stone": The Emergence of Confederate Memory through Early

Monumentation in South Carolina, 1866-1904

by

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Thesis

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"Ode: Sung on the occasion of decorating the graves of the Confederate dead, at Magnolia
Cemetery, Charleston, S.C., 1866"
Henry Timrod

Sleep gently in your humble graves,
Sleep martyrs of a fallen cause;
Though yet no marble column craves
The pilgrim here to pause.

In the seeds of laurel in the earth
The blossom of your fame is blown,
And somewhere waiting for its birth,
The shaft is in the stone.

Meanwhile, behalf your tardy years
Which in trust keep your storied tombs,
Behold! Your sisters bring their tears,
And these memorial blooms.

Small tributes! but your shades will smile
More proudly on these wreaths today,
Than when some cannon-moulded pile
Shall overlook this bay.

Stoop angels, hither from the skies!
There is no holier spot of ground
Than where defeated valor lies
By mourning beauty crowned![1]

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[1] Aileen Wells Parks and Edd Winfield Parks, eds., and Henry Timrod, *The Collected Poems of Henry Timrod*
(Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1965), pp. 129-130.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

SC: South Carolina

LMA: Ladies Memorial Association or Ladies Monumental Association

SCMA: South Carolina Monument Association

UDC: United Daughters of the Confederacy

SCV: Sons of Confederate Veterans or South Carolina Volunteers

WLI: Washington Light Infantry

INTRODUCTION

The Persistence of Memory

Reverend Clementa Pinckney, born July 30, 1973 in Beaufort, South Carolina, was a lonely voice for the rights and interests of black South Carolinians in the SC state senate from 2000-2015. He was also a staunch believer in the power of reconciliation to ease the sectional pain still evident in Civil War memory.

On April 19, 2015, he joined other Charleston leaders in Hampton Park to commemorate the 150th anniversary of what they believe to be the first Decoration Day, when black South Carolinians and Union soldiers came together to decorate the graves of Union soldiers who had been buried there. Pinckney delivered a spiritual address, acknowledging not only the gravity of the events that had transpired there, but also the "knowledge, understanding, and even-tempered healing"[2] that remembrance of those events can bring. His reconciliatory address was far more empathetic than the circumstances that day merited, effectively reaching across the aisle in the city and state where secession began, a "place of tortured memory."[3] In fact, he argued that because of that tortured memory, it is necessary to acknowledge "'all the blood'" spilled on this ground, no matter the uniform, for "'God is no respecter of persons or causes.'"[4] His friend, a historian and a fellow speaker at the event, David Blight, was shocked and even "troubled"[5] by how radically inclusive Reverend Pinckney's message was, but he was all the more moved because of it.

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[2] David Blight, "Clementa Pinckney, a Martyr of Reconciliation," *The Atlantic*, June 22, 2015, Politics edition.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid.

Almost exactly two months after that event, Reverend Pinckney and eight members of his church were killed during a prayer meeting by a white supremacist who had been radicalized by neo-Nazis over the internet. Their deaths sent shock waves throughout the country, prompting a national dialogue over not only the pattern of violence in the oppression of black people in the United States, but also the meaning and significance of the Confederate battle flag, a symbol of a violent war and, to many, racialized aggression, which Pinckney's killer had proudly flown. Many voices began to call for the removal of the Confederate flag from the statehouse grounds.

The controversy over the flag reignited a longstanding debate over the place of Civil War memory in South Carolina. Some critics argued that the prominence of Confederate monuments, tributes, and flags being displayed on public property suggested that the political ideas that the Confederates fought for were to be celebrated, while sweeping their defense of slavery and white supremacy under the rug. Others responded that the Civil War was a significant event in this state's history, and these objects were merely historic relics, and to remove them would be to attempt to erase history.

I was seventeen when the Emmanuel Nine were killed. In a place where shootings of this scale are almost unheard of, the weight of the murders of so many, in a place considered to be holy, for a purpose so evil hit our community like a sack of bricks. For many, it dispelled the notion that nothing so violent or hateful could ever happen in our town. For people my age, who were still figuring out what was true and what we believed about most things but nevertheless were months from being shoved into the adult world, their loss and the ensuing controversy-- which seemed to envelope every conversation every day--were extremely formative.

The crux of the debate was not whether Confederate monuments and flags should be displayed on public property, although that was argued over, but rather what the Confederacy

fought for and whether it is okay to have pride in it as one's heritage. Despite starting from the same facts about the war, different people came to vastly different conclusions about what the Confederates fought for and believed; even when presented with the same baseline information, two people could paint very different portraits of the Confederacy. It became clear to me that in matters of memory, facts seem to matter less than feelings, and those feelings get stronger when one's surroundings seem to confirm them. Social factors played a far larger role in shaping one's perception of the Civil War than formal education, and therefore, many different versions of the Civil War live on in people's memories.

This thesis aims not to establish which version is the most accurate, but rather how different groups in South Carolina from 1866-1904 sought to control and shape their communities' collective memories of the Civil War as early as possible. Therefore, this thesis investigates the evolving, multifaceted nature of Civil War memory in South Carolina as it was shaped by monumentation in the first four decades after the war's close. By using memory studies to examine the various monuments that enshrine various groups' memories of the Civil War and its dead in South Carolina, I will uncover how the memory of this event began to be molded in South Carolinian collective consciousness. In doing so, I hope to illuminate the lasting effects of their efforts on the present day and address the importance of memory as a subject. Although the study of memory is a relatively new field in historiography, the role of public memory in wartime historiography is a budding topic on the forefront of current historiographical literature for its unmistakable importance in addressing war's impact on a geographical area's collective psyche and can be used as a framework within which to understand the unique case of the war's impact on the first rebels.

The sources I will analyze, as well as those that created and received them, include historical guides to South Carolina monuments which describe the appearance and location of the monuments as well as the historical events that brought them about, periodical local histories of organizations which erected these monuments, transcripts of monument dedication ceremonies, and newspaper articles.

Memory in Historiography

Memory of historical events is less concerned with facts and figures and more with cultural objects, social conditioning, and collective reactions as people in a community feed off each other's pathos and together form a memory of it. For this reason memory is often thought to be a social phenomenon rather than individual, and an emotional process rather than a rational one.[6] Scholar Kerwin Lee Klein posits that when a community processes a historical event, material artifacts such as statues or tombstones themselves become memories which are passed down through generations. However, as Wulf Kansteiner later clarifies, the objects do not do the work of shaping memory, but the people that observe and interpret them.[7] Thus, those people are equally deserving of study as the objects they interpret.

The process of passing memory down through cultural objects and word of mouth hearkens back to ancient practices of passing down legends, religion, and community folklore from generation to generation. For this reason some scholars such as Klein find memory studies to be too subjective and emotional, even anti-historical.[8] However, by treating the formation of a certain memory as a historical process, one can trace how it formed, which actors primarily

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[6] Kerwin Lee Klein, "On the Emergence of Memory in Historical Discourse" (The Regents of the University of California: *Representations*, vol. 69, 2000).

[7] Wulf Kansteiner, "Finding Meaning in Memory: A Methodological Critique of Collective Memory Studies," (Wesleyan University: *History and Theory*, vol. 41, no. 2, 2002).

[8] Klein, "Emergence of Memory."

sought to shape it, and how it developed into the memories of historical events still present in certain communities. Being able to isolate and analyze the formation of memories, such as South Carolinian memory of the Civil War, is the first step to questioning them and their influence on society.

Structure of Thesis

In order to tease apart the strands of early Civil War memory in South Carolina, I begin with some background information on the state's experience in the war and the political, social, and cultural processes at play that led to South Carolina's participation and loss in the war. The most notable sources of South Carolina histories before, during, and after this time period include Jack Bass and W. Scott Poole's book, *The Palmetto State: The Making of Modern South Carolina*, and Walter Edgar's book, *South Carolina: A History*. Whereas Edgar is traditional in his telling of history and generally unwilling to criticize famous South Carolinian figures of the past, Bass and Poole approach their history with a modern skepticism that balances out the former. Another of Poole's books, *Never Surrender: Confederate Memory and Conservatism in the South Carolina Upcountry* is a valuable resource to round out the sociopolitical landscape of the western part of the state, since South Carolina histories tend to bias Charleston and the Lowcountry in their focus.

All of these authors are South Carolinian, and as such it is clear from reading their works that the impetus behind their desire to document South Carolinian history is pride in their state regardless of the content of their works. These historians were working from within the region of their focus rather than from without, which provides them with more information than an outsider might have, but also potentially less detachment from their topic. As a South Carolinian myself, I am in danger of falling into the same predicament. Therefore, I have balanced my

research with information from non-South Carolinian sources, such as David Blight's book, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory*, which includes a section on South Carolinian history, and Drew Faust's *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War*. These books examine the Civil War and its memory across the whole South and the role of pivotal themes such as race and rebellion in its enduring memory.

Once the background for monumentation is set, I analyze the building, dedication, and celebration of various Civil War monuments over two distinct periods: the mourning period, which lasted roughly from 1866-1880, and the triumph period, which lasted roughly from 1880-1904. In addition to the previously mentioned sources which provide information on the sociopolitical and cultural influences on monuments, books which focus on the monuments themselves are also essential to my research, such as Robert Siegler's *A Guide to Confederate Monuments in South Carolina: Passing the Silent Cup*, Thomas Brown's *Civil War Canon: Sites of Confederate Memory in South Carolina*, and *Kristina Johnson's No Holier Spot of Ground: Confederate Monuments and Cemeteries of South Carolina*.

While Siegler's book is a mere list and description of each monument, Brown and Johnson go into detail about those who erected the monuments and how they were received in their communities. However, unlike Brown, who picked four specific monuments and focused in on their cultural influence, and Johnson, whose scope involves the reinterment of bodies from Gettysburg and focus includes the formation and organization of cemeteries as well as monuments, I aim to analyze these monuments as tools used to shape and influence memory. Johnson's examination of monuments paints them as expressions of sentiment which depict memory rather than devices to actively mold memory; I support the latter view instead. In my analysis, I examine how monuments from each time period not only reflect states of mourning

and triumph but also fuel those feelings, which is evident from the various addresses, pamphlets, and histories written and recorded by memorial societies during the nineteenth century, as well as newspaper articles documenting monument unveilings.

In order to analyze these works, I assess their reliability through lenses such as the credibility of the authors and the authenticity of the texts, determine the motive behind each monument in relation to its impact on state memory, analyze what each organization and individual's assignment of praise with regard to the monument in question reveals about their biases, and ascertain as to whether each organization or author engaged in historical revision. Furthermore, I analyze how South Carolinians received each of these monuments in order to ascertain the effect that these structures had on them. Finally, I take all of this information and use it to assess the long-term impacts of these early memorialization efforts on South Carolinian memory of the Civil War today.

CHAPTER ONE: BACKGROUND

VIOLENCE AND DEFIANCE: PAVING THE WAY TO THE CIVIL WAR

Although the fighting officially ended at Appomattox on April 9, 1865, the burning

fire of rebellion raged on in the Palmetto State throughout Reconstruction. With a single wave of

the white flag and a flourish of the pen, it seemed to many South Carolinians that so much had

been sacrificed in vain. South Carolina lost approximately 21,000 of the approximately 63,000

men who volunteered in the Confederate army, and about one-fifth of its adult white male

population in total.[9] The reports of the dead had flowed constantly, and for this grim buildup to

only culminate in an eventual defeat proved to be an outcome that many South Carolinians

would neither comprehend nor accept. Paramilitary units sprang up across the upstate. Rifle

Associations formed among the remnants of units of surviving Confederate soldiers. Amidst all

this chaos, nascent memorialization efforts began laying the groundwork for massive

monumentation. Most importantly, the impetus behind the drive to continue the fight and the

desire to erect tombstones and monuments during the years immediately following the war was

the same: to honor the South Carolina dead.

A secondary, still forming motivator was emerging as well, budding forth from the

Victorian tradition of honoring the individual dead through remembrance: that motivator was the

desperate desire to somehow prove to or plead with surviving South Carolinians to make sure

that the dead had not died in vain. To some, that meant continuing the fight for what many called

"The Cause", an ambiguous appeal to Southern sentiment that was often left up to interpretation

by the individual during the latter half of the nineteenth century. It was a spit in the face of

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[9] Kristina Dunn Johnson, *No Holier Spot of Ground: Confederate Monuments and Cemeteries of South Carolina* (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2009), p. 12; and Fritz Hamer, *WWII Memory in the Palmetto State vs. South Carolina's Civil War Legacy* (University of South Carolina University Libraries at Scholar Commons, 2007).

Reconstruction government, a mockery of law and order, and a refusal to acquiesce to the coming of the New South. This attitude, espoused by many white South Carolinians after the war but manifested in very different ways throughout the state, was a direct product of a heritage of Southern romantic conservatism, which was imported from Europe and molded into the foundation for secessionist ideology[10].

This ideology stemmed from European thinkers such as Edmund Burke and Thomas Carlyle and had to do primarily with the way one conceptualized the state. Burke and Carlyle rejected the idea of the "contractual state" put forth by philosophers such as Rousseau, Hobbes, and Locke and instead "viewed human society as a living, breathing organism, and heartily rejected notions of civil polity as contract."[11] Burke considered the state to be a "partnership agreement" which spans many generations. Carlyle sought to reassociate the role of the state and religion, arguing that radical democracy "unhinged the divine order."

Ultimately, as the historian Scott Poole notes, these men's brand of conservatism did not seek to preserve their societies as they were, but rather return them to a previous state. In this line of thinking, the past becomes romanticized and idealized. The longing to reach back into the past is still present in some aspects of antebellum South Carolinian society--from the idolization of eighteenth-century European philosophers to the mimicry of Old-Country aristocracy and class hierarchy--but it becomes a pillar of South Carolinian culture after the Civil War. Confederate memorialization is therefore so important because it became the means by which South Carolinians could articulate their longing to return to the past.

Traditions of Violence and the Foundation for Secession

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[10] W. Scott Poole, *Never Surrender: Confederate Memory and Conservatism in the South Carolina Upcountry* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2004).
[11] Ibid, p. 4.

The roots of South Carolina's particular brand of conservatism which lent itself to the drafting of the Ordinances of Secession as well as the state's starkly defined cultural and geographical regions can be traced back to the very origins of the state itself. Carolina, established as a proprietary colony, was originally meant to be a money-making colony, and it was populated by settlers who were primarily interested in increasing their individual wealth. Perhaps this is why the early settlers declined to ratify any sort of constitution, and several white settlers from the West Indies banded together to form the Goose Creek Men, a political group whose aim was to strike down any action by the proprietary government which interfered with their personal success.[12] The proprietary government was filled with men with similar ideas, as "wealth was the sina qua non for admission into the class that governed South Carolina."[13] Attempts by the Lords Proprietors, who owned the colony, to bring in settlers with more diverse political and philosophical viewpoints only created more political disharmony in the colony, which was concentrated heavily in the Lowcountry of South Carolina, geographically located along the coast, extending about seventy miles inland[14].

By the 1740s and 1750s, the colonial government was determined to populate the backcountry, all of the land northwest of the sandhills, which had previously been deemed uninhabitable by settlers. Whereas the Lowcountry was mostly populated with people of Anglican, British descent, the upstate was a diverse spread of people from Scotch-Irish, French, and German backgrounds, as well as Africans who had escaped the Lowcountry to a nearby region with no laws or courts, and Native Americans. These inhabitants practiced a wide array of different religions. Among the white settlers, many were various sects of Baptist, the majority of

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[12] Walter B. Edgar, *South Carolina: A History* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1998), p. 130.
[13] Ibid.
[14] See Appendix A.

whom were at the time anti-slavery, or at least more egalitarian than the Church of England.[15]

Needing the presence of these people to ensure their security against attacks from the Cherokees

to the west or the Spanish to the south but unwilling to allow their potentially anti-slavery and

anti-establishment ideologies effect political change, the Lowcountry planter class that controlled

the colonial government deliberately refused to enfranchise the people of the upcountry. As a

result of this lack of infrastructure and order, crime flourished in the upstate, and those few

people in the upstate that owned property and livestock became victims to widespread theft.[16]

For these men, slightly elevated in their small communities, the lack of legal options for them to

pursue over the theft of their property was the final straw. It was in the midst of this injustice and

the aftermath of the bloody Cherokee War (1758-1761) that these men, mostly Scots-Irish, anti-

monarchical property-owners, formed the violent vigilante group known as the South Carolina

Regulators, who killed suspected thieves and troublemakers and pillaged towns without remorse

during the 1760s.

The extralegal and anti-establishment views espoused by the Regulators did not come

forth out of a vacuum, but were a product of a society shaped by lack of laws and descended

from resistance to authority stemming from the Goose Creek Men. The Regulators' "willingness

to use violence to achieve order and defend property" would "become a defining characteristic of

upcountry conservative leaders" in the early-to-mid nineteenth century.[17] When the invention of

the cotton gin in 1793 brought the cotton boom to South Carolina and Lowcountry planters

looked to expand their influence into the upstate, slavery and the plantation system was spread

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[15] Jack Bass and W. Scott Poole, *The Palmetto State: The Making of Modern South Carolina* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2012).

[16] Richard Hooker (ed.), "Introduction to the Regulator Documents," *The Carolina Backcountry on the Eve of the Revolution: The Journal and Other Writings of Charles Woodmason, Anglican Itinerant*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953).

[17] Richard Gardiner, "The Presbyterian War?" *Journal of the American Revolution*, Sept. 5, 2013.

over every inch of the state, virtually eliminating the planter class' fear that those in the upcountry might try to outlaw slavery if given political representation, and politics in the upstate began to closely mirror those in the Lowcountry. By the 1860s, it seemed to outsiders as if the entire state was firmly united in support of the Cause.[18]

The Cultural Glue of Slavery

Indeed, as the upcountry became enfranchised and slavery spread throughout all its districts, the politics of both of South Carolina's major regions began to more closely resemble each other. As Jack Bass and Poole put it in their history of South Carolina, "white unity over the issue of slavery mattered far more than religious or ethnic differences."[19] By 1860, 45.8% of the state's white families owned slaves, and at least one household in every upstate district except one qualified as a member of the planter class with twenty or more slaves.[20] Slavery was the principal unifier of the state in the early nineteenth century. Walter Edgar, who wrote another history of the Palmetto State, affirmed the pivotal role of slavery in South Carolinian politics and culture by saying that "there was not an aspect of everyday life that was not affected by the peculiar institution."[21] He quotes Presbyterian Reverend James H. Thornwell, an ardent supporter of slavery at the time, who once said, "'slavery is implicated in every fibre [sic] of Southern society.'"[22] In fact, as Peter H. Wood reveals in his book, *Black Majority*, due to its place as the foundation of the state's economy, class structure, and government, slavery was no less than the cornerstone in the formation of South Carolina as a state.[23]

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[18] Richard Hooker (ed.), "Introduction." *The Carolina Backcountry on the Eve of the Revolution: The Journal and Other Writings of Charles Woodmason, Anglican Itinerant* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953).
[19] Bass and Poole, *The Palmetto State*, p. 30.
[20] Edgar, *South Carolina*, p. 311.
[21] Ibid, p. 288.
[22] Ibid, p. 288.
[23] Peter H. Wood, *Black Majority* (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1974).

Even among various religious groups, justification for slavery seemed ubiquitous-- although it had not always been that way. There had once been vocal pockets of Baptists and Quakers in South Carolina who opposed slavery, but as the whole economy of the state and therefore its entire population became dependent on the plantation system, preachers and their congregations found ways to bend their doctrine to accommodate what they had once condemned. Thornwell even went farther to link the slaveholding hierarchy to the model of the traditional patriarchal family. By comparing threats to slavery to threats to a man's place as head of the household, even non-slaveholding white men could sympathize with those clinging to South Carolina's most heavily guarded peculiar institution.[24]

Slavery was also linked in the people's minds to state pride, as it was credited with the economic prosperity of the state and its planter elite, who comprised twenty percent of the state's white population by 1860.[25] This link was evident in the art and literature being produced in the Charleston School, which was "a literary outpouring in the last decade or so before the war." Some of the most notable celebrities in this school were William Gilmore Simms, an author, and Henry Timrod, a poet. Although Simms wrote mainly fiction, he also wrote a history of South Carolina in 1842, later updated by his daughter in 1860, which not only upheld racial hierarchy and white supremacy but also "stressed sectional differences and magnified the role of the South in the American Revolution,"[26] a reflection of the secessionist fervor which was gripping the state at the time of publication. His book was used as a textbook in South Carolinian schools through a large portion of the twentieth century, after history became a popular school subject.

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[24] Edgar, *South Carolina*, p. 294.
[25] Ibid, p. 311.
[26] Ibid, p. 303.

Controlling the historical narrative of South Carolina was a project near and dear to Simms, who confessed to an editor that his true goal in his novels was "'revising history.'"[27]

Home to literary forces such as these, Charleston was a unique city in the antebellum South. With a substantial working class and one-third of the state's free black population, the city and its planter class were in a state of perpetual struggle between the old and the new, between tradition and progress. Simms remarked of this struggle, "'There are two very distinct cities in Charleston---the old and the new---representing rival communities.'"[28] In fact, there were other worlds hidden within Charleston that the sophisticated writer may never have explored---those of Charleston poor whites, free blacks, and slaves. The politics of these groups and their approaches to secession and the ensuing war were necessarily complex, especially for the free black population of Charleston. Most of Charleston's freemen were light-skinned, and some were even white-passing, including Henry Timrod, who hid his black ancestry.[29] Even though many of his peers were aware of his family tree, it was ignored--likely because he was such a staunch supporter of secession and the Confederacy.

Such seeming betrayals of one's own ancestry were common among South Carolinians of mixed race, but not without reason; the consequences of openly challenging the existing sociopolitical power structures and the wealthy families that perpetuated them could be dire. Fear of re-enslavement compelled most of Charleston's free black population to try to distance themselves socially as much as possible from nearby slaves, but they were always kept out of reach of true prosperity and relegated to a lower class, becoming known in the Lowcountry as

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[27] Edgar, *South Carolina*, p. 303.
[28] Ibid, pp. 290-291.
[29] Thomas J. Brown, *Civil War Canon: Sites of Confederate Memory in South Carolina* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press Books, 2015).

Charleston's "brown elite."[30] In the wake of secession, eighty-two free black men in Charleston

signed an address to the governor in an attempt at self-preservation, claiming, "'We are by birth

citizens of South Carolina, in our veins is the blood of the white race in some half, in others

more, our attachments are with you.'" They also vowed to "'offer up [their] lives, and all that is

dear to [them]' in the defense of South Carolina."[31]

Such an appeal is profoundly troubling knowing the many decades of "pigmentation

politics"[32] perpetrated by whites in positions of power that would follow, but in the moment it

was a shrewd self-preservation tactic, especially in light of the turning political tide in South

Carolina leading up to the Civil War. Scared by a recently planned slave rebellion by Denmark

Vesey, white South Carolinians were even more fiercely protective of slavery and the economic

prosperity it secured for them when the Tariff of 1824 was introduced. This bill threatened to

hurt foreign trade, which South Carolina's agrarian economy depended upon. Several prominent

South Carolinians went on the attack. Robert J. Turnbull posited that the tariff was "part of a

larger plan by the North and West to destroy slavery"[33] in a pamphlet titled *The Crisis*. Thomas

Cooper, the president of South Carolina College, suggested that "the time had come to 'calculate

the value of the Union.'"[34]

The ensuing Tariff of 1828, a ramped-up version of the 1824 bill that South Carolinians

nicknamed the Tariff of Abominations, propelled John C. Calhoun, an upcountry man himself,

and his doctrine of nullification to the forefront of South Carolina political consciousness.

Calhoun anonymously published a tract called *Exposition and Protest* "that advanced a theory of

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[30] Edgar, *South Carolina*, p. 310.
[31] Ibid, p. 310.
[32] Ibid, p. 310.
[33] Bass and Poole, *The Palmetto State*, p. 38.
[34] Ibid, p. 38.

state sovereignty that would allow a state to nullify a federal law." Calhoun's radical ideas were used as the cornerstone of secessionist ideology, somewhat ironic for a man whom Edgar claims to have "deprecate[d] the idea of states' rights"[35] in Washington. However, it is true that Calhoun favored a strong central government, and when he revealed that he had authored *Exposition and Protest*, his ideology was "unwittingly and to his distress was expanded by South Carolina's more radical defenders of slavery to claim a state's right to withdraw from the Union."[36] These radical defenders, often "the planter elite and their urban associates,"[37] began calling for measures such as a nullification convention. Despite his reservations about secession and state government, Calhoun quickly thereafter became lauded as a champion of states' rights, and a memorial association was founded in his honor after his death, headed by the same woman who would go on to spearhead the growth of Confederate monumentation in Charleston, Mary Amarinthia Snowden.

Meanwhile, nullification and its sister policy, secession, swept through the state like wildfire. By 1831, Calhoun's protégé George McDuffie, who had previously contended that "the only individuals who promoted states' rights were 'ambitious men of inferior talents' who could not distinguish themselves on the national scene,"[38] gave an impassioned speech in Charleston in support of both nullification and secession that "electrified the audience."[39] Robert Barnwell Rhett, a prominent secessionist, joined him in this endeavor. So alluring were these ideas in South Carolina that Bass and Poole note that "by 1832, the Nullifiers had the upper hand in state

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[35] Edgar, *South Carolina*, p. 325.
[36] Bass and Poole, *The Palmetto State*, p. 38.
[37] Ibid, p. 38.
[38] Edgar, *South Carolina*, p. 325.
[39] Bass and Poole, *The Palmetto State*, p. 39.

politics."[40] There was no turning back the tide of the Civil War now. As Bass and Poole point out, "the Nullification Crisis had spawned a whole generation of men who 'calculated the value of the Union' and decided it not worth preserving.'"[41] These men came into political consciousness jaded, cynical, and wary of the Union.[42]

South Carolinians spilled blood in defense of slavery even before the outbreak of the Civil War. Groups of men from the towns of Edgefield and Beaufort went to Kansas in the 1850s and participated in the bloody feud known as Bleeding Kansas in an attempt to ensure that the state voted to become a slave state through popular sovereignty. In the chambers of the United States Senate in May 1856, Congressman Preston Brooks of Edgefield battered Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts with a cane after he gave a rousing antislavery speech. Despite being forced to leave office, Brooks was almost unanimously reelected.[43]

So firmly pro-secessionist was South Carolinian politics by 1860 that Abraham Lincoln did not even appear on the South Carolina ballot.[44] One month after his election, a secession convention was held in Columbia, the state's capital. After one meeting, it moved to Charleston, due in no small part to the fact that "secessionist fervor ran strongest"[45] there. The decision to secede was unanimous.

THE WAR

Almost immediately after the first shots were fired at Fort Sumter, Charleston was under siege. The Union quickly seized Port Royal Sound, and the planters there fled upstate, making

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[40] Bass and Poole, *The Palmetto State*, p. 39.

[41] Ibid, p. 39.

[42] For a vastly more detailed and lauded explanation of how slavery was the catalyst that led South Carolina from the Nullification Crisis to secession, please consult William W. Freehling's *Prelude to the Civil War: The Nullification Controversy in South Carolina 1816-1836* (1966).

[43] Bass and Poole, *The Palmetto State*.

[44] Ibid, p. 42.

[45] Ibid, p. 42.

the slaves who lived there free by military might, if not law. Bass and Poole note the exuberant

rejoicing that followed by the numerous black inhabitants of the island. Thus began what Union

forces called the Port Royal experiment, in which Union soldiers and Northern philanthropists

attempted to educate and "civilize" the newly freed black people living there in order to gauge

how well they would integrate into white-dominated free society after the war.[46] Freemen from

Port Royal Sound later formed the first federally-authorized black Union regiment called the

First South Carolina Volunteers in 1863.[47]

White Lowcountry inhabitants who could not flee Union siege had a much more dismal

experience in the war, which James Louis Petigru, a rare South Carolinian unionist, summed up

well by remarking, "'the war makes itself felt very near us.'"[48] Confederate South Carolinians

did have momentary victories during the war that would later resurface in monumentation, such

as the rise to military power of Wade Hampton III, heir to a prominent upcountry family,[49] and

the world's first successful submarine attack, which was launched off the coast of Sullivan's

Island, SC by the famous H. L. L. Hunley.[50]

Ultimately, however, despite high points for Confederate South Carolinians, the war's

conclusion became obvious as Appomattox neared. Most white South Carolinians refused to

accept this outcome, however, reacting with "a combination of fear and defiance."[51] General

Hampton personally escorted Jefferson Davis from Abbeville, SC, expressing a hope that the

Confederate president would continue to attack the Union from the Mexican border. Upon

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[46] Bass and Poole, *The Palmetto State*, pp. 44-45.
[47] Ibid, p. 46.
[48] Ibid, p. 47.
[49] Ibid, p. 47.
[50] Ibid, p. 47.
[51] Ibid, p. 50.

hearing of Lee's surrender at Appomattox, Martin Witherspoon Gary, a cavalry general from Edgefield, told his troops that "South Carolinians never surrender."[52] While black South Carolinians finally rejoiced, "a white insurgency exploded across the state."[53] Fragments of Confederate companies and guerilla units sprang up to intimidate and harass black regiments stationed at small towns like Pineville. Eventually, however, the impact of the staggering death toll on white South Carolinians began to overpower their will to fight, and the focus of the state's white inhabitants shifted to mourning.

Although the grief was felt everywhere in the state, the war itself impacted the two major regions of South Carolina in very different ways as well. More military-age white men in the upstate volunteered than in the Lowcountry, due in no small part to the fact that the proportion of young slaveholding white men was higher in the Lowcountry, and those men felt that they could not afford to leave their plantations lest their slaves revolt. As the Southern Confederacy struggled to keep up with the costs of war, small towns in the upstate felt the pangs of starvation stronger than urban centers like Charleston.[54] In addition, the devastation felt by Sherman's march affected the heart of the state the worst, devastating Columbia, the capital city, while Charleston's plea to be spared was granted. All these factors heightened the sense of loss felt across the upstate, and in turn fueled their burning desire to identify and honor their dead.

But why was identifying the dead, and honoring those who could not be identified, so important after this particular war? After all, as Faust points out, the creation of national cemeteries and the practicing of "honoring the military dead[55]" in the U.S. began with the Civil

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[52] Bass and Poole, *The Palmetto State*, p. 52.

[53] Ibid, p. 53.

[54] Drew Gilpin Faust, *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War* (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 2008), p. xii.

[55] Ibid, p. 103.

War. In fact, this war--unlike any other that Americans had waged--changed the very concept of the individual's relationship to their nation and the very idea of what it meant to fight for one's nation. Rather than two professional armies fighting, the troops on both sides were mostly common people who took up arms to fight for ideals. It was truly a sacrifice to leave everything from one's life behind and be willing to die for a country. Unlike soldiers from wars past, these volunteers were not trained in combat, and they did not know what to expect. The significance of this dramatic decision outlined the relationship between these men and the states they served, reinforced the importance of citizenship to one's identity, and altogether made the war and its casualties feel very intimate for volunteers and their families back home.

Inability to know for sure whether one's loved ones were alive or dead, wounded or healthy created an environment in which Southerners were unable to properly advance through the stages of grief. By throwing themselves in the work of identifying--or if not identifying, then memorializing--their dead, Southerners could not only cope with their losses but also regain some semblance of vitality and culture in their communities.[56]

THEMES OF REMEMBRANCE

Out of this sense of loss sprung efforts to perpetuate the memory of those who died and control the narrative of the cause for which they perished--the narrative of the Lost Cause. Other scholars such as Charles Reagan Wilson and Gaines M. Foster who have studied the perpetuation of the Lost Cause in states such as Virginia, Tennessee, and Georgia have come to various interpretations of the phenomenon, such as that it was primarily a religious movement or that it was an attempt of New South proponents to mold and solidify new traditions. However, Poole's theory, that the Lost Cause and monumentation functioned as means of "cultural revitalization"

[56] Faust, *This Republic of Suffering*.

in the South, seems truest for South Carolina.[57] Within the framework of culture, religion and some traditional aspects of Southern culture emerge as themes, but they are each just pieces of the puzzle.

During the first fifty years of Confederate monumentation in South Carolina, four distinct cultural themes emerge: resistance, religion, race, and masculinity. The expression of these themes in Confederate monuments can furthermore be separated into two chronological time periods: the first, from 1866-1880, being the period of mourning, and the second, from 1880-1904, being the period of triumph. There is necessarily some overlap, mainly between the years of 1879-1891, during which time the tone of monumentation gradually shifts from the first period to the second.

White South Carolinians' unwillingness to surrender after the end of the Civil War is often expressed, however subtly, in monuments dedicated to Confederate soldiers. Resistance takes many forms, from urging onlookers to continue to fight for the same ideals as the Confederate dead did, to wishing that the Confederate dead would not have died in vain, to venerating the ideals of the Confederacy and refusing to submit to or respect the United States government. In the mourning period, memorial associations frame this resistance as an act of love and devotion to those who died, whereas in the triumph period, they frame it as an act of pride, and perhaps vengeance.

The monuments designed to consecrate the Confederate dead in South Carolina render the spirituality of war and remembrance palpable. White South Carolinians simultaneously looked for and ascribed meaning and purpose to these monuments in a cycle as the "living were compelled to find meaning in the dead and, as in most wars, the dead would have a hold on the

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[57] Poole, *Never Surrender*, p. 58.

living."[58] During the mourning period, these monuments represent the efforts of white South Carolinians to honor their dead according to their Victorian Christian traditions of making sure the bodies were identified and preserved whenever possible to prepare for the resurrection, as well as to infuse spiritual significance into their sacrifice.

As South Carolina prepared to face a future in which they would have to abandon slavery, reunite with the Union, and navigate the balance between racial healing and justice within their communities, white South Carolinians became eager to revise the role slavery had played in secession, refusing in many cases to acknowledge or process the memory and legacy of slavery. As historian David Blight points out, comparing the process of racial reconciliation in South Carolina to that in South Africa, "in the wake of the Civil War, there were no 'Truth and Reconciliation' commissions through which to process memories of either slavery or the experience of total war."[59] Indeed, because white South Carolinians could not accept a society in which they coexisted with black people as equals, they soon came to realize that their acceptance back into the fold of white American society could not come about without "the denigration of black dignity and the attempted erasure of emancipation from the national narrative of what the war had been about."[60] Racial themes in early monumentation manifest themselves through this framework of erasure during the mourning period of monumentation.

In the triumph period of monumentation, there is a political shift in South Carolina which sets out to undo everything Reconstruction had changed in the state. In this period white South Carolinians had begun to reunite with the rest of white America, "a political triumph by the late nineteenth century," and their goal then was primarily to return as closely as possible to the

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[58] David Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), p. 6.
[59] Ibid, p. 3.
[60] Ibid, p. 5.

antebellum racial structure of society in which they had subjugated black South Carolinians. Blight goes so far as to posit that "the sectional reunion after so horrible a civil war...could not have been achieved without the re-subjugation of many of those people whom the war had freed from centuries of bondage."[61] Monuments in this time period, therefore, display a sense of domination, of one race triumphing over another, and even to an extent the exacting of all the pent up fear of a racial reckoning that white South Carolinians had been harboring during Reconstruction.

Finally, these monuments explore the ideas of gender roles and masculinity in particular and the ways in which the war both affirmed and called into question Confederates' masculinity. There are two very distinct patterns along this line. In the mourning period, Confederate monuments in South Carolina evoke a sense of emasculation that the war's loss inflicted upon Confederate soldiers, whereas in the triumph period, Confederate monuments express a sense of re-masculation as white South Carolinian men return to complete political control over the state. Furthermore, the work of monumentation solidified the roles of both masculinity and femininity by defining the two and elevating those who sacrificed within their spheres. Ultimately, the men and women who erected monuments during this time period sought to bring socio-cultural order to their communities and project their ideals and beliefs onto future generations.

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[61] Blight, *Race and Reunion*, p. 3.

<center>CHAPTER TWO: MOURNING, 1866-1880</center>

INTRODUCTION

<center>*"The death of men is not the death of rights that urged them to the fray." Unknown*</center>

<center>*Confederate Dead Monument, Columbia, SC 1899.*</center>

The desire for monumentation, expressed as early as 1866 by Henry Timrod, began almost immediately following the war. However, early monumentation efforts were not the "romantic, nostalgic activit[ies]" that they were in the twentieth century. White male South Carolinians had lost not just the war, but also their economic prosperity, their political monopoly, and their pride. The entire power structure they had built that ensured their dominion over Southern society seemed to be collapsing around them, and many were not sure whether to adapt or to fight during "the agony of that period which was not war and was not peace."[62]

Companies of former Confederate volunteers all around the state, some of which had even been organized since the Revolutionary War or earlier, continued to meet, reminisce, and remember fallen comrades--as well as form rifle guards to be ready to take up the cause of the Confederacy again and, at times, intimidate black men from exercising their newly won rights through force. Several of these companies who had the manpower and the means to continue to meet despite federal occupation were located in the relative comfort of Charleston. One such company was the Charleston Light Dragoons, who had organized as early as 1733 and had a long military history in South Carolina.[63] Two others, the Irish Volunteers and the Washington Light

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[62] Isabel D. Martin and John Smith Preston, "The South Carolina Monument Association, origin history and work, with an account of the proceedings at the unveiling of the monument to the Confederate dead; and the oration of Gen. John S. Preston, at Columbia, S.C. May 13, 1879" (Charleston: The News and Courier Book Presses, 1879), p. 7.

[63] Robert S. Siegler, *A Guide to Confederate Monuments in South Carolina: Passing the Silent Cup* (Columbia: South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1997).

Infantry, had first fought in the War of 1812.[64] John C. Mitchel, an officer in the Irish

Volunteers, had become highly decorated over the course of the war. He and other officers, such

as Francis Huger Harleston, General Briggen Ripley, and General P. G. T. Beauregard would

become memorialized for their acts in the war. Even some women who took it upon themselves

to travel with Confederate soldiers and care for them gained recognition for their acts, such as

Mary Amarinthia Snowden, Lucinda Horn, and Mary Ann Buie.

Many male former Confederates refused to acknowledge the end of the fighting, directing

their aggression at black state militias and newly-elected black politicians. A large number of

these men joined the Ku Klux Klan during the latter half of the 1860s, dressing up as the spirits

of Confederate soldiers to haunt black voters. Others shrank back from public life, refusing to

acknowledge the Reconstruction government or the 1868 state constitution they wrote as

legitimate. Either way, the collective defiance of white South Carolinians during this time period

can be summed up by former cavalry general Martin Witherspoon Gary, who, upon learning of

the events at Appomattox, declared, "South Carolinians never surrender!"[65]

RESISTANCE

Judge Hudson wiped the sweat from his brow and gazed down at all of those congregated

in the small churchyard. Several women fanned themselves; many others wiped away silent tears

as they regarded the sixteen-foot tall marble obelisk behind him, the first of its kind in the South.

The crowd heeded the inscription on the monument's South-facing side, which instructed them to

"bold champions of the South revere and view these tombs with love--brave heroes slumber

here." He cleared his throat and continued.

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[64] Siegler, *Passing the Silent Cup*.

[65] Bass and Poole, *The Palmetto State*, p. 52.

"We ask not that the blood of the slain be avenged. To history we leave the vindication of their conduct. We only seek to fulfill in a humble manner our duty to the dead, and to comply with their dying wish to be remembered for their valor and steady obedience to the laws of their state."[66]

His eulogy was met with solemn clapping and tearful nods. As the mourners began to lay flowers at the foot of the pillar, he too knelt at its base to mutter a few personal words of prayer. A former lieutenant colonel of the 26th South Carolina Infantry himself, he understood all too well this monument's significance to those who were grieving. He hoped many more would follow it.

153 years later, citizens of Cheraw, SC still boast that their town is home to the first Confederate monument in the South. However, early memorialization efforts such as this one were not acts born of pride but rather strife.

The story of South Carolinian resistance to submit to their defeat also includes their lack of resistance. As is the case with most wars, the initial grief at the loss of so many lives far outweighed most people's devotion to the Confederacy, and early tributes to those who had died primarily reflected not defiance but genuine sorrow.

Many of these early monuments put more emphasis on the soldiers rather than the cause for which they fought, and some even make no reference to the "Cause" at all. Instead, they laud the soldiers who died with poetry. In 1878, a small group of citizens who had formed the River's Bridge Monumental and Memorial Association commissioned a stone tablet in honor of the Confederate soldiers who had been killed in a battle there that read, "Soldiers rest, your warfare o'er, sleep the sleep that knows no breaking. Dream of battle fields [sic] no more, days of

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[66] J. H. Hudson, "Dedication Address, July 26 1867, Cheraw," Museum of the Confederacy Archives, Richmond, VA.

danger, nights of wakeing [sic].”[67] This tribute is not a call to battle, but rather a longing for long-awaited peace.

Some later monuments still follow this pattern, evincing that the state did not uniformly pass through all the stages of grief. In 1891, the Washington Light Infantry Charitable Association and Rifle Club erected an obelisk to their fallen comrades which included the poem, “At every board a vacant chair fills with quick tears some tender eye, and at our maddest sport appear those well-loved forms that will not die; we lift the glass, our hand is stayed--we jest, a spectre rises up--and weeping, though no word is said, we kiss and pass the silent cup.”[68] The depths of their despair at the loss of their fellow soldiers is palpable; no physical war could continue to be fought in this state of grief. An even lengthier poem reveals the anguish they wished to express with this monument:

> A myriad of unknown heroes rest, and we can only dimly guess what worlds of all this world’s distress, what utter woe, despair and dearth their fate has brought to many a hearth.
> And she points with tremulous hand below to the wasted and worn array of the heroes who strove in the morning glow, of the grandeur that crowned the gray. Alas for the broken and battered hosts, frail wrecks from a gory sea tho’ pale as a band in the realm of ghosts. Salute them they fought with Lee.[69]

Even in the midst of their defeat and despair, there is a ferocity and pride evident in their poetry, as they bid onlookers to salute the dead and the grandeur that crowns them. Likewise, as late as 1902, St. Michael’s Church in Charleston, along with the UDC and SCV, commissioned a

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[67] See Index, “Battle Site Marker,” 1878.

[68] See Index, “Washington Light Infantry Monument,” 1891.

[69] Ibid.

marble tablet in memory of dead Confederate soldiers which simply read, "They fell on their stainless shields."[70] Concise and heartfelt, this inscription reveals the refusal of South Carolinians to recognize even the possibility of wrongdoing on the part of the Confederate dead.

However, there were monuments during this time period that did mention the Cause, either in a neutral or protective tone. One prime example is the commemorative gravestone that the LMA of Charleston commissioned for Captain John C. Mitchel of the Irish Volunteers, which reads, "The gallant young Irish officer, Capt. John C. Mitchel gave up his life for the cause of the South."[71] Mitchel himself is described as gallant, but the cause for which he fought is presented neutrally. His gravestone is one of very few instances of neutrality on the subject of the Civil War to be found in South Carolina.

Colonel B. H. Rutledge, in his 1875 Confederate Memorial Day address at Magnolia Cemetery in Charleston, also attempted to strike a conciliatory tone. "It is not my intention," he insisted, "to reopen the argument or inquire into the justice or injustice, the moral or political right or wrong of the Confederate struggle." These were surprisingly neutral words from a former Confederate soldier! But his true feelings became clear as he continued:

> The Southern soldier had been taught from his youth up that his State was his sovereign, that his allegiance was due to it…. The last point of human dishonor, in his estimation, was infidelity to his State…. They were right to do what they did, because they believed themselves so…. Thinking, feeling, believing as they did, and as their fathers did before them, they would have been recreant to their obligations of citizenship, false to their duty,

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[70] See Index, "St. Michael's Church Tablet," 1902.
[71] See Index, "John C. Mitchel's Grave," 1878.

and a disgrace to themselves as men and Americans had they done otherwise. They need

no apology, no excuse.[72]

His defense of the Confederate soldiers echoes a common belief that mourning monuments

exhibit: that Confederates were in the right simply because they believed that they were; in other

words, that the strength of their convictions matters more than whether those convictions were

objectively morally sound.

Other monuments which mourned the dead seemed fiercely protective of the causes for

which the dead had fought and expounded in a bitter tone the virtues of the Confederacy. One

such example is the Unknown Dead Monument in the small town of Kingstree, South Carolina.

Records are uncertain about whether the Kingstree Friends of Temperance erected the marble

obelisk in 1874 or 1875, but it is the first monument in South Carolina to mention the Lost Cause

by name.[73] It is no surprise that the Friends of Temperance are so bold in their inscription despite

continued federal occupation as this was just prior to the start of Wade Hampton III's

gubernatorial campaign, in which his brand of new southern conservative emboldened white

South Carolinians to openly long for the return of the Confederacy and the old South.

However, the Darlington County Monument does focus on sorrow and grief while also

presenting a defiant subtext. Beneath an engraved outline of a palmetto tree within a state seal,

the LMA of Darlington County included a poem by W. P. Smith, which reads, "On fame's

eternal/Camping Ground, their silent tents are spread; and glory guards/with solemn round, the

bivouac of the dead."[74] Yet even amidst the mourning, there is a bit of rebellious pride in the

next phrase, which asserts that "conquered they can never be, whose spirits and whose souls are

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[72] Benjamin Huger Rutledge, "Memorial Day, May 10th, 1875 : address of Col. B.H. Rutledge," Charleston: A. J. Burke, 1875, p. 3.
[73] See Index, "Unknown Dead Monument," 1874/1875.
[74] See Index, "Darlington County Monument," 1880.

free."[75] A prelude to the triumphant feeling that would dominate later monumentation, this inscription is cloaked in religious sentiment, but when taken together with the next line, it is clear that it is certainly about the outcome of the Civil War---"they never fail who die in a great cause."[76]

The Newberry District Monument uses fewer words and more imagery to get its point across. Adorned with engravings of cannonballs, magnolia leaves, flags, bayonets, and a palmetto tree, this marble shaft is an artistic tribute to "the soldiers of the Southern Confederacy from Newberry district of South Carolina who battled for right and perished."[77] The images are symbols of fierce alliance to state and region and reverence of the military cause of the Confederacy. There is a clear delineation from sorrow and shame to open defiance from Cheraw to Newberry.

RELIGION

Memory as a subject of history is unlike any other; whereas other branches of historiography are interpersonal, dealing with the interaction of different people or groups over time, or chronological, dealing with continuity and change, memory is introspective, dealing with thoughts, feelings, and recollections, both individual and collective. Whereas the aim of most fields of history is to uncover what happened, the aim of memory studies is to uncover what people believe happened, or what a certain group of people desired others to believe happened. Besides being highly emotionally charged, memory as a subject can also be regarded as spiritual, in the sense that it is about belief foremost before reason. Klein even goes so far as to make a distinction between pure historical analysis, which he believes is meant to be secular and

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[75] See Index, "Darlington County Monument," 1880.
[76] Ibid.
[77] See Index, "Newberry District Monument."

rational, and memory study, which he believes is related to religion and affection.[78] It is certainly true that the word memory invokes certain warm, positive associations--nostalgia, commemoration, reminiscence--that the word history does not. And collective memory, traditions, and folklore are passed down much in the same way that religious teachings typically are, especially in a relatively homogeneous community in terms of culture and religion: learned first at home, and then corroborated by one's peers. Confederate monuments in South Carolina do not simply passively influence memory; most of them were conceptualized and designed with the express purpose of memorialization, and even with the implicit purpose of revision. Perhaps that is why so many of them take a rather religious tone, and why so many of these early monuments rest on church grounds and in church graveyards.

Many early monuments are doubly spiritual because they focus so intently on the dead. In nearly every culture, death is regarded as spiritual in some way, and nearly all religions have proper ways to regard the dead and beliefs about what comes after. In times of tragedy, many people find comfort in the promise of a reward for their lost loved ones. This is especially true in nineteenth-century South Carolina, where Christian symbolism pervaded nearly every public and private space, every cemetery, every monument. Therefore, in a sense, the religious sentiments expressed in many of the early monuments could be regarded as insignificant because they were so common that they might as well have been incorporated without thought. However, these monuments were constructed during a time when South Carolinians were acutely aware that they were the losers in the eyes of history, and they were thus put on the defensive to justify their actions. By comforting themselves and all future generations with the belief that their dead were being rewarded for their actions in the afterlife, they were asserting that the Confederate dead

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[78] Klein, "On the Emergence of Memory in Historical Discourse."

deserved to be remembered not only because they were missed but also because of their own virtuosity.

Even though the tone of these religious sentiments is hopeful rather than defeated, there is still a marked difference between mournful religious monuments and triumphant religious monuments, which largely boils down to the focus on the people who are dead rather than their legacy or accomplishments. For this reason the dead at Cheraw are "fallen but not forgotten,"[79] and those at Kingstree are "awaiting the long roll."[80] Some inscriptions are blunt--take the Newberry District Monument or the Lexington County Monument, for example, which declare, "this is a record of sacred dead,"[81] and "these are our dead[,] sleep on in silent rest,"[82] respectively--while others are a little more poetic and a little more hopeful, too. Those in Sumter remembered their fallen as "faithful in life" and "glorious in death,"[83] while those in Aiken affirm that their dead "kept the faith of their fathers forever honored and forever mourned."[84] The Torpedo Boat Memorial, which commemorates those who manned the first ever submarine and "were drowned in this desperate service," recalls that the crew of the H. L. Hunley were "moved by the lofty faith that with them died"[85] in a far more somber inscription. However, even the most solemn religious invocation expressed in these monuments is peaceful. Though some might not have wanted to admit it, South Carolinians were tired of war.

MASCULINITY

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[79] See Index, "Monument to the War Dead at Cheraw."
[80] See Index, "Unknown Dead Monument."
[81] See Index, "Newberry District Monument."
[82] See Index, "Lexington County Monument."
[83] See Index, "Sumter District Monument."
[84] See Index, "Aiken County Monument."
[85] See Index, "Torpedo Boat Memorial."

Gender, and more specifically the idea of masculinity, was a central theme in many monuments during this time period. Southern Confederates had faced the ultimate emasculation at Appomattox: defeat. They had been overpowered, outsmarted, and subdued by the Union throughout the war, and now they faced the peculiar situation of having to rejoin the states that had crushed them as equals. For a state that prided itself on never shying away from a fight and never surrendering, the shame was felt in every town.

White South Carolinian men also expressed a sense of powerlessness as they were suddenly no longer the only demographic eligible to vote, and resultantly, the state legislature accurately reflected the racial makeup of the state for the first time. As more and more black men began to hold offices during Reconstruction, they passed more and more egalitarian laws and even rewrote the state constitution. White South Carolinians considered any power and authority in the hands of black men to be the "deepest degradation"[86] they could face, as well as an affront to the duty and right of white men to lead in every sphere of life.

Honoring and venerating the dead were not only potential means of resistance, but also potential tools to defend and assert the manhood of white South Carolinian Confederates. However, white men were prohibited from erecting monuments of a political nature to the Confederacy under the Reconstruction government. Therefore, white South Carolinian men found some respite in the efforts of white women to memorialize their fallen comrades, as well as the adoration and praise heaped on them through women's monumentation efforts. Through allowing white women a certain modicum of political freedom, white men could assuage their own bruised egos; in that sense, the empowerment of white women to erect monuments served to help reinforce white male masculinity.

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[86] See Index, "Wade Hampton Tablet."

Gender plays a striking role in every aspect of Civil War monumentation in South Carolina. Not only can one glean information about common societal gender roles from the inscriptions of some of these monuments, but also there exists an evident strife to dictate and enforce certain roles, duties, and spheres to men and women through raising money to erect monuments, dedicating monuments, and determining what images and inscriptions will be engraved on the monuments.

It is fairly easy to discern what idealistic attributes are ascribed to men by and through these monuments; men are the "brave heroes,"[87] patriotic and unyielding, the knights in shining armor who are to be perceived as every bit as virtuous and just as the cause for which they fought and died. They are portrayed as larger than life heroes, either literally through sixteen-foot-tall statues that tower over the South Carolina countryside, or through the words engraved below which describe them as "true to the instincts of their birth, faithful to the teachings of their fathers, [and] constant in their love for the state."[88] Whether they themselves declare with their dying breaths that they "willingly give [their] life for South Carolina,"[89] or others claim on their behalf that they "have glorified a fallen cause by the simple manhood of their lives,"[90] the ideals of heroism and manhood are intertwined.

This rhetoric was more manipulative than it may initially seem. In South Carolina, with its heavy Christian and Victorian influences, the very act of dying for a cause constituted a Christ-like sacrifice, and it became impossible to disentangle one's feelings toward a dead soldier from the cause for which he perished. The scope of Civil War casualties was so

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[87] See Index, "Monument to the War Dead at Cheraw."
[88] See Index, "South Carolina Monument."
[89] See Index, "John C. Mitchel's Grave."
[90] See Index, "South Carolina Monument."

expansive that it seemed to touch nearly every white family in South Carolina, and the thought of the deaths of their loved ones being in vain--or worse, for a morally depraved cause--was intolerable to even consider. Thus, mourners began to believe that their dead were virtuous simply for dying for a cause in which they believed, and that by extension, that cause was made just by their loved ones' devotion. To suggest that the reasons for which the Confederacy fought were immoral would have been perceived as akin to suggesting that those who had died were immoral in those days. The construction of Civil War memory and Lost Cause romanticism began therefore in the hearts and minds of grieving families immediately after the war. Monuments from these early years not only reflect these themes but also play a part in passing them along to each generation.

However, defining manhood is meaningless if there is not also an opposing yet complementary concept to act as its foil. Womanhood and its expectations and duties are also defined and shaped by and through monumentation following the Civil War and are often placed in contrast with ideal masculinity. One prime example of this contrast is in Darlington County in 1880. The "brave men of Darlington County" are gratefully remembered in their community as responders to the "call of duty" and heroes who "laid down their lives in a glorious struggle to defend the rights and uphold the honor of South Carolina."[91] Theirs was the task of defending, protecting, and sacrificing. In contrast, the "women of their county, whose prayers followed them into the battlefield, and in whose memories they still live" "lovingly erected" the obelisk to them.[92] Their tasks were to love, pray, and remember. In this context men's duties are concrete, active, and aggressive, whereas women's duties are meek, spiritual, and compassionate. Indeed,

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[91] See Index, "Darlington County Monument."
[92] Ibid.

the spiritual connotations of remembrance placed monumentation almost entirely within the sphere of women's work.

Along the same vein, just as it was women's work to "watch and work, and weary Heaven with vain appeals for victory," it was a woman's duty to "guard the precious dust of the martyred dead of their state."[93] In fact, women had long played a role in monumentation, even from before the Civil War in organizations such as the Ladies' Calhoun Monumental Association, and during the war in organizations such as the Soldier's Relief Association. Mary Amarinthia Snowden, an officer of both of those organizations, became the first and most influential president of the Ladies Memorial Association of Charleston. Having gained fame in her state for nursing soldiers on the front lines and sewing money for the Calhoun Monument into her dress to protect it from Sherman's march, Snowden took it upon herself to form the Ladies Memorial Association of Charleston, which exhumed and reburied many of the bodies of South Carolinian Confederates at Gettysburg, commissioned tombstones, and erected the monument to John C. Mitchel and the Defenders of Charleston Monument.[94] Even among the men in her state, she was highly regarded as a figure of some authority on the matters of memorialization. Not long after her death, the LMA of Charleston waned in activity and was absorbed by the UDC.

In fact, the gender politics of monumentation following the Civil War give a fascinating amount of authority and reverence to women even as male organizations took up the work alongside them. Indeed, women were celebrated for staying within their sphere and zealously performing the duties that were considered appropriate for their gender. The formation of the

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[93] Martin, "The South Carolina Monument Association," p. 7.
[94] Siegler, *Passing the Silent Cup*.

SCMA, one of the earliest organizations formed to erect a monument to the Confederacy in South Carolina, is an excellent example of these politics at work. From the outset the organization was entirely composed of and run by women, a phenomenon that was quite commonly seen with the construction of large-scale, more conspicuous monuments. This trend is ordinarily attributed to political strategy; no action taken by a group solely comprised of women could be considered political in the mid to late nineteenth century, and if an act was not political, then it could not be considered insurrection, and thus many ladies' associations were able to skirt around Reconstructionist policies and raise money toward building Confederate monuments relatively uninhibited.[95]

However, it is striking that this meeting wherein the SCMA was formed took place before Reconstructionist government took hold of South Carolina, and those who were present at the meeting had no idea they would be "rudely awakened"[96] to a period of Radical Reconstruction. Not only did these women not foresee an immediate need to be wary of being accused of insurrection, but the Charleston *News and Courier*, which published a detailed and adulating expose on the SCMA's formation and monumentation efforts in 1879, lauded the abilities of South Carolinian women, who, in their words,

> had, with aching hearts and weary eyes, with wounded fingers and bruised feet, with the courage of undying love and universal charity, devoted themselves to the cause which was not lost. When conquest was consummated, when the torch made a wound that the sword could not inflict, they raised themselves to a new and more sacred aim---that of commemorating, in the words that shine out on the monument in Columbia to-day, the

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[95] Poole, *Never Surrender*.

[96] Martin, "The South Carolina Monument Association," p. 11.

worthy lives and noble deaths of those who live in the tender reverence of their brothers-

in-arms, and of their children and their children's children.[97]

There is ample evidence, therefore, to suggest that the tasks of facilitating grieving, perpetuating

the ideology for which Confederates fought, and educating future generations were considered

by many to be primarily women's work. Indeed, the SCMA itself affirmed this belief in an

appeal to their state, explaining, "it is a sacred duty of those who survive a contest for Truth, to

preserve, for the reverence of posterity, a record of the virtues of those who have fallen in the

contest."[98] Framed as an educational endeavor to teach "our children...by such memorials that

they have a right to be proud of their fathers," they went on to claim that "it is peculiarly

appropriate that the women of South Carolina should erect this monument, for it perpetuates the

fortitude of hundreds of southern mothers, who emulated the Spartan mother: 'Your son died on

the battlefield; let him be buried, and here is his brother to take his place.'"[99] It is under these

conditions that the SCMA received their mandate to "guard the precious dust of the martyred

dead of their State, and erect a monument that should perpetuate the memory of the slain and

convey to the latest generations the record of the undying fidelity of the people of South

Carolina, to truth, justice, and liberty,"[100] in the words of the *News and Courier*.

RACE

One consequence of fusing the virtuosity of the dead with the cause for which they died

was that in order for South Carolina, and the rest of the South, to move forward with the times,

they had to somehow reconcile the role of slavery in the war with contemporary morals. Gone

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[97] Martin, "The South Carolina Monument Association," p. 6.

[98] Siegler, *Passing the Silent Cup*, p. 218.

[99] Ibid, p. 218.

[100] Martin, "The South Carolina Monument Association," pp. 7-8.

were the days in which preachers and politicians would extol the moral necessities of slavery to justify fighting to maintain it; the abolition of slavery and the swiftness of Radical Reconstruction made it clear that even the Deep South was not sheltered from the winds of change, and future generations of Southerners would grow up into a country without slavery and would not fall prey to the notion that their society could not function without it. Even though most Southerners of the Civil War generation likely never changed their minds about slavery, many of them realized that to successfully pass on the romanticism of the Confederacy to each new generation, they had to minimize and erase slavery as part of Lost Cause ideology.

That is not to say that racial hierarchy and white supremacy were not core tenets of Lost Cause ideology--in fact, they were, and many monuments enforce this way of thinking. However, while justification of white supremacy surged after the Civil War, justification of slavery retreated. In fact, whereas the peculiar institution was the topic first and foremost on everyone's mind in antebellum South Carolina, after the war it shrunk out of public consciousness, almost as if taboo. Early architects of Civil War monumentation in South Carolina did not expressly deny that slavery was part of the Cause, if not the Cause itself, but rather they rarely spoke of it. By reframing the focus of the Confederacy through memorials and monuments and ignoring slavery itself, the War generation was able to subtly dictate the course of Civil War memory, and the revision thereof, up to the present day.

For this reason, monuments of mourning from the early years following the war speak volumes as to the role slavery would play in the revision of Civil War history, not because of what they say about slavery, but because of what they do not say. The omission of slavery from the early narrative set a precedent that each successive generation of monument-builders would follow. And it was not only slavery that these memorial associations attempted to scrub from

their state's history, but the agency and political consciousness of black South Carolinians themselves. Just as slavery was ignored, black South Carolinians' celebrations of the end of slavery were intentionally unrecorded. Having become accustomed to white Southerners' own decoration day practices for their own dead, the LMA president in 1916 denied a UDC official's request for information about the first decoration day in Charleston, which had been celebrated by newly freed blacks and Union soldiers, saying she was "unable to gather any information in answer to this."[101] Only white appropriations of the decoration day practice were dutifully recorded.

At one such event, the reinterment of South Carolinian bodies from Gettysburg to Charleston's Magnolia Cemetery in 1871, the event's speaker acknowledged the place of slavery in the Lost Cause. Truly an exhibit of the mournful state of South Carolinian memorialization, the ceremony was a somber affair. Reverend Elliston Capers opened the Confederate Memorial Day services with a prayer that God would impress "the solemn lesson of mortality here taught"[102] upon their hearts. The crowd of people sang an ode together, crying out, "come, O dove-eyed Peace! who long from this, our desolate land hath strayed, and let us dream that Hate and Wrong with these our brothers bones are laid!"[103]

The speaker, Reverend John Girardeau, opened his remarks by acknowledging the state's political climate and requested that "in any utterances which may have a political complexion [he] may not be understood to assume to speak as a minister...but as any citizen might express his sentiments."[104] He spoke fondly of the South Carolinian dead, who had adhered "to a noble

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[101] Blight, *Race and Reunion*, p. 71.

[102] John Girardeau, "Confederate memorial day at Charleston, S.C. : reinterment of the Carolina dead from Gettysburg, address of Rev. Dr. Girardeau, odes, &c.," Charleston: W. G. Mazyck, 1871, p. 4.

[103] Ibid, p. 5.

[104] Ibid, p. 6.

and sacred, though despised and execrated, Cause."[105] The significance of this cause dominated

his speech, even as he spoke tenderly of the dead. Girardeau posed the question on everyone's

mind, "*Did these men die in vain?*"[106]

"There are two senses in which it must be admitted that they lost their cause," Girardeau

continued. "They failed to establish a Confederacy as an independent country, and they failed to

preserve the relation of slavery."[107] Here, in stark contrast to all the silence on the matter that had

followed the end of the war, was recognition of the impetus that had propelled Southern white

men of means to the battlefront. But the Cause itself, explained Girardeau, was more complex

than just the issue of slavery, for "there were fundamental principles of government, or social

order, [and] of civil and religious liberty which underlay" the reasons that they went to war.

These so-called fundamental principles can be deciphered in the context of South Carolinian

history; as for government, South Carolinians fought for the right to limit it to its bare bones and

keep it in the hands of white, property-owning men; as for social order, they fought to institute

and maintain white male supremacy; as for civil and religious liberty, they had accepted the

fabricated religious dogma that race-based slavery and Christianity went hand in hand and fought

to continue to spread it.

So had these men died in vain? Girardeau concluded that that would not be the case as

long as white South Carolinians "cherish...and...practically maintain the principles for which

they gave their lives."[108] As the choir sang yet another dirge and the LMA of Charleston laid

wreaths and flowers on the graves, Girardeau's words of defiance hung in the air. He may not

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[105] Girardeau, "Confederate memorial day at Charleston, S.C, p. 7.
[106] Ibid, p. 8.
[107] Ibid, p. 8.
[108] Ibid, p. 8.

have explicitly urged the people of Charleston to take up arms, but he made it clear that the ideological fight and the fight for power over the state had not ended.

Another Confederate Memorial Day speaker at Magnolia Cemetery, Colonel Rutledge, attempted in 1875 to separate even further the fight for slavery and the Lost Cause, once again mentioning the peculiar institution by name. "It is said the Confederate soldier fought solely to extend and perpetuate slavery," Rutledge claimed, a statement he called "untrue."[109] While he admitted that "the aggressions upon the slave interest were, without doubt, the agitating causes of immediate operation," he contested that "the real cause lay far beneath that."[110] In fact, he claimed that an army the size of the Confederacy's and a war the scale of the Civil War "could never have been sustained upon a principle like that."[111] The sustaining force, in Rutledge's opinion, was the ideological belief in the "right of self-government."[112] Certainly, phrasing the right for which Confederates fought as self-government was far more palatable than calling it white supremacy, which did sustain the rebellion and violence of white South Carolinians long after the war's end, until Reconstruction had ended.

Girardeau's and Rutledge's speeches represented rare and defiant breaches of the silence over slavery in the state following the war. However, there was one aspect of the shifting racial power dynamic that white South Carolinians were very vocal about: Reconstruction. The *News and Courier* wrote in 1879 that nascent memorial associations in the late 1860s had been unaware that "the darkest days of the Commonwealth were yet to come."[113] With the Fifteenth Amendment came an explosion in black representation in South Carolina, where black voters

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[109] Rutledge, "Memorial Day," p. 3.
[110] Ibid, p. 3.
[111] Ibid, p. 3.
[112] Ibid, p. 4.
[113] Martin, "The South Carolina Monument Association," p. 11.

constituted a majority. White South Carolinians considered it to be an "unspeakable degradation of their proud Palmetto" to see political power, "once held by the Huguenot and the Cavalier, in the hands of the carpet-bagger and the African."[114]

The first attempts to squelch black agency and power in the Palmetto state began before the 1870 state elections with the rise of the Ku Klux Klan. The Klan threatened, terrorized, and murdered black South Carolinians in an effort to try to intimidate them from voting, and when that failed, in retribution for defying them.[115] When Klan activity was momentarily curbed by the KKK Act of 1871, former Confederates formed rifle clubs, such as the Palmetto Guard Rifle Club of Charleston, which served as potential militias should the need for military violence arise again.

In Edgefield, the upcountry county where John C. Calhoun was born and raised, rifle clubs consolidated to form the Redshirts, a vigilante gang led by Martin Gary, the man who proclaimed after Appomattox that "South Carolinians never surrender!"[116] Redshirt units spread all over the state with a very similar agenda to that of the KKK. One Redshirt leader, Benjamin Tillman, justified the violence by saying, "the struggle in which we were engaged meant more than life or death. It involved everything we held dear, Anglo-Saxon civilization included."

The murderous anguish and desperation white South Carolinians felt at seeing power in black hands culminated in the rise of former Confederate General Wade Hampton to the governor's office. Although a staunch Confederate and Conservative, Hampton reached out to black voters as well, promising voting rights and education in addition to organizing black

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[114] Martin, "The South Carolina Monument Association," p. 11.
[115] Bass and Poole, *The Palmetto State*, p. 56.
[116] Ibid, p. 55.

Redshirts to defend their communities against white violence.[117] However, he backtracked on those promises by implementing one of Martin Gary's policies, which stated that "every Democrat must feel honor bound to control the vote of at least one negro, by intimidation, purchase, keeping him away or as each individual may determine how he may best accomplish it."[118]

By brigading the polls and stuffing the ballot boxes, Redshirts were able to ensure Hampton's victory. The *News and Courier* celebrated this "grand effort of the men of South Carolina to throw off the embrace of the deadly serpent in whose fatal coils they had so long been enfolded,"[119] the serpent of Radical rule. This election marked the beginning of the"Bourbon"[120] era of South Carolina politics, so named because the rise of the state's antebellum elite to power mirrored the return of the Bourbons in France after Waterloo, and the start of the shift from mourning to triumph in Confederate monumentation.

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[117] Bass and Poole, *The Palmetto State*, pp. 58-59.
[118] Ibid, pp. 59-60.
[119] Martin, "The South Carolina Monument Association," p. 15.
[120] Bass and Poole, *The Palmetto State*, p. 60.

CHAPTER THREE: TRIUMPH, 1880-1904

"In American culture, romance triumphed over reality, sentimental remembrance won over ideological memory," David Blight.[121]

Wave after wave of people poured out of densely packed trains and flocked to the streets of Columbia. Thousands of eager South Carolinians exuberantly cheered on the former Confederate soldiers who marched by. The companies lined up on either side of a grand platform, where Reverend and General Elliston Capers, Governor Simpson, and General John S. Preston were waiting. All the immense crowd pooled into the square.

"When our people assemble through their representatives in the capital to discharge the important trusts of legislation," Capers pled in his opening prayer, "may the silent soldier on this noble obelisk remind them of the self-sacrifice and courage which a faithful discharge of duty ever demands."[122] *Low but fervent murmurs of assent swept the throng.*

Governor Simpson then introduced General Preston, who gave a rousing speech to the multitude gathered below. "When the people of Israel fled from their oppressors...When the patriot orator delivered his eulogy on the heroism of the Greeks who had fallen in battle...When Marcus Brutus stabbed the usurper in the Roman Capitol...with all these...the theme was Liberty triumphant and redeemed by the blood of the Martyrs...who have fallen triumphantly.[123]

"In every attribute, this monument is an anomaly,"[124] *he continued, dabbing his forehead with a handkerchief. The people of South Carolina listened wide-eyed as he described the*

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[121] Blight, *Race and Reunion*, p. 4.
[122] Martin, "The South Carolina Monument Association," p. 32.
[123] Ibid, pp. 34-35.
[124] Ibid, p. 35.

miniscule mounds and stone tablets that the societies of Sparta, Athens, and even Poland had to show for all the bravery of their countrymen. Even in Rome, there were no monuments of this nature. "I search history in vain," Preston admitted. "I reason upon the ethics of patriotism in vain to find an example, or a principle, from which to deduce the slightest justification, or even excuse, for this monument before the world."[125]

He pressed on ferociously before the shocked crowd. "Defeated and degraded traitors," he called the deceased and the women who had memorialized them. The crowd gasped. "Their land has been desolated, their 'Cause' proclaimed infamous...; and yet these chaste women come here...and build an altar to Treason and Infamy!"[126] He paused and regarded the crowd, who, in their indignation, were beginning to murmur disapprovingly and scowl. Satisfied, he continued.

"Human example, human logic fail to remove the veil from this mystery. There is but one solution." The audience held their breath in anticipation. "The women of Carolina...by their deed here to-day...proclaimed before God and man that the world's outcry of shame and infamy is a lie--a deep-dyed damned lie; and that this emblem to the Confederate soldier is the emblem and the substance of truth."[127] He turned to the members of the SCMA. "Yes, women of South Carolina,... you are justified in placing this monument here, on this spot, as the altar, the sanctuary to which, in pious pilgrimage, you may lead your sons in all the days to come."

The crowd relaxed into uproarious applause. Four white-clad young women pulled the sheet off the monument and allowed the crowd to finally behold the towering, fiercely defiant face of the soldier atop it.

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[125] Martin, "The South Carolina Monument Association," p. 37.

[126] Ibid, p. 37.

[127] Ibid, p. 38.

"Memory may be lost in oblivion,"[128] Preston concluded, but "the assertion is far beyond contradiction that never, in the history of national defence [sic], was there displayed a higher and purer purpose and courage than was manifested in the Confederate States."[129]

How abundant and jovial, yet at the same time disciplined and harmonious was the celebration that followed, contemplated the journalists at the scene. The sight of the raptured crowd kneeling before the monument prompted one journalist from the News and Courier *to write, "When we forget them shall we, now or hereafter, deserve to be forgotten!"[130]*

The election of Wade Hampton marked a shift in the politics and power dynamics of South Carolinian society, as well as the attitudes of all its inhabitants. The white inhabitants of the state were elated, having ousted most of the Reconstruction government in 1876. Those Republicans who remained in power were subjected to relentless accusations of fraud, and black voters were subjected to the nation's first literacy test.[131] With the election of Rutherford B. Hayes in 1876, federal troops were withdrawn from the South, no longer present to enforce Reconstruction-era policies. Although black South Carolinians continued to hold their own celebrations for Emancipation Day and decoration day,[132] they were increasingly restricted from exercising the rights they had won and were edged into the margins of Southern society.

The political climate of South Carolina shifted yet again. When a worldwide agricultural crisis reached South Carolina, Hampton was ill-prepared to meet it, and thus began the rise of "Pitchfork" Ben Tillman, the Redshirt leader from the 1870s. Tillman ran on a platform of agricultural reform and white supremacy, the latter of which remained a core tenet of his political

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[128] Martin, "The South Carolina Monument Association," p. 38.
[129] Ibid, p. 42.
[130] Ibid, p. 7.
[131] Bass and Poole, *The Palmetto State*, p. 61.
[132] Ibid, p. 61.

ideology when he ascended to the U.S. Senate in 1895. He was elected as governor in 1890 and promptly began scaling back all of the compromises Hampton had made with the black electorate. "Crude, profane, and a demagogue on the issue of race," his "rough-and-tumble rhetoric"[133] had a compounding influence on South Carolina's political radicalism.

POLITICAL RESURGENCE

"They may jeer at South Carolina as they will," read an article in the *News and Courier* in 1879, "but they cannot deny to her such praise as is due to a Commonwealth that is true to its creed; and they cannot deny to her people such guerdon as history gives to those who seal their belief with their blood."[134]

The end of Reconstruction, the installment of former Confederates to political office, the rise of Jim Crow, and the terrorization of black South Carolinians through the Redshirts and the KKK all gave way to a huge shift in conceptualization of the Civil War in the Palmetto State. When the federal government eased its grip on the South under Andrew Johnson, many Southerners felt that they were no longer on the losing side of history, but rather had secured a more subtle, enduring victory by demonstrating just how highly they valued state autonomy and then, to an extent, receiving it. It may not have been as much autonomy as they wanted, but when compared to Reconstruction-era restrictions, it felt to former Confederates like freedom.

This pattern of boldness began with the South Carolina Monument. Boasting the first monument with a statue as early as 1879, the SCMA in fact began their work ten years prior, when several women who were deeply interested in organizing a monument to South Carolina's collective dead met in Richland County to begin a task that they had been considering since the

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[133] Bass and Poole, *The Palmetto State*, p. 65.
[134] Ibid, p. 5.

very end of the war, but had put off only because they felt that the people of the state could not spare any change to help them fund it.[135] They held the meeting in a small Methodist Church near Columbia and opened with a zealous appeal to God to bless and guide their efforts, clearly demonstrating that these women were "sustained by a firm conviction that it was a Heaven-appointed duty"[136] to memorialize all those South Carolinians who had died in service to the Confederacy, and more specifically, the state of South Carolina; humbled by the military defeat of their loved ones, they believed it was "incumbent upon [them] to bring this great sacrifice of pure purpose and heroic deed, that homage and veneration which the world pays only to success."[137]

Clinging to this belief, the women of Richland County set about organizing a constitution and officers for their association, which they decreed "shall have for its object the building of a monument, in the City of Columbia, by the women of the State, to the memory of the South Carolinians who fell in the service of the Confederate States."[138] Although they resolved to build a large-scale state monument in the early postwar years between the end of the war and the dawn of Reconstruction in South Carolina, during "the agony of that period which was not war and was not peace,"[139] actually establishing the monument would prove to be very difficult. According to the *News and Courier*, by the time they had raised a suitable amount of money, South Carolina's first democratically-elected, reconstructed government was firmly in place and staunchly opposed to putting a monument to the state's Confederate dead on statehouse grounds, the desired location for the SCMA. Frustrated, they settled for a spot in a prominent location in a

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[135] Martin, "The South Carolina Monument Association," p. 8.
[136] Ibid, p. 8.
[137] Ibid, p. 11.
[138] Ibid, p. 9.
[139] Ibid, p. 7.

nearby park on a hill overlooking Columbia, but once they had signed a contract with builders

from Kentucky, they discovered that there was quicksand underneath the plot of land they had

purchased, and it would not support the weight of a large marble statue. Reassured by nearby

Elmwood Cemetery's offer to allow them to build their monument on their land but disappointed

at its less prominent location, the SCMA set about moving the foundation to the cemetery. This

costly process drained their treasury, and when the marble pieces arrived from Italy, the SCMA

found that they could not pay for them at the time. The organization resolved to leave the marble

in its packaging until such a time as they could pay for it. Things looked bleak for their

monument dreams.

In 1876, however, their fortunes changed with the landmark election of Wade Hampton

as governor. A well-revered Confederate general in the war, Hampton was a friend and ally to

Confederate veterans and sympathizers. He had, in fact, been present at the 1869 formation of

the SCMA and even gave an address to open the meeting.[140] His election signaled to those still

clinging to the Confederate cause that they once again had political control of the state. Thus

emboldened, the SCMA petitioned the state legislature in 1878 for a plot of land near the

statehouse upon which to place their monument. Not only was their petition unanimously passed,

but nearly all the newly-elected white legislators donated money to their effort, and soon

construction was underway. This time around, the monument was not a mere tribute to the dead,

but a symbol to "perpetuate the memory of the slain and convey to the latest generations the

record of the undying fidelity of the people of South Carolina, to truth, justice and liberty."[141] By

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[140] Martin, "The South Carolina Monument Association," p. 8.
[141] Ibid, pp. 7-8.

the following year, the monument was complete, and on May 13, 1879, ten years from the outset, South Carolina's first Confederate statue was unveiled to the public.

As far as being a "grand manifestation of honor to the dead Confederate soldiers and reverence of their memory" and an "appreciation of the work of the women," the News and Courier reported that the unveiling ceremony was a "glorious and triumphant success."[142] The unveiling of the monument was truly a statewide celebration. Fifteen thousand people attended from all over the states, with two trains full of veterans in full Confederate uniform arriving from Charleston and nonstop trains of excited citizens arriving from Greenville at such volume that "the means at the command of the Greenville railroad were inadequate to transport all those desiring to attend from the up-country."[143] By contrast, the Charleston-based *News and Courier* boasted that "the old City was so splendidly and fully represented"[144] at the festivities by civilians and veterans alike, including by the Washington Light Infantry, the Irish Volunteers, and the Charleston Light Dragoons.

Much fanfare in the form of cannons and gunfire attended the ceremony, and atop a pillar in the center of the grand stand from which the oration of the day was given hung a banner which read, "If I am to die now, I give my life cheerfully for the Independence of South Carolina."[145] The crowd could hardly contain their jubilee, causing the air to be "continually resonant with the sounds of thunderous salute, bugle call, or martial music."[146] Countless battalions of former Confederates assembled in the streets and marched in a parade. The focus of the ceremony was undoubtedly on the glory and might of the surviving Confederates rather than the somber affair

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[142] Martin, "The South Carolina Monument Association," p. 19.
[143] Ibid, p. 20.
[144] Ibid, p. 20.
[145] Ibid, p. 30.
[146] Ibid, p. 19.

of mourning the dead. They celebrated what they regarded as a reminder that "true virtues are indestructible,"[147] rather than mourned what they could have regarded as a reminder of a devastating destruction of life.

The monument itself is also a break from mourning and a signal of the transition into the triumph period. The soldier, standing on guard, was so large and so fierce-looking as to prompt Governor Simpson, the successor to Hampton after he had gone on to the U.S. Senate, to describe it as "a splendid specimen of perfect art."[148] His expression is meant to convey an "assured expectation of victory."[149] Its inscriptions focus not on the sorrow of death, but on the dead's "virtues" that "plead for just judgment of the cause in which they perished" and the importance of remembering "that the state taught them how to live and how to die, and that from her broken fortunes she has preserved for her children the priceless treasure of their memories, teaching all who may claim the same birthright that truth, courage, and patriotism endure forever."[150] Clearly, even despite the loss of the war, South Carolinians of the post-Hampton age felt that they had won something even more enduring--vindication, which would only endure so long as future South Carolinians remembered and venerated those who had won it.

Accordingly, the language of ensuing monuments began to change. Engraved in 1882 on the Defenders of Charleston Monument, which was to the city of Charleston what the South Carolina Monument was to the state, the dead became the "Heroic Dead," and mourning became "proud and grateful remembrance."[151] Rather than admit that the city had been overtaken by federal troops at the very start of the war, the LMA of Charleston who commissioned this

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[147] Martin, "The South Carolina Monument Association," p. 32.
[148] Ibid, p. 34.
[149] Siegler, *Passing the Silent Cup*, p. 219.
[150] See Index, "South Carolina Monument," 1879.
[151] See Index, Defenders of Charleston Monument," 1882.

monument asserts to future generations that these men "kept Charleston virgin and invincible to the last."

The monument erected in Kershaw County the following year continues this pattern, wherein the dead become the "brave sons" who are "gratefully remembered."[152] Whether they be "valiant sons,"[153] "heroic dead,"[154] or "heroes who strove in the morning glow,"[155] the emphasis in memorializing them had definitely shifted from providing closure to mourning families to commemorating not only the acts but the ideals of the "immortals who bore the Palmetto flag."[156]

The language of other aspects of the Civil War changed as well. The reasons that Confederates fought and died were portrayed in a new light. The soldiers died not for a fallen cause but for "that glorious land, where the white flag of peace is never furled."[157] What succinct support for Gary's claim that South Carolinians never surrender! The larger-than-life stance of the soldier, modeled after a well-known local Confederate named James Ligon, serves to further enforce the militant message of this monument. The base of the pillar is flanked by two cannons, and a pile of cannons rests at its foot. The LMA of Greenville, who commissioned the monument, goes on to assert the righteousness of their cause. "Success is not the test," they claim, for "the world shall yet decide in truth's clear far-off light that the soldiers who wore the gray and died with Lee were in the right!"[158]

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[152] See Index, "Kershaw County Monument," 1883.
[153] See Index, "Lexington County Monument," 1886.
[154] See Index, "Charleston Light Dragoons Monument," 1888.
[155] See Index, "Washington Light Infantry Monument," 1891.
[156] See Index, "Standard Bearer's Tablet," 1897.
[157] See Index, "City and County of Greenville Monument," 1892.
[158] Ibid.

This poem, which is repeated on the Anderson County Monument, is the epitome of perceived vindication, encapsulating the widely-spreading and comforting belief of South Carolinians that the South would rise again some day, and that the principles that they asserted their loved ones had fought for--"for the rights of the states, and...to maintain the principle that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed--"[159] had been the true case all along. The "Southern rights"[160] that Confederates had fought for were no longer left entirely to the imagination, but were detailed in some of the monuments to include "to maintain local self-government,"[161] "independence of their native land,"[162] and "constitutional liberty,"[163] ambiguous aims that never get to the heart of why they believed the Union had encroached on this autonomy and independence they wanted; notably, slavery was never explicitly mentioned as a Southern right.

Not only did the language and imagery of these monuments reframe the remembrance of the dead and the reasons for which they fought, but they also crafted a lasting legacy of the South Carolinian Confederate soldier, a legacy that claims to prove, as the monument in Greenville reads, that these soldiers were in the right. Several monuments display expectations and hopes for how the soldiers they are meant to honor will be remembered by future generations. The LMA at Anderson expressed a desire for others to remember "the matchless, unfading, and undying honor which the Confederate soldier won."[164] The SCV of Chappells predicted that their tribute to Lucinda Horn, who tended after Confederate soldiers on the battlefield, would

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[159] See Index, "Barnwell County Monument," 1900.
[160] See Index, "Trinity Cathedral Memorial Tablet," 1903.
[161] See Index, "Greenwood County Monument," 1903.
[162] See Index, "Aiken County Monument," 1901.
[163] See Index, "Anderson County Monument," 1901.
[164] Ibid.

"challenge the admiring attention of all coming generations."[165] The LMA and UDC of

Greenwood elevate the contributions of Confederate soldiers to liberty to the same level as the

Founding Fathers, saying that they will be "immortalized in the same halo of glory," a glory

which "shall not wain [sic]" as the dead will "forever live over again" in legend throughout the

years.[166]

 Attempting to speak their wishes for their lost loved ones into existence, these memorial

organizations put forth an exaggerated admiration of the Confederate dead in an attempt to

influence the way future generations would regard them. The members of these organizations

knew that these monuments would influence future South Carolinians' perception of these men

and the war they fought and hoped that these future citizens would preserve and carry on the

dead's legacy; this desire is why the UDC and SCV of Columbia said in 1897, addressing the

dead, that Confederate monuments give "to unborn generations their due and their part in your

being."[167]

 The exaggeration of Confederate victories goes even further to claim that the

Confederates "were supported by the material, moral, and political power of almost the entire

civilized world"[168] and were finally receiving their due. The LMA of Camden proclaimed in the

Kershaw County Monument, "let us thank the God of glory we had such to die."[169] Expressions

and claims such as these not only demonstrated how necessary and justified that the members of

these associations found the actions of Confederate soldiers to be, but also exhibited a concerted

effort on their part to convince future generations of that belief. The people of South Carolina

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[165] See Index, "Lucinda Horn's Grave," 1897.
[166] See Index, "Greenwood County Monument," 1903.
[167] See Index, "Standard Bearer's Tablet," 1897.
[168] See Index, "Anderson County Monument," 1901.
[169] See Index, "Kershaw County Monument," 1883.

certainly heeded the poet Timrod's command, "Hold up the glories of thy dead, Carolina!"[170] By making countless exaggerated claims and heaping praises on Confederate soldiers, the members of memorial associations across South Carolina actively engaged in historical revision during this time period. The prevailing sentiment during this triumphant period of monumentation is best summed up by the rhyme on the Anderson County Monument, which proclaims, "Though conquered, we adore it! Love the cold, dead hands that bore it!"[171]

RELIGION

By the triumph period, the cult of the Lost Cause had taken firm root in South Carolina, and the spirituality intertwined with Lost Cause mythology rendered Confederate monumentation in and of itself a pseudo-religious act, as pillars became altars and statues became shrines. Furthermore, the line between spiritual and secular and between religious and public became blurred and distorted as monumentation became not just a Christian duty but a moral imperative.

The particular sects of Christianity which dominated South Carolinian culture--Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Episcopal--placed a heavy emphasis on not only the authority of religion over every aspect of one's earthly life, but also on the immutable truth of the Bible and any teachings that derive from it. Most South Carolinians were raised to believe that anything they read and concluded from the Bible could not be questioned.

Of course, this is not to say that priests themselves could not be questioned. As they had with political leadership, South Carolinians often regarded spiritual leadership with skepticism. They did not consider clergy necessary to the war[172], and they at times held them at arm's length

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[170] See Index, "Trinity Cathedral Memorial Tablet," 1903.

[171] See Index, "Anderson County Monument," 1901.

[172] "Many regiments--more than half in the Confederate and two-fifths in the Union army--did not have chaplains at all." Faust, *This Republic of Suffering*, pp. 104-105.

before and after the war. When priests often attempted to "shape a sacred order" by disciplining unfavorable social behavior such as drinking or distilling spirits, it was common for South Carolinians to defiantly respond that they "'had no head but Christ,'"[173] and even leave the churches that compelled them to repent.

Some scholars like Poole have disputed the notion that South Carolina was more or less ideologically homogeneous in its churches by 1860, arguing instead that "ironically, war and defeat strengthened the ties that bound this sacred world."[174] However, it was not war and defeat in and of itself that strengthened religion's grip on Southern society, but rather the vulnerable state in which it left South Carolinians. Preachers in the Palmetto State had long since learned that in order to consolidate social power and establish the sacred order they sought, they had to cater to and confirm South Carolinians' preexisting beliefs and biases. It was for this reason that antebellum preachers such as Thornwell who preached the idea of harmony between Christianity and slaveholding were embraced and elevated in their societies as if sages, and antislavery preachers such as those itinerant preacher Charles Woodmason documented in his travels through the upcountry ceased to speak out near the end of the eighteenth century. Therefore, after the war was over, in their desperate longing for vindication, South Carolinians were more susceptible than ever to blindly follow those who told them what they wanted to hear: that God had been on their side, and their vindication would come.

By actively "shaping a Confederate identity" and "conjoining this identity with the peculiar institution, southern honor, manhood, and evangelicalism,"[175] preachers were able to exert influence over and gain control in their communities while reinforcing notions of divine

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[173] Poole, *Never Surrender*, p. 43.
[174] Ibid, p. 38.
[175] Ibid, p. 38.

justification and righteous anger that South Carolinian had privately harbored and hoped were true. At the same time, by clinging to these reassuring messages from these preachers and elevating them and their religious teachings to the ultimate height of authority in their society, South Carolinians could comfortably and even viciously defend their justification of the Confederacy, implicitly claiming that they believed it because their religious leaders preached it, and not the other way around.

The fact that their God had not allowed them to win the war did not dissuade South Carolinians from accepting this religious interpretation of Confederate justification. In fact, as the women of the SCMA proclaimed in their statewide appeal for donations in 1869, "if a lost cause, even, therefore the more holy."[176] Religious leaders, such as Reverend Girardeau and Reverend Capers, did not confine themselves to the pulpit to spread this message, but boldly ventured into public spaces such as cemeteries and courthouse squares. Preachers were present at countless monument unveiling, dedication day, and Confederate Memorial Day ceremonies, leading prayers and giving sermons pertaining to the work of memorialization.

Capers' prayer at the South Carolina Monument unveiling in 1879 that those gathered would cherish the memories of the Confederate dead "from generation to generation"[177] demonstrated not only the spiritual connotations of remembrance but also the way in which religious leaders could use the work of memorialization, which was considered to be a moral and communal endeavor, to extend their influence beyond the doors of their churches. This rhetoric was used by non-religious leaders in Southern communities as well, such as General Preston, who, following Reverend Capers, declared that preserving the memory of "those who have

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[176] Martin, "The South Carolina Monument Association," p. 11.
[177] Ibid, p. 32.

devoted their lives, by heroic deeds, to a just and holy cause, is a duty which imposes a sacred

obligation on all people, whether they be the beneficiaries, or the sufferers from those actions;

whether they be redeemed or lost."[178] His words extend the burden of memorializing the

Confederate dead to include those who suffered because of their cause, which could be taken to

include both those in the Union and black South Carolinians. Shocking as that claim may be, he

does not stop there, but posits that the work of memorializing, while sacred, is not solely the duty

of Christians. His words transformed the process of memorialization from mourning care of

one's deceased loved ones, a highly personal act, to a universal imperative based on a moral

absolute.

These notions of how to properly go about remembering the "embalmed and sainted

dead"[179] of the Confederacy are woven throughout the monuments that were erected during this

time. Following the idea that those who gave their lives for the Confederacy were justified

because they believed themselves to be so, many of these monuments suggest that these men

were saintly heroes following their God-given duties simply because they died for a cause. The

LMA of Greenville describes the rays of "holy light"[180] that illuminate the ground where their

town's dead are buried, suggesting that their deceased loved ones consecrate the earth by their

very presence. Their placement of this statue on their town's main street further blurs the

boundary between spiritual and secular in the quest for memorialization.

Miles away in St. Michael's Cathedral ten years later, the church congregation along with

the UDC and the SCV of Charleston commissioned stone tablets for the dead in order to

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[178] Martin, "The South Carolina Monument Association," p. 35.
[179] See Index, "Crozier Grave Marker," 1891.
[180] See Index, "City and County of Greenville Monument," 1892.

"consecrate their memory."[181] The tone of the inscription is peaceful and optimistic, expressing a belief that the dead are relieved, "their wars behind them God's great peace before."[182] Like most of the monuments on church property, the inscription bears some promise of an eternal reward for the soldiers who died for the Confederacy.

Even the famous poet Henry Timrod, who had once proclaimed that "there is no holier spot of ground" than a Confederate grave, was said to have been obedient "unto the heavenly vision,"[183] even though he never physically served in the war. Because of his ideological and artistic support of the Lost Cause, the Timrod Memorial Association of South Carolina portrayed him as a saint for all future generations to see.

RE-MASCULATION

If the mourning monuments were a wounded effort to repair white South Carolinian men's masculinity, then triumph monuments were a celebration of their success. As white South Carolinians celebrated the election of Wade Hampton and the return to some semblance of the antebellum racial power structure, they also celebrated the reinforcement of rigid masculine and feminine roles and hierarchy that the process of monumentation represented. The men of the Confederacy were lauded for their contribution to the cause even as the women of the Confederacy were also lauded for their own, separate, supporting contributions.

The process of commissioning the South Carolina Monument in Columbia, which signaled the transition from mourning to triumph, exemplified how memorialization was viewed akin to caretaking, a distinctly feminine role. The ladies of the SCMA sent out an appeal to the

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[181] See Index, "St. Michael's Church Tablet," 1902.
[182] Ibid.
[183] See Index, "Timrod Art Memorial," 1901.

women of the state in 1869, asking them for donations and pleading that they would take up this

work:

> Mothers, widows, sisters, daughters, whose hearts thus cling to the soldier's grave, let us
>
> then unite with an earnest, loving effort in this holy duty. Let even our lisping, little ones
>
> be brought to give their mite to its accomplishment; that, thus impressed upon their
>
> minds, they may never forget to love and honor the memory of those who battled and fell
>
> in our cause.[184]

Just as women were expected to raise their children with their values, it followed naturally that

they were expected to ensure that those values were preserved in their societies for posterity.

Just as the work to erect the South Carolina Monument exhibited the rigid definitions of

femininity in Southern society, the monument itself demonstrated the Southern ideal of

masculinity. This larger-than-life statue, this "work of women's devotion"[185] encapsulated the

way that veterans, widows, and children wanted the South Carolinian Confederate soldier to be

remembered. The *News and Courier* called it the "utterance of the highest intensification of the

pride, gratitude and love which is always stirred in Southern hearts by the memory of the

Southern soldier--the ideal hero of a hero-worshipping people."[186] It was not meant to represent

the grim realities of war and the underdog soldier, but rather a romanticized, glorified portrait of

an ideal hero, which became abundantly clear on the monument's dedication day.

At the unveiling for the SCMA's monument, the ceremony was opened by a prayer, in

which General Elliston Capers called the monument an "offering"[187] to God, and pleaded that the

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[184] Martin, "The South Carolina Monument Association," pp. 10-11.
[185] Ibid, p. 32.
[186] Ibid, pp. 19-20.
[187] Ibid, p. 32.

monument achieve the Association's aims. He outlined those aims succinctly in his appeal to

Heaven:

> May this monument bear to the stranger a constant testimony of the costly sacrifices
>
> which true men must ever be ready to make in asserting and defending their principles.
>
> May it remain for ages to come a witness of the love and honor Carolina's daughters
>
> bestow upon the memory of Carolina's heroic dead; and when our people assemble
>
> through their representatives in the Capitol to discharge the important trusts of
>
> legislation, may the silent soldier on this noble obelisk remind them of the self-sacrifice
>
> and courage which a faithful discharge of duty ever demands.[188]

Not only is Capers' appeal a blend of religious and political sentiments, but it contains several

hopes for the future, indicating that the purpose of the monument is not solely to honor the past

dead or exemplify present grief, but rather also to shape the thoughts and feelings of future

generations of South Carolinians. The target audiences of this monument are identified as the

stranger, likely someone from out of state who, while traveling through the capital, sees the

monument; the people of South Carolina; and more importantly, their political representatives,

whom the orator hopes will be influenced by the principles for which South Carolina

Confederates fought. Three groups are mentioned and revered in this prayer: men, who do the

work of defending principles; women, who do the work of remembering and guarding memory;

and the dead, also men, who have already done their work and are therefore deserving of

memorialization. Men become heroes, women become servants, and the dead become saints.

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[188] Martin, "The South Carolina Monument Association," p. 32.

Many monuments that came later follow this pattern and build off it. The LMA of Charleston remembered their "sons"[189] with the Defenders of Charleston monument in 1882, and four years later the LMA of Lexington lauded the "valiant sons" of their town who "went forth to battle for their country's cause."[190] The LMA of Greenville referred to their dead as "defenders"[191] in 1891 on the Confederate Soldiers Monument.

Much of the language of these monuments emphasized the notion that war had a positive influence on a man's sense of worth and purpose. The people that typically wrote inscriptions of this nature were veterans of the war themselves. For example, the Charleston Light Dragoons proclaimed through a poem on their monument, "how can man die better than facing fearful odds, for the ashes of his fathers and the temples of his gods?"[192] The Georgetown Rifle Guard also praised not only their fallen comrades but the war itself, claiming that it "asserted constitutional liberty and affirmed our manhood."[193] Having faced defeat and humiliation firsthand, erecting permanent reminders of their manliness became a way to reclaim the power in society that they felt they were entitled to.

Above and beyond, the Washington Light Infantry erected a large obelisk in 1891 replete with poems and engravings that both enforce their masculinity and situate them as the manly protectors of the feminine--both women and the city of Charleston itself. The monument includes a carving of a family with a man, a woman, and a child, symbolizing the vulnerable people for whom these men fought. The inscription on the monument also reveres the "ancient city" of

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[189] See Index, "Defenders of Charleston Monument," 1882.
[190] See Index, "Lexington County Monument," 1886.
[191] See Index, "Confederate Soldiers Monument," 1891.
[192] See Index, "Charleston Light Dragoons Monument," 1888.
[193] See Index, "Georgetown Rifle Guards Monument," 1891.

Charleston, "her young hope and fair renown."[194] The city is portrayed as feminine and beautiful

so that the WLI can be set up as its protectors, who, "in obedience to a sentiment of honor, and

the call of duty and in pledge of their sincerity...made the last sacrifice--they laid down their

lives!"

The deeds that these men undertook during the war were also greatly exaggerated

through these monuments, as if a sort of compensation for the lack of reward they received for

all their "enterprises of extremist peril."[195] The LMA of Barnwell claimed that the heroism and

devotion of their Confederate dead were "unsurpassed, if ever equaled in the annals of war."[196]

As if they had truly been the victors, these women assert that throughout the war, "their courage

never quailed, their convictions were never deserted, and their manhood was never surrendered."

Likewise, General Ripley, who did not even die in the war, was nevertheless memorialized for

his deeds, "written with the sword"[197] transcribed on his grave after his death in 1893. But the

loftiest and most succinct praise was reserved for Wade Hampton, whom the UDC of Anderson

called the "best loved of Carolina's sons" and the "hero of the Southern Confederacy."[198] Along

with Calhoun, monumentation efforts have contributed to the rise of his legend in the Palmetto

State.

The "heroines in the strife"[199] were also occasionally honored through monuments as

well. A woman's role after the war may have been to remember, but women who had fulfilled

their societal duties of praying and caretaking during the war were remembered fondly by the

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194 See Index, "Washington Light Infantry Monument," 1891.
195 See Index, "Torpedo Boat Memorial," 1899.
196 See Index, "Barnwell County Monument," 1900.
197 See Index, "General Ripley's Grave," 1893.
198 See Index, "Wade Hampton Tablet," 1902.
199 See Index, Women's Monument," 1895.

men. The Women's Monument, erected by Samuel E. White of Fort Mill, is the only monument dedicated to the state's collective women during this early time period and is credited to be the first of its kind in the former Confederacy.[200] White dedicated it to "perpetuate" Southern women's "noble sacrifices" at home during the war effort. The names he lists below the inscription--mostly wealthy women in his community--suggest that the sacrifices he is referring to mostly include donating money and resources.

The other two monuments about women during this time period are dedicated to individual women who followed soldiers to the battlefield and cared for the sick and wounded, Lucinda Horn and Mary Ann Buie, the latter of whom was simply titled, "the soldier's friend."[201] Lucinda Horn, or "Aunt Cindy,"[202] as she was affectionately called by the soldiers she cared for, "followed her husband and only son throughout the Confederate War," taking care of them from battle to battle. The SCV of Chappells, where she was from, described her as the quintessential Southern woman, claiming that her service to the front lines illustrated "the uncomplaining endurance, the sublime physical and moral heroism, the unswerving patriotic devotion and the dauntless unsubdued spirit of The Confederate Women." Just as defiant as the men but relegated to a separate sphere, the ideal of the Confederate woman was rigidly outlined and portrayed as heroic and pure.

Furthermore, if Wade Hampton was able to claim the highest honor of manhood after his death, then Mary Amarinthia Snowden, the founder and first president of the LMA of Charleston, certainly claimed the highest honor of womanhood in her state. Although a monument in her honor would not be erected until 1917 in the form of a stone tablet at the

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[200] Johnson, *No Holier Spot of Ground*.
[201] See Index, "Mary Ann Buie Marker," 1900.
[202] See Index, "Lucinda Horn's Grave," 1897.

statehouse--the first in South Carolina to be dedicated to a woman--her friends in the LMA managed the bold feat of publishing and circulating a collection of eulogies for her after her death. This collection included her full name--not merely Mrs. William Yates Snowden, but Mrs. Mary Amarinthia Yates Snowden--as well as her picture. The *News and Courier*, Charleston's newspaper and one of the foremost periodicals in the state, also mentioned her by her full name in its eulogy to her. Colonel James G. Holmes, who edited the collection and "served with and under" Snowden for "many years,"[203] said in 1898 of her legacy, "'do you seek her monument? Look around!'"[204] Snowden not only left behind countless memorials and eulogies with her name on them, but also several monuments bearing her name as the benefactor and a "Home for Mothers, Widows, and Daughters of Confederate Soldiers"[205] which cared for and educated women who had lost male relatives in the war. More than any other woman in South Carolina during this time period, Snowden used the amount of leverage that was afforded women who zealously pursued women's work in Southern society to increase her own autonomy, success, and acclaim. Even though this kind of female independence could not be achieved at the time in any realm of society that did not cater to the support of white male dominance and rigid gender constructs, her achievements and fame are nonetheless monumental.

RACE

The election of Ben Tillman and the establishment of Jim Crow greatly emboldened the white population of South Carolina. Sensing that this exchange of political power from the Radical Republicans to the Conservative Democrats also symbolized a shift in the racial power

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[203] James G. Holmes, *Memorials to the Memory of Mrs. Mary Amarinthia Snowden offered by societies, associations, and Confederate camps published by the Ladies Memorial Association of Charleston, S.C.* (Charleston: Walker, Evans & Cogswell Co., Printers, 1898), p. 3.
[204] Ibid, p. 5.
[205] Ibid, p. 5.

dynamic of the state closer to its antebellum status, the white people of South Carolina vowed to fervently "cling with a fond love to whatever is left to [them] of [their] 'good old state.'"[206]

Similar to their struggle to preserve their patriarchal power structure, white men found that they could use their masculine duty to protect white women as an excuse to take out their aggression at having been emasculated on black men. As Tillman said in a rage over the danger of "black male sexuality" before the Senate, "Whenever the Constitution comes between me and the virtue of the white women of the South, I say to hell with the Constitution!"[207] He claimed that there was only one recourse when such a situation arose--attack.

That is exactly what happened to an unnamed black federal soldier stationed in Newberry on September 7, 1865. Calvin S. Crozier, a Texan, was travelling through Newberry with a young white woman when the black soldier at the garrison allegedly levelled "gross insults"[208] at her. Crozier attacked the soldier and wounded him, and his fellow soldiers mistakenly accused an innocent bystander of the attack. Crozier stepped forward and admitted his guilt, was imprisoned for the night, and then shot in the morning. Twenty-six years later, the citizens of Newberry, having the means and the motivation to erect a monument in his honor, officially memorialized Crozier with a marker over his grave. The events that the marker describes, not to mention the language used to depict the black soldier in the inscription, display the feelings of "deepest degradation"[209] permeating the white population of the South that the *News and Courier* described, and the very act of erecting this monument demonstrates a change in the attitude of

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[206] Martin, "The South Carolina Monument Association," p. 11.
[207] Bass and Poole, *The Palmetto State*, p. 65.
[208] See Index, "Crozier Grave Marker," 1891.
[209] See Index, "Wade Hampton Tablet," 1902.

white South Carolinians toward their position in their state's racial hierarchy: they no longer felt like they were on their heels, but rather, they were on the offensive.

The language surrounding slavery had shifted as well. One man in Fort Mill, Samuel E. White, broke the silence on slavery in 1895. However, rather than try to debate slavery's role in the Lost Cause or its moral rightness or wrongness, he chose instead to commemorate the "faithful slaves" of the South "in grateful memory of earlier days,"[210] and in doing so, intentionally watered down the abasement of the peculiar institution. The language of the monument suggests that slaves sympathized with and supported the cause of the Confederacy, and the engravings of slaves lying down in the field or reclining in a chair on the porch imply a sense of leisure that is ingenuine to the realities of slave life.

White also erected a monument dedicated to the members of the Catawba tribe who "served in the Confederate Army."[211] The monument gives a brief historical account of the relations between the Catawbas and the white settlers of the upcountry, claiming that they "were ever friends." By permanently etching these claims on monuments, White took the belief that white Confederates were always in the right in terms of racial superiority and claiming their rights to new extremes. Like the Women's Monument, this monument is considered to be the first of its kind and even unique in the South.

As memorial organizations, veterans, and plain citizens grew bolder and more self-assured in the necessity and justification of the work they were doing, the focus shifted from the dead and onto the Cause. Convinced that history was on their side, white South Carolinians stopped apologizing for or rationalizing the Confederacy and started asserting the rightness of their efforts, deliberately attempting to shape the narrative of the war for their progeny.

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[210] See Index, "Faithful Slaves Monument," 1895.
[211] See Index, "Catawba Indians Memorial," 1900.

CONCLUSION

Just weeks after the tragic murders of the Emmanuel Nine, former South Carolina

Governor Nikki Haley oversaw the removal of the Confederate battle flag from the state

grounds.

"Five years ago it was said, 'In the last fifty years South Carolina is the state that has

changed most for the better,'"[212] she said. "We have changed for the times, and will continue to

do so, but that does not mean we forget our history." As the first minority female governor of

South Carolina, a staunchly conservative state, Haley was no stranger to the balancing act that a

subject such as Confederate memory entails. She readily acknowledged the fact that "history's

often filled with emotion and that's more true in South Carolina than in a lot of other places."

The man who killed Reverend Pinckney and eight others, said Haley, did not represent all

the people in the state who "respect and, in many ways, revere" the flag. "They also see it as a

memorial, a way to honor ancestors who came to the service of their state during a time of

conflict," she explained. Yet for many others, the flag is "a deeply offensive symbol of a brutally

oppressive past."

"We do not need to declare a winner or a loser here," she continued, espousing the same

reconciliatory tone that Pinckney had. "For those who wish to show their respect for the flag on

their private property, no one will stand in your way."

"But the statehouse is different."

And with that, the Confederate flag came down from the statehouse grounds. While

recognizing that this flag would always be a part of South Carolina's past, Haley decided that it

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[212] New York Times, "Transcript: Gov. Nikki Haley of South Carolina on Removing the Confederate Flag," *New York Times*, June 22, 2015.

did not have to be a part of the state's future. That conscious decision is the difference between understanding the influence of memory and being influenced by memory.

The early formation of Civil War memory in South Carolina was an exhibition of the state's longing to return to the past and its resistance to yield to the social and political structure of the New South. The monuments established during the first fifty years after the war reveal an effort to perpetuate the ideology of resistance, racial hierarchy, divine justification, and masculine duty that initially pushed the state to the forefront of the segregationist movement. The widows, veterans, and their children who erected monuments during this time period were resisting many things: federal authority, change, military defeat, and progress. The defiant face of the soldier atop the South Carolina Monument symbolizes the refusal of white South Carolinians to let go of the past and epitomizes the old adage, the South will rise again.

Through vague allusions to the values of Confederate soldiers and the perceived degradation of Reconstruction, Confederate monuments perpetuate an idea of the nobility of the Confederate soldier and the ideals of the Old South while simultaneously minimizing and in some cases erasing the role of slavery and white supremacy in building the society for which postbellum white South Carolinians openly longed. Some later people who funded monuments such as the Crozier Grave Marker (1891) and the Faithful Slaves Monument (1895) openly outlined praised and reviled the actions of black people on the basis of whether those actions could have contributed to white supremacy, outlining the racial hierarchy which people such as Samuel Elliott White hoped to establish.

Through appeals to religion, people who erected monuments sought to frame the cause of the Confederate soldier as a righteous one, not only justified by Christianity but made essential by it. The description of the dead as saints and their virtues as holy, as well as the placement of

many monuments on church grounds and church-owned graveyards, was an attempt to influence future generations to revere these soldiers, and to associate that reverence with the cause for which they died.

Through monuments, South Carolinians also sought to vindicate their Confederate dead on the basis of masculinity. Through denying true defeat and claiming masculine bravery for Confederate soldiers, memorial organizations sought to portray Confederates as heroes, appealing to the male viewers' sense of masculinity.

Together, these factors paint a clear picture of how Confederate memory was deliberately shaped and perpetuated immediately following the war in South Carolina. It is not enough to merely understand how current Civil War memory started, however. By analyzing how Confederate memory was shaped, one can begin to analyze the influence of that narrative on oneself; by recognizing that historical actors intentionally shaped memory through cultural objects, one can cease to be acted upon by those objects and instead begin asking critical questions about the way those objects affect memory, such as: is the narrative portrayed by this monument objective? Is it accurate? Should our community continue to let it impact the way we perceive the events and people it represents? Memory is a continually evolving process, and questions like these can help set it on a different path for future generations.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Map of SC Regions

Kim Andrysczyk, "South Carolina Regions: A Glossary of Terms," *The South Carolina Homeschooling Connection*, September 8, 2017, https://www.homeschoolingsc.org/south-carolina-regions-glossary/.

This map is a modern representation of the colloquial regions of South Carolina. In the nineteenth-century, the Peedee region would be split in half, the coastal half would have been part of the Lowcountry, and the western half, along with the midlands, would have been lumped together with the upstate to form the upcountry.

Appendix B: Spreadsheet of Confederate Monuments, 1866-1904

https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1dOfGWc1xvZLjchyZiZYACzE0GRFSaOf9dIi00JVbU
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INDEX OF MONUMENTS, Chronological

Monument to the War Dead at Cheraw | *Cheraw, SC* | 1867

"ERECTED BY LADIES MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION" (urn) "TO THE MEMORY of our

Heroic Dead who fell at Cheraw during the War 1861-1865." "Deo Vindice" "J. H. Villeneuve."

(N)

"Loved and honored though unknown" (anchor) "Hope" "Erected July 26, 1897" (W)

"Stranger, bold champions/of the South revere;/And view these tombs with love---/Brave heroes

slumber here." (S)

"Fallen but not dead" (a falling tree) "'They have crossed over the river, and they rest in the

shade of the trees.'" (E)

Unknown Dead Monument | *Kingstree, SC* | 1874/1875

"TO the memory of Nineteen Confederate Soldiers, who gave their lives for the lost cause." (S)

(bas relief of a palmetto tree) (W)

"Awaiting the long roll" (E)

"Erected by Kings-Tree Council No. 18 Friends of Temperance" (N)

Sumter District Monument | *Sumter, SC* | 1875

"Faithful in life" (names of dead) (S)

"DECr 20 1860" "The women of Sumter district to their Confederate dead." "Erected 1876 by

the Ladies Monumental Assoc. of Sumter District. Deeded to Dick Anderson chapter no. 75, inc.,

United Daughters of the Confederacy 1896." (E)

"April 9 1865" (names of dead) (W)

"Glorious in death." (names of dead) (N)

John C. Mitchel's Grave | *Charleston, SC* | 1878

"John C. Mitchel, Captain, 1st Regt. S.C. Arty. C.S.A., commanding Fort Sumter. Killed upon the parapet during the bombardment, July 20, 1864. Aged 26." "'I willingly give my life for South Carolina. Oh! That I could have died for Ireland!' His last words." "Erected by his comrades, 1878" (W)

Irish Volunteers Monument | *Charleston, SC* | 1878

(topped with Celtic cross) (bronze tablet with Irish and Confederate flags) (palmetto tree and stacked arms) "To the memory of the dead of the Irish volunteers." (W)

Battle Site Marker | *River's Bridge* | 1878

"Soldiers rest, your warfare o'er,/Sleep the sleep that knows no breaking./Dream of battle fields no more,/Days of danger, nights of wakeing [sic]" (N)

"In memory of our Confederate dead who fell in battle at River's Bridges, Feb. 4, 1865." (S)

South Carolina Monument | *Columbia, SC* | 1879

[Historic Columbia Collection, 2019, https://www.historiccolumbia.org/tour-locations/south-carolina-monument-confederate-dead]

(Soldier on guard with musket, face based on a picture of Brigadier General Stephen Elliott, facing North)

"Let the stranger, who in future times reads this inscription, recognize that these were men whom power could not corrupt, whom death could not terrify, whom defeat could not dishonor, and let their virtues plead for just judgment of the cause in which they perished… Let the South Carolinian of another generation remember that the state taught them how to live and how to die, and that from her broken fortunes she has preserved for her children the priceless treasures of her memories, teaching all who may claim the same birthright that truth, courage and patriotism endure forever." (S)

"This monument perpetuates the memory of those who, true to the instincts of their birth, faithful to the teachings of their fathers, constant in their love for the state, died in the performance of their duty . . . who have glorified a fallen cause by the simple manhood of their lives, the patient endurance of suffering, and the heroism of death . . . and who in the dark hours of imprisonment, in the hopelessness of the hospital, in the short sharp agony of the field, found support and consolation in the belief that at home they would not be forgotten." (N)

"Those for whom they died inscribe on this marble the solemn record of their sacrifice, the perpetual gratitude of the State they served, the undying affection of those whose lives the separation of death has shadowed with an everlasting sorrow, scattered over the battle-fields of the South, buried in remote and alien graves, dying unsoothed by the touch of familiar and household hands, their names are graven here to recall to their children and kinsmen how worthily they lived, how nobly they died; and in what tender reverence their memory

survives."[213] (Omitted for lack of space on the monument, but published by the News and Courier in 1879)

Timrod's Original Grave Marker | *Columbia, SC* | 1879

"Henry Timrod born Charleston, S.C. Dec. 8, 1829, died Columbia, S.C. Oct. 7, 1867" "'The poet to the whole/Wide world belongs.'" (W)

"'All human thoughts and human passions wait upon the genuine bard.'" (N)

"Erected by the poet's friends" (E)

"'So in thy thoughts,/Though clothed in sweeter rhyme/Thy life shall bear its flowers/In future times.'" (S)

Replaced in 1901 with a boulder (see **Timrod's Grave**).

Simms Memorial | *Charleston, SC* | 1879

"Simms" "William Gilmore Simms" "1806-1870" "Author, Journalist, Historian" "This monument dedicated June 11, 1879." (W)

Darlington County Monument | *Darlington, SC* | 1880

(outline of a palmetto tree with a state seal) "Animus opibusque parati" "Dum spiro spero spes"

"On fame's eternal/Camping Ground,/Their silent tents/Are spread;/And glory guards/with solemn round,/The bivouac of/The dead. | W. P. Smith" (NW)

"Conquered they can never be, whose spirits and whose souls are free." (SW)

"To perpetuate a grateful remembrance of the brave men of Darlington County, who, at the call of duty, entered the armies of the Southern Confederacy, and laid down their lives in a glorious struggle to defend the rights and uphold the honor of South Carolina, and of her sister

---

[213] Martin, "The South Carolina Monument Association," pp. 17-18. The entire inscription was drafted by William Henry Trescot.

Confederates, this memorial stone is lovingly erected by the women of their county, whose prayers followed them into the battlefield, and in whose memories they still live." (SE)

"They never fail who die in a great cause. While the tree of freedom's wither'd trunk puts forth a leaf, even for thy tomb a garland let it be." (NE)

Newberry District Monument | *Newberry, SC* | 1880

(cannonballs on top) (magnolia leaves, stacked flags, bayoneted rifles, two cannons, palmetto tree, oak and magnolia fronds) (names of dead) "This is a record of sacred dead. They were the soldiers of the southern Confederacy from Newberry district of South Carolina who battled for right and perished. Thus their living comrades and they who loved them memorize their lives." (W)

(names of dead) (S, E, & N)

Florence County Monument | *Florence, SC* | 1882

"1882" (N)

"1861. 1865." (S)

"Erected by the Florence Memorial Association. R. D. White." (W)

"Our Confederate dead." (E)

Defenders of Charleston Monument | *Charleston, SC* | 1882

"In memory of the sons of Charleston who fell around her walls, who sleep on many battlefields in Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Tennessee, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and North Carolina, and who lie in distant graves around their Northern prisons. These died for their State."

"This Bronze preserves the memory of the Heroic Dead from every part of Carolina and from her sister states of the South who fell in defence [sic] of this city. In proud and grateful remembrance

of their devotion, constancy and valor, who against overwhelming odds by sea and by land kept Charleston virgin and invincible to the last."

Kershaw County Monument | *Camden, SC* | 1883

1861 (crossed sabres) 1865 (N)

(laurel wreath) "CSA" "Mayhew and Son" (S)

"This monument is erected by the women of Kershaw County in memory of her brave sons who fell during the Confederate War, defending the rights and honor of the South." (W)

"They died for home and country and are gratefully remembered wherever they lie. 'Countless eyes have conned/their story,/Countless hearts grown/brave thereby;/Let us thank the God/of glory/We had such to die.'" (E)

The Citadel Harleston Marker | *Charleston, SC* | 1884

(wreath, crossed cannons) "Laurea perenni coronatus (Crowned with the Perennial Laurel), Francis Huger Harleston, Captain Cadets, 1st honor graduate of the South Carolina Military Academy, 1860. Capt. 1st Regiment S.C. Artillery, C.S.A. Regulars. Killed on duty at Fort Sumter, November 24, 1863, aged 24 years. Erected by his friends." (S)

Lexington County Monument | *Lexington, SC* | 1886

"Lexington's valiant sons who went forth to battle for their country's cause and gave their lives in service of the Confederate States. A.D. 1861-1865." (crossed swords) (names of dead) "To our Confederate dead." (SE)

"Their deeds are not forgot; in deathless fame our grateful hearts enshrine their memories." (names of dead) (NE)

"Erected by the women of Lexington County. A.D. 1886." (names of dead) (NW)

"These are our dead. Sleep on in silent rest." (names of dead) (SW)

John C. Calhoun Monument | *Charleston, SC* | 1887

"Truth"

"Justice"

"The Constitution"

"Liberty"

Charleston Light Dragoons Monument | *Charleston, SC* | 1888

"And how can man die better/Than facing fearful odds,/For the ashes of his fathers,/And the temples of his gods." (N)

"CLD" "1861-1865" "To the heroic dead" (names of dead) "Charleston Light Dragoons" (W)

"To the heroic dead" (names of dead) "Trevilian's Station, VA" (S)

(sites of battles fought) (E)

The Citadel War Dead Marker | *Charleston, SC* | 1890

"1861 South Carolina Military Academy 1865" (list of graduates with names and class) "Died for the Southern Confederacy." (E and W staircases)

Georgetown Rifle Guards Monument | *Georgetown, SC* | 1891

"Erected by the women of Georgetown"

"Dedicated to the men who died or faced death in the war that asserted constitutional liberty and affirmed our manhood"

Crozier Grave Marker | *Newberry, SC* | 1891

Calvin S. Crozier, Born at Brandon, Miss., August 1840. Murdered at Newberry, S.C., Sept. 8, 1865." (W)

"After the surrender of the Confederate armies, while on the way to his home in Texas from a federal prison he was called upon at the railroad station at Newberry, S.C., on the night of Sept.

7, 1865, to protect a young white woman temporarily under his charge from gross insults offered by a negro federal soldier of the garrison stationed there." (S)

"A difficulty ensued in which the Negro was slightly cut; the infuriated soldiers seized a citizen of Newberry upon whom they were about to execute savage revenge, when Crozier came promptly forward and avowed his own responsibility for the deed, thus refusing to accept safety from allowing a stranger to receive the violence intended for himself." (E)

"He was hurried in the night time to the bivouac of the regiment to which the soldier belonged, was kept under guard all night, was not allowed communication with any citizen, was condemned to die without even the form of a trial and was shot to death about daylight the following morning and his body mutilated." "'Rest on, embalmed and sainted dead,/Dear as the blood you gave./No impious footsteps here shall tread,/The herbage of your grave,/Nor shall your glory be forgot/While fame her record keeps/Or honor points the hallowed spot/Where valor proudly sleeps.'" (N)

Washington Light Infantry Monument | *Charleston, SC* | 1891

[www.washingtonlightinfantry.org]

(woman on left, child in middle, man on right) (left shield emblazoned with SC state emblem)

"S. Carolina" "Animus opibusque parati (Prepared in Mind and Resources)" [(right shield)

"Dum Spiro, Spero (While I Breathe, I Hope)" "Spes (Hope)" (crest and shield of the W.L.I.)

"WLI" "Washington" "Valor and Virtue" "1807" "At every board a vacant chair/Fills with quick

tears some tender eye,/And at our maddest sport appear/Those well-loved forms that will not

die;/We lift the glass, our hand is stayed-/We jest, a spectre rises up--/And weeping, though no

word is said,/We kiss and pass the silent cup."] "This shaft commemorates the patience,

fortitude, heroism, unswerving fidelity to South Carolina, and the sacrifices of the Washington

Light Infantry in the War Between the States, 1860-65. One company in peace; three full

companies for the war. Besides the maimed, wounded, and captured, one hundred and fourteen

died in battle, in hospital, or on the weary wayside. In obedience to a sentiment of honor, and the

call of duty and in pledge of their sincerity, they made the last sacrifice--they laid down their lives! Officers and men, they were of the very flower of this ancient city, her young hope and fair renown." "Fortuna non mutat genus. (Fortune does not change birth)" "Erected 1891." (S)

(crossed Confederate battle flags with right one incorporating a Palmetto Flag) "CO B 25th Regiment S C V" "Furl that banner true 'tis gory/But 'tis wreathed around with glory/And 'twill live in song and story/Though its folds are in the dust/For its fame on brightest pages/Sung by poets penned by sages/Shall go sounding down the ages/Furl its folds though now we must." (names of dead) (E)

(crossed Confederate battle flags with right one incorporating a Palmetto Flag) "CO A 25th Regiment S C V" "Where some beneath Virginian hills/And some by green Atlantic rills/Some by the waters of the West/A myriad of unknown heroes rest/And we can only dimly guess/What worlds of all this world's distress/What utter woe, despair and dearth/Their fate has brought to many a hearth" (names of dead) (W)

(crossed flags) "CO A Hampton Legion Inf'try" "And she points with tremulous hand below/To the wasted and worn array/Of the heroes who strove in the morning glow/Of the grandeur that crowned the gray/Alas for the broken and battered hosts/Frail wrecks from a gory sea/Tho' pale as a band in the realm of ghosts/Salute them they fought with Lee" (names of dead) (N)

"Cast by the Henry-Bonnard Bronze Co. New York 1894." (sites of battles fought) (N, S, E, W around the base)
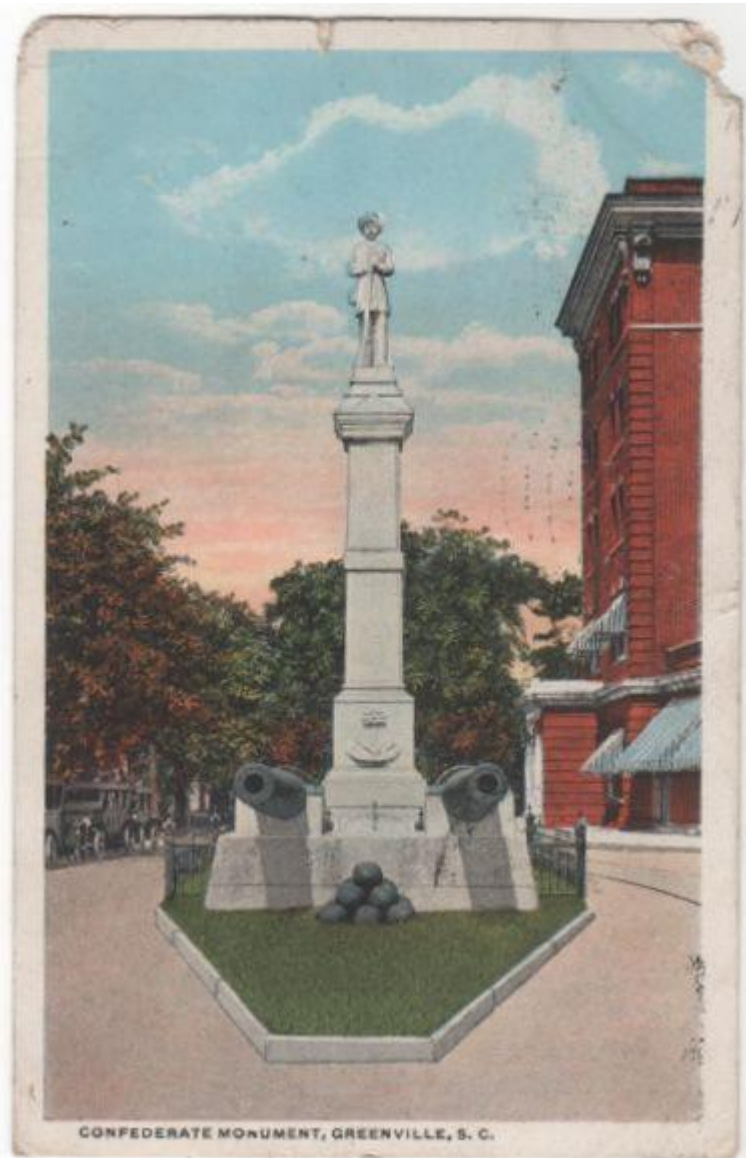
Confederate Soldiers Monument | *Fort Mill, SC* | 1891

"1860" "Dum Spiro Spero" "Spes Animis Opibuscue Parati" "1891" "Defenders of State Sovereignty." (S)

(list of names) (E)

"1865" "The warrior's banner takes its flight to greet the warrior's soul." (N)

(list of names) (W)

City and County of Greenville Monument | *Greenville, SC* | 1892

CONFEDERATE MONUMENT, GREENVILLE, S. C.

[Source: City of Greenville Parks and Recreation, https://www.greenvillesc.gov/299/War-Memorials]

"All lost, but by the graves/Where martyred heroes rest/He wins the most who honor saves/Success is not the test/The world shall yet decide/In truth's clear far-off light/That the soldiers/Who wore the gray and died/With Lee, were in the right." (S)

"Come from the four winds, O breath,/And breathe upon these slain/That they may live./Resting at last, in that glorious/Land, where the white flag/Of peace is never furled." (E)

"Nor Shall your glory be forgot/While fame her record, keeps/Or honor points the hallowed spot/Where valor proudly sleeps,/Nor wreck, nor change,/Nor winter's blight,/Not time's remorseless doom,/Can dim one ray of holy light/That gilds your glorious tomb." (N)

General Ripley's Grave | **Charleston, SC** | 1893

"'Rich in red honors, that upon him lie/As lightly as the summer dews/Fall where he won his fame beneath the sky/Of tropic Vera Cruz.' In memory of Brig-Gen. R. S. Ripley, C.S.A. Born at Worthington, Ohio, 14th March 1823 Graduated at West Point, 1843. Died 19th March 1887." (N)

"1861-1865" "Defence [sic] of Charleston Harbour [sic]. Seven Pines. Malvern Hill. 2nd Manassas. Sharpsburg." (W)

"Gay chieftain on the crimson roll of fame/Thy deeds are written with the sword,/But there are gentler thoughts with which thy name,/Thy country's page shall hoard. In recognition of his military skill in his devoted services in the defence [sic] of Charleston Harbour [sic] 1861-1865.. The Survivors Association and other citizens unite in erecting this enduring memorial. 1893, Palmam qui meruit ferat. (He who earned it, carried the palm)" (S)

Courthouse Memorial Tablet | *Orangeburg, SC* | 1893

"Confederate dead 1861-1865 Orangeburg District" (names of dead) (N wall)

(names of dead) "And other heroes unknown." (S wall)

Orangeburg District Monument | **Orangeburg, SC** | 1893

"Let posterity emulate their virtues and treasure the memory of their valor and patriotism."

Women's Monument | *Fort Mill, SC* | 1895

[Elizabeth W. Kearley, Getty Images]

"To the women of/the Confederacy,/the living and the dead,/who midst the gloom of war/were heroines in the strife/to perpetuate their noble/sacrifices on the altar of/our common country. Let/sweet incense forever/rise, till it reach them/'in robes of victory/beyond the skies.'

"Many are the hearts that are weary to-night,/Wishing for the war to cease;/Many are the hearts praying for the right/To see the dawn of peace." (list of names)

Faithful Slaves Monument | *Fort Mill, SC* | 1895

"1860" "Dedicated to the faithful slaves who, loyal to a sacred trust, toiled for the support of the army with matchless devotion, and with sterling fidelity guarded our defenceless homes, women and children, during the struggle for the principles of our 'Confederate States of America.'"

"1865" (W)

(panel of a slave resting on a log under a tree next to his hat and his scythe with his shirt unbuttoned before a field of grain) (S)

(panel of a slave woman cradling a white child on a mansion porch with children's toys in the foreground) (N)

"1895" "Erected by Sam'l E. White. In grateful memory of earlier days, with the approval of the Jefferson Davis Memorial Association. Among the many faithful," (list of names) (E)

D. F. Jamison's Grave | *Orangeburg, SC* | 1897

"General David Flavel Jamison" "Soldier, Statesman, Scholar" "Erected by his friends." "Born in Orange Parish Dec. 14, 1810; Died in Charleston Sept. 14, 1884. President of the Secession Convention" (W)

Standard Bearers Tablet | *Columbia, SC* | 1897

"Greggs Regiment, First South Carolina Volunteers, CSA Standard Bearers" (names of dead)

"Immortals who bore the Palmetto Flag in the greatest enfilading fire of the war at Gaine's Mill,

VA. June 27, 1862." "'No man liveth or dieth to himself.'" "'The deed you have done goes to work in the world as the sun looking down on the earth must trace the results of his past summer prime, so every flash of your passion and prowess long over shall thrill the whole people till they give forth a like cheer to their sons, who in turn fill the South with the radiance which your deed was the germ of.'" "This tablet raised by the South Carolina Daughters of the Confederacy aiding the Wade Hampton chapter of Columbia, is to tell your story, which 'gives to unborn generations their due and their part in your being.'" (E)

Lucinda Horn's Grave | *Chappells, SC* | 1897

(oak cluster) "Aunt Cindy" "LUCINDA Wife of CORNELIUS HORN Died Feb. 29, 1896, Aged 82 years." (E)

(oak cluster) "She followed her husband and only son throughout the Confederate War, illustrating the uncomplaining endurance, the sublime physical and moral heroism, the unswerving patriotic devotion and the dauntless unsubdued spirit of The Confederate Women." (N)

(oak cluster) "History reposing at the base of this humble tomb will challenge the admiring attention of all coming generations." (W)

(oak cluster) "Erected to her memory by the Confederate Veterans of Edgefield and Saluda Counties." (S)

Torpedo Boat Memorial | *Charleston, SC* | 1899

"Erected by the Daughters of the Confederacy and the Memorial Association of Charleston, S.C. May 1899." (N)

"In memory of the supreme devotion of those heroic men of the Confederate army and navy first in marine warfare to employ torpedo boats 1863-1865" "Moved by the lofty faith that with them

died crew after crew volunteered for enterprises of extremist peril in the defense of Charleston Harbour [sic]" "Of more than thirty men drowned in this desperate service the names of but sixteen are known" (names of dead) (S)

Unknown Confederate Dead Monument | *Columbia, SC* | 1899

"'The death of men is not the death of rights that urged them to the fray.'" (S)

"Soldiers of the Confederate States" (E)

"Deo Vindice" (N)

"In loving memory from the Richland Memorial Association." (W)

Mary Ann Buie Marker | *Aiken, SC* | 1900

"Mary Ann Bowie [sic], the soldier's friend 1861-1865. Erected by M. A. Bowie [sic] chapter of D.C. Johnston, S.C."

Catawba Indians Memorial | *Fort Mill, SC* | 1900

"1600 Erected to the Catawba Indians by Sam'l Elliott White and John McKee Spratt. The latter is a descendant Thos. 'Kanahwa' Spratt and the former a descendant of Wm. Elliott (a kinsman of Kanahwas) two of the first settlers in this portion of the Indian Land (1755-60). 1900" (S)

"Some of the Catawbas who served in the Confederate Army" (list of names) (E)

"The Catawba Indians although a war-like nation were ever friends of the white settlers. They aided and fought with the Americans in the Revolution and the Confederates in the Civil War. Tradition says they immigrated to this portion of South Carolina from Canada about 1600, numbering some 12,000. Wars with the Cherokees, Shawnees, and other nations, together with the small-pox depleted their numbers greatly. In 1764, the province of South Carolina allotted them 15 miles square in York and Lancaster Districts. About 1840 a new treaty was made, the state buying all their land, and afterwards laying them off 700 acres on the west bank of the

Eswa Tavora (Catawba River) 6 miles south of Fort Mill. Where the remnant, about 75, now live receiving a small annuit [sic] from the state." (N)

"Some noted Catawbas" (list of names) "The latter being made an orphan by the small-pox scourge, was raised by Kanahwa. He received a pension for services in the Revolution of 1776. At 70 years of age, he died at the Saratt Homestead and at his own request was buried in the family graveyard." (W)

Edgefield County Monument | *Edgefield, SC* | 1900

"Edgefield" (band of stars) "Erected by the women of Edgefield, S.C. to the memory of their Confederate dead." (E)

Barnwell County Monument | *Barnwell, SC* | 1900

(band of stars, which wraps around the top)

"C" (N) "S" (W) "A" (S)

(crossed rifles and accoutrements) "Erected by the women of Barnwell to the memory of their countrymen who fell in the war for the rights of the states, and who died to maintain the principle that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." (N)

(crossed anchors) "Who throughout a long and bloody struggle displayed a heroism and devotion to duty unsurpassed, if ever equaled in the annals of war. 1861-1865" (W)

(crossed sabres) "Who wrung from the great commander of the opposing armies the humiliating confession that they could be overcome only by attrition, and in the deadly contest in which they engaged their spirits were never broken, their courage never quailed, their convictions were never deserted, and their manhood was never surrendered." (S)

(Confederate battle flag at midshaft) "1900" (crossed cannons and a palmetto tree) "Our Confederate dead" (E)

Anderson County Monument | *Anderson, SC* | 1901

[Brian Scott, August 23, 2008, https://www.hmdb.org/m.asp?m=10732]

(palmetto tree, crossed swords, a laurel wreath, and a Confederate battle flag) "Though conquered, we adore it! Love the cold, dead hands that bore it!" (N)

(furled banner, cannon wheel, cannonballs, and cannon swabs) "1st Battle Manassas, Williamsburg, Seven Pines, Caines' Mill, Frazier's Farm, Chickamauga, Wilderness, Spottsylvania, Chancellorsville, Malvern Hill. 2nd Battle Manassas, Boonsborough, Sharpsburg, Fredericksburg, Petersburg, Gettysburg, Franklin, Atlanta, Appomattox." (W)

[Brian Scott, August 23, 2008, https://www.hmdb.org/m.asp?m=10732]
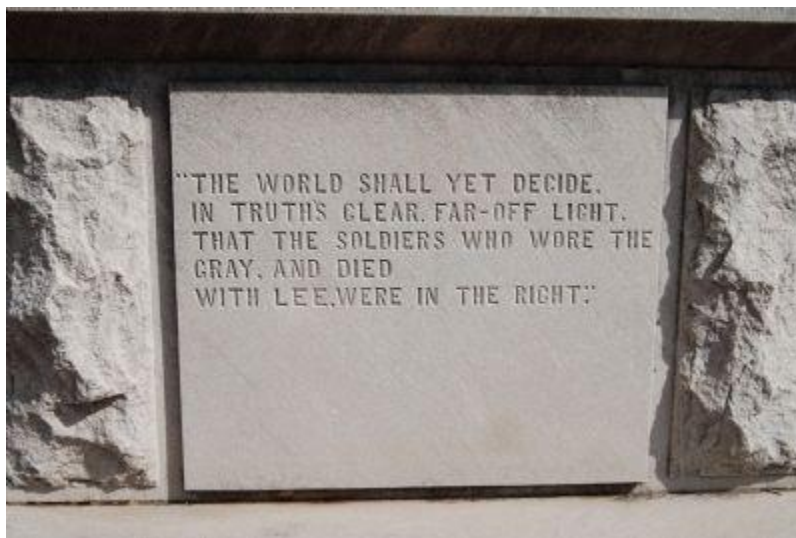
(wreath, unfurled banner) "DC 61-65" (anchor and ship's wheel) "The world shall yet decide,/In truth's clear, far-off light,/That the soldiers who wore the/Gray, and died/With Lee, were in the right." (S)

"CSA" (three stacked bayoneted rifles with canteen, cartridge pouch, and laurel wreath) (E)

Timrod Art Memorial | *Charleston, SC* | 1901

"Henry Timrod born in Charleston, S.C., December 8, 1829, died in Columbia, S.C., October 6, 1867. 1901" (S)

"This monument has been erected with the proceeds of the recent sale of very large editions of the author's poems by the Timrod Memorial Association of S.C. 'Genius like Egypt's monarch timely wise/Erects its own memorial 'ere it dies.'" (E)

"Through clouds and through sunshine in peace and in war amid the stress of poverty and the storms of civil strife his soul never faltered and his purpose never failed. To his poetic mission he was faithful to the end. In life and in death he was 'not disobedient unto the heavenly vision.'" (W)

"Sleep sweetly in your humble graves/Sleep martyrs of a fallen cause/Though yet no marble column craves/The pilgrim here to pause." "In seeds of laurel in the earth/The blossom of your fame is blown/And somewhere, waiting for its birth/The shaft is in the stone." "Stoop, angels, hither from the skies!/There is no holier spot of ground/Than where defeated valor lies/By mourning beauty crowned!" (N)

Aiken County Monument | *Aiken, SC* | 1901

(crossed swords and magnolia fronds, representing the cavalry) "They gave their all in defence [sic] of home, honor, liberty, and the independence of their native land. They fought the patriot's fight. They kept the faith of their fathers forever honored and forever mourned." (S)

(cannon, representing the artillery) "Erected July 23, 1901. By the Ladies Monument Association of Aiken, S.C. in loving tribute to the Confederate soldiers of Aiken County." (N)

(engraving of the Virginia Merrimac, representing the navy) (E)

(crossed rifles, representing the infantry) (W)

Timrod's Grave | *Columbia, SC* | 1901

"1829-67 Henry Timrod poet and his only child Willie lie buried here 1901" (W)

Wade Hampton Tablet | *Anderson, SC* | 1902

(national flag, laurel wreath) "DC 61-65" "Sacred to the memory of WADE HAMPTON. Best loved of Carolina's Sons. Hero of the Southern Confederacy. Deliverer of his State from deepest degradation." "Erected by the Robert E. Lee chapter, U.D.C."

St. Michael's Church Tablet | *Charleston, SC* | 1902

"How grand a fame this marble watches o'er/Their wars behind them God's great peace before" (state seal with Confederate battle flag on left and Palmetto Flag on right) "The Confederate States of America 22 February 1862 *Deo Vindice*" "St. Michael's writes within her hallowed walls the names of her gallant sons who died for the Confederate cause and consecrates their memory 1861-1865" (names of dead and ages) "They fought the patriot's fight. They kept the faith of their fathers. They fell on their stainless shields." "Non sibi domine sed patriae (Not for self, by the Lord, but for Country)" (N)

Trinity Cathedral Memorial Tablet | *Columbia, SC* | 1903

"1861 CSA 1865" "To the memory of Trinity's dead who died for Southern rights in the War Between the States." (names of dead and ages) "'Hold up the glories of thy dead, Carolina!'" (S)

Marion County Monument | *Marion, SC* | 1903

"This monument attests to the love and admiration in which they are ever held by their countrymen." (N)

"This monument also stands to voice our praise and speak our debt of gratitude to those noble and gallant veterans who survive. We prosper today because they taught us how to suffer and grow strong." (S)

Greenwood County Monument | *Greenwood, SC* | 1903

They "fought as heroically to maintain local self government as did the colonial fathers to attain the same, and with them are immortalized in the same halo of glory." (E)

"But their memories e'er shall remain for us, and their names bright names without stain for us,- the glory they won shall not wain [sic] for us. In legend and lay our heroes in gray shall forever live over again for us." (N)

Beauregard Memorial | *Charleston, SC* | 1904

"Beauregard" "P. G. T. Beauregard" "General commanding Confederate forces Charleston South Carolina held this city and harbour [sic] inviolate against combined attacks by land and water 1863. 1864. 1865. This monument is erected in his honour [sic] by a grateful people A.D. 1904." (W)