

LOST IN THE CAUSE: COLLECTIVE MEMORY OF THE CIVIL WAR IN
NEWSPAPER COVERAGE OF CONFEDERATE MONUMENT CONSTRUCTIONS
AND DEDICATIONS

by

ALEXIA CAMILLE LITTLE

(Under the Direction of Janice Hume)

ABSTRACT

Following continued battles about the place of Confederate monuments in American society and public memory, this study explores the nuances of Civil War memory and apparent lack thereof in newspaper coverage of the initial construction and dedication of four Confederate monuments across geographic sections. Through discourse and narrative analyses of 258 articles published in seven U.S. newspapers in the 1890s and 1920s, this study examines how Lost Cause mythology and reconciliation strategy distorted memory of the Civil War away from fact and toward myth in order to promote economic and political advantage while marginalizing the reality of wartime atrocities and slavery. This study contends that newspaper coverage served as strategic sites where hegemonic narratives of equal valor and sectional reunion took precedence over historical memory, thus influencing remembrances of the Civil War.

INDEX WORDS: Collective memory, Journalism history, Civil War, Confederate memorials, Race, Hegemony, Lost Cause, Myth, Discourse Analysis, Narrative Analysis

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DEDICATION

To the women who have taught and continue to teach me, and for the women I will one day teach.

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When I embarked on this thesis journey, in-person classes and office hours, study time at coffee shops, and life as we knew it proceeded normally. By the time I proposed the study, a global pandemic had forced the world to shelter in place and forced my proposal meeting with my committee to take place virtually on Zoom. The library closed. Campus closed. Essentially, the world closed. But my committee remained wide open to my proposed research and gave me not only permission to proceed but the tools I needed to conduct a successful study, one that originated as a niche historical topic and later found itself situated in forefront of American discourse following social justice campaigns in 2020. I am indebted to my major professor, Dr. Janice Hume, for taking on a nascent media historian. Her meticulous attention to detail, ever-salient encouragement, and crucial direction made this thesis possible. My gratitude must also extend fervently to Drs. Carolina Acosta-Alzuru and Karen Miller Russell, my esteemed committee members. Their advice, time, attention, and commiserations bolstered all efforts, making this thesis the most enjoyable and rewarding part of my graduate studies and life amid COVID-19. Pandemic or not, this incredible group of scholars, of women, guided me with grace, humor, and fortitude.

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CHAPTER 1

IDOLS AND ARGUMENTS: QUESTIONS OF CIVIL WAR MEMORY

In the aftermath of the Unite the Right rally in 2017, when white supremacists gathered in Charlottesville, Virginia, to protest the removal of the statue of General Robert E. Lee, national media conversation boomed with contention between regional, racial, and political divides about the removal of Confederate monuments.¹ Local governments across the country from northern hubs like New York City to southern cities like Charlottesville removed or sought to remove statues dedicated to the Confederate dead, many constructed in the last decade of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century. In 2020, the monument conversation intensified as protests stirred after Minneapolis Police officers killed George Floyd.² The viral video of Floyd's death prompted thousands of protestors to take to the streets in cities across the United States, including Richmond, Virginia, the former capital of the Confederacy, to call for reforms to the criminal justice system and examinations of systemic racism. *Vox* reporter Ian Millhiser followed the protests that surrounded the statue of Confederate General Robert E. Lee on Monument Avenue in Richmond, which he dubbed the "capital of a treasonous regime founded on the idea that white people could and should own Black people because they believed white people were inherently superior."³ The monument became a site symbolic of racial inequity in the twenty-first century, and Gov. Ralph Northam ordered its removal on June 4, 2020, though legal battles over the state's right to remove the six-story statue stalled the process.⁴

These incidents reignited the more than century-old debate as to why cities would glorify slavery supporters with statues and flags at a time when hate crimes and violence highlighted their current racial divisions.⁵ Battles for or against monument sites like those in Richmond and on Chicago's South Side continue, deepening rifts in an increasingly polarized political climate.⁶ Proponents argue the monuments should remain as historical markers, reminders of a bitter moment in America's history that should not be erased and that honor individuals who fought for their beliefs. Vehement opponents argue Confederate monuments only exist as icons of hate, bigotry, and racism, inciting deep racial divides and perpetuating Old South mentalities. In June of 2020, Lecia Brooks, outreach director at the Southern Poverty Law Center in Montgomery, Alabama, told *The New York Times* "there has been a consistent drive, primarily in the South, to remove these monuments" because "they are a constant reminder of the dehumanization of African-Americans and the pushback against [their] civil and human rights."⁷ Meanwhile in Athens, Georgia, where an 1872 monument to Confederate dead was removed in August 2020, Henry Grady III—the third great grandson of a Confederate major and second great grandson of notorious *Atlanta Constitution* editor Henry W. Grady—said that monument "wasn't a memorial to the Southern life of slavery at all" and "if anybody is protesting or threatening to deface it because they feel it is a monument representing slavery, that's just wrong."⁸ Grady told *The Red & Black* independent student newspaper he hoped "people [were] studying the facts."⁹

This study seeks to consider monuments in the context of the eras they were constructed and dedicated to explore "the facts," or rather, the nuances of Civil War memory across races, sectional affiliations with the Union or Confederacy, and social and

political statuses. Reconstruction ended in 1877 when Union forces pulled out of the South, but Confederate monuments did not appear in significant numbers until the 1890s, prompting questions as to why that moment signified a time of remembrance for the Confederate South.¹⁰ Monument construction continued into the twentieth century as racial tensions intensified. The first wave of the Great Migration¹¹ changed the social and political landscapes of cities across the reunified nation as members of the Black population migrated to major northern cities like Chicago and New York while others dispersed across the South. The population in northern cities rose by approximately 40 percent between 1910 and 1930 as Jim Crow laws, violence, and economic incentives prompted Black migration. According to the Tuskegee Institute, lynching in the United States occurred most frequently between 1892 and 1930. Though the number of individuals lynched in wake of Civil War tensions declined from 230 in 1892 to 33 by 1923, rife prejudice, military pride, and the practice of segregation after World War I allowed construction of monuments to continue, celebrating Confederate military figureheads. Thus, flashpoints in the 1890s and 1920s serve as moments key to examining Civil War memory and its evolution in the American public following changes in social, political, and economic affairs.

This cultural narrative analysis asks how newspapers chose to remember—or not to remember—the Civil War during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, helping to shape and perhaps distort the collective memory of a nation beginning to reconcile a war against itself in search of common threads of vindication through another memory space, Confederate monuments. The study particularly focuses on flashpoints in the 1890s and 1920s as two distinct moments to consider memory 30 years after the Civil

War and the subsequent 30-year mark to explore shifts in national narrativization of the war and its actors. This analysis examines news coverage pertinent to their construction and dedication, including opinions expressed during the eras. The texts reveal nuanced motivations engendered by economic, political, and social gains of the dominant white culture during the Gilded Age to strengthen white nationalism and launch Jim Crow rule. Socially abetted segregation and tensions endured into the 1920s and well beyond. The study seeks to close a gap in extant literature about Confederate monuments and their relation to memory, which largely considers monuments and newspaper coverage from the nineteenth century individually in terms of location rather than collectively, and extends the broader examination of how individuals, groups, and nations negotiate memory in public spheres and the social implications of that negotiation.

Monuments to the “Lost Cause”

Scholars define the “Lost Cause” as a sentimental narrative espoused by southern whites proposing that the Civil War was fought to defend states’ rights and to protect the chivalric antebellum lifestyle.¹² The Lost Cause is encapsulated in writings, oral histories, physical markers, and remembrance days. The myth of the Lost Cause promoted by Southerners following the war constituted narrative explanations for secession and Confederate defeat, often with purposes of educating subsequent generations to revere belief-driven sacrifice and justifying rebellion to control public memory of the war.¹³ National perception of the war would shape social and economic climates, and both sides struggled to control memory to influence societal gains across geographical spaces, political arenas, and racial lines. Written and spoken arguments for Confederate vindication magnified the role of the Confederate soldier to heroic stature.

This led to organized memorial activities to “unite the people in a spirit of togetherness” to resurrect pride and self-confidence.¹⁴ As historian David Blight noted in his examination of memory, *Race and Reunion*, “In the 1890s, the Lost Cause emerged as a useful weapon against radicalism and a bulwark against social diversity and disorder.”¹⁵ During this time, Confederate memorials and monuments manifested as symbols of absolution and regeneration, not only for the South, but for a nation making amends economically, socially, and politically with a need for stability entering a new century.

Individuals and groups construct monuments, both tangible and intangible, within contexts of both time period and culture to preserve reputation and legacy. Monuments like Confederate statues serve what Michael Schudson describes as dedicated memory forms, artifacts designed specifically to preserve memory and elicit social stimulation through the interactive nature of remembrance.¹⁶ Monuments prompt individuals and groups to consider the remembered person or place through socially constructed patterns of rhetoric and commemoration. In the case of Civil War monuments, southern groups sought to preserve their Lost Cause, confirming Pierre Nora’s proposition that groups bolster identities with memory markers. “If what they defended were not threatened, there would be no need to build them,” he wrote.¹⁷

Ladies Memorial associations, the Confederate Memorial Literary Society, and later the United Daughters of the Confederacy (founded in 1894 as National Association of the Daughters of the Confederacy) largely sponsored monument endeavors. These “genteel” women had achieved public roles as preservers of memory and history during the 1860s to “assure the proper burial of Confederate soldiers and the marking and decoration of their graves.”¹⁸ They enlisted male counterparts, social elites, and political

figures to erect monuments to the southern military men they thought should be honored in equal terms with northern soldiers, especially after the founding of Memorial Day celebrations in 1868.¹⁹ Ladies' societies, politicians, and universities helmed much of the monument construction across the nation. Thus, commemorative sculpture lent authority to the South's version of the past, ignoring the atrocities of slavery. For example, Princeton University held a biennial convention of its Alumni Association in 1924 in Atlanta to promote the university's "long-standing connections to the South," donating \$1,000 toward the construction of the Stone Mountain Confederate monument.²⁰ As Savage noted, "public monuments do not arise as if by natural law to celebrate the deserving; they are built by people with sufficient power to marshal (or impose) public consent for their erection."²¹

Public monuments thus became a hegemonic effort of "rewriting history from the Confederate perspective" as these "loyal Southerners tried to come to terms with the region's humiliating defeat and the Reconstruction era that followed by creating a romanticized narrative of the war," giving meaning to their sacrifices via the Lost Cause.²² These relics of reconciliation in the form of commemorative sculpture lent authority to the South's version of the past. The women spearheading efforts, along with their male counterparts, viewed themselves as "pioneers of record-keeping" engaged in "systematic historical work," validating their interpretation of the Civil War under the guise of education.²³ This trend, which emerged in the 1890s in cities like Richmond and Chicago, endured to another flashpoint—another point in time when Confederate symbolism held popularity—in the 1920s in both northern and southern cities including New York and Charlottesville.²⁴ The monuments marked moments of reconciliation for

the white controlling majority in the early stages of Confederate commemoration. Just as the South wanted to uphold its Lost Cause, the North wanted to appease white Southerners with whom they hoped to foster social and business relations through a show of good will.²⁵ Both sides wanted to reunify and reconcile, narrativizing Confederate soldiers as the moral equals of their heroic northern counterparts to achieve those ends.

This study examines newspaper articles and editorials related to four significant monument unveilings: those of Robert E. Lee in Richmond (May 29, 1890), Charlottesville (May 21, 1924), and New York (May 22, 1923), and the monument to Confederate prisoners at Camp Douglas in Chicago (May 30, 1895). Scholars have indicated these monuments are historically significant because of the growth surrounding Memorial Day celebrations, number of veterans from both sides of the war in attendance, the rise of Jim Crow segregation as evinced at these times, and national news coverage.²⁶

Black Identity and Confederate Monuments

As historian Mark Auslander noted in his examination of slavery at Emory University, objects of memory like Confederate monuments evoke a double-consciousness in which groups feel the sensation of simultaneously being within and outside of a dominant narrative.²⁷ In W.E.B. Du Bois' landmark oeuvre, *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903), he describes double-consciousness as a sense of "looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity."²⁸ In constant "twoness," the Black population measured itself by white America's postbellum standards while trying to also reconcile individual racial identity.²⁹ Newly enfranchised Blacks lived through the Civil War with the white majority classes, but their status as an "Other"³⁰ relegated them as outside the dominant

narrative of the war, for their fight stemmed not from land or economy, but from desire of freedom.

This “Othered” status lasted through the nadir of the late 1800s and early 1900s when Blacks stood in limbo as enfranchised but not equal in the wake of what media historian Earnest Perry termed a series of “brutal economic and political disenfranchisement maneuvers” launched following Reconstruction.³¹ As media historian Jinx Broussard indicated, laws and tradition that permeated the Jim Crow era denied the Black population access to the civil liberties due them, guaranteeing them “consignment to a permanent underclass and powerlessness” as they labored for meager wages.³² Those who escaped the South in the Great Migration “found violence and increasing segregation and discrimination,” and those who eventually fought in World War I, once optimistic about second emancipation after fulfilling duty to the country, returned to “brutal racial oppression,” the lack of freedom for which they fought in Europe.³³ Blacks in the 1890s and 1920s alike (and those in between) recognized they would not be acknowledged as equals while struggling to find inter- and intra-racial identities.

In his examination of *Slavery and Social Death*, Orlando Patterson qualified an “Other” as one subordinate or powerless in human and social relationships, particularly where one group has been enslaved.³⁴ Dominant society’s narrative of the Other thus evokes varying sociological and psychological impacts on both binary classes, those in power and those without.³⁵ Symbolic forms of narrative and memory like Confederate monuments, then, educe many voices with ranges of emotional and ideational content; a physical object that in “one context may evoke pleasure or exuberance” may for another group or individuals’ context “trigger pain or despair.”³⁶ Confederate monuments might

have served as a means for reunification dialogues for the white majority, but the Black community viewed the figures as reminders of enslavement and suffering in a subordinate social space. Further, they served as sites to discuss double-consciousness within the Black community nationally as differences between the formerly enslaved and freedmen of the North festered. However, because of the publicity craft of the dedicatory societies or leaders, this conversation became buried beneath the nation's quest for reconciliation.

Reunion and Reconciliation

Nearly 30 years after the end of the Civil War, people across the country shifted focus from how to remember the dead to reconciling regional pride, assimilating as a reunified nation, and girding the country against social disorder. The country needed to reconcile the actions and losses of the Confederate states as white southern poor and gentry adjusted to living among northern industrialists and with Blacks in southern cities that represented the "New South." The New South's industrialization and urbanization pointed to a cultural shift in which many white Southerners saw a need to reassert regional dominance against northern influences.³⁷ Meanwhile, the North recognized the Southerners' Lost Cause narrative in an effort to reconcile differences to strengthen the capitalism and commercialism now connecting the once divided nation. The two geographic and ideologic factions thus engaged in reunion and reconciliation. As Blight defines them, *Reunion* here refers to moments of physical assemblage while *reconciliation* refers to moments when tragically divided people unify around aspirations, ideas, and nationalism.³⁸

Monument construction became a signifying practice for reconciliation through the aspiration for bettering social and economic relations and Lost Cause ideology. Acrimony between North and South began to dispel in the 1890s as intersectional reunions engendered a new age of fraternal feeling, one largely inspired by economic motivations and social stability. Monuments emerged to abate resentment among Northerners and Southerners as to secure goodwill toward trade, national economic strength, and particularly in the South, a way to assert institutional superiority over new classes by reimagining the Lost Cause's narrative to reassert dominance against northern infiltration and Black enfranchisement. As historian Reiko Hillyer noted, throughout the 1890s and beyond, former enemies gathered at sites of prior conflict in reunion with Northerners "coming to embrace the southern interpretation of the war," moved by the South's courageous struggle in their reshaped memories.³⁹ Veneration of Confederate "heroes" provided legitimacy for the consolidation of white democratic hegemony instilled in the Jim Crow era, anchoring culture as the North and South accelerated in joint industrialization and urbanization.⁴⁰

For example, in 1895, Union and Confederate veterans gathered in Chicago for a Memorial Day celebration and to unveil a monument to the southern soldiers who died as prisoners at the city's Camp Douglas compound during the war. Chicago stood in contrast to southern cities like Richmond, Virginia, the home of an 1890 monument to Robert E. Lee, which remained a paragon city of the Old South long after Lee's surrender at Appomattox. Chicago stood as an urban Union immigrant city where Confederates died as prisoners of war, a far cry from the South's sprawling plantations. Yet,

Northerners and Southerners alike advocated for the construction and dedication of both monuments to Confederate dead as animosity shifted toward reconciliation.

The southern constituency arrived in Illinois to shake hands and develop “closer commercial relations and business union between the citizens of [the] country,” marked by a good-will tribute to the southern dead. Southerners and Northerners met, “not with bayonets this time,” but with business and friendship to unite the majority citizens of new money and old.⁴¹ Meanwhile in Richmond, more than half the visitors to the Confederate Museum established by the women of the Confederate Memorial Literary Society were from the North. In the 1920s, a museum guard said northern visitors were still “just as interested in it as if it were about their own folks.”⁴²

The fact that northern visitors would be sympathetic towards the white South’s point of view should not have come as a surprise, according to Hillyer, for the South had become a “frontier for economic expansion that the practice of democracy would only hinder.”⁴³ As the nation reunified, commercial relations took precedence over sectional rivalry with the “language of economic progress” replacing the “language of political equality.”⁴⁴ As sectional reconciliation unfolded, northern approval of the white supremacy embodied in cultural spaces like Confederate monuments led to retreat from wartime promises of Black freedom and citizenship.⁴⁵ As a result, reconciliation marked an abatement of debates over equality of white and Black races. In reflecting on the Civil War and its aftermath, historian John McCordell said segregation and disenfranchisement, “a place of seemingly permanent social and economic inferiority for African-Americans,” manifested as the “ugly underside of the dream of a speedy and complete sectional reconciliation.”⁴⁶ Especially in Virginia, the era between

Reconstruction and World War I, as historian T.R.C. Hutton noted, “suggests a Jim Crow system dedicated to business elites, moderation paternalism, social order, and hierarchy” in a system equally beholden to white supremacy and white responsibility.⁴⁷

Reunions between Union and Confederate soldiers served as reminders of bravery and courage on both sides, ignoring debates of political equality in favor of narrative equality for the white ruling class. The resulting monuments largely remain in national possession today, though their meanings have evolved. Nonetheless, the sites served as a collective memory space for a nation working to reconcile fraternal animosity through crafting narratives of heroism and moral righteousness among whites.

Heroism, myth, and the press

Heroism can be broadly defined as the acts of successful men or women with marks of greatness who quest, triumph, and return or die in the name of a cause. In 1840, Victorian essayist and social critic Thomas Carlyle delivered lectures on heroes and heroism, defining their value in society. He noted heroes were “the leaders of men,” and “in a wide sense creators of whatsoever the general mass of men contrived to do or to attain,” embodying the soul of mankind with all accomplishment deriving from them.⁴⁸ In terms of the Civil War, the definition of a hero existed in nationalistic legacy, those who laid down their lives for the sake of their country (or cause) with devotion alone meriting national gratitude.⁴⁹ Rhetoric surrounding Civil War heroes under this definition “took hold early” and continued as veterans “laid it on their children” for decades after.⁵⁰ In order to stabilize the new social order, both the North and the South needed to agree upon terms of remembrance, who lived and died as a hero, and what legacies each left behind. Thus, the regions turned to hero narratives, which fit the needs of societies working to

define their cultures. Cultures are “regenerated through their stories of great men, and heroes are reborn in societies,” becoming figures to revere despite being their share of mortal character flaws.⁵¹ These figures then become unifying forces through threads of common culture as their terms of remembrance are negotiated through narrative. With this notion in mind, the new nation crafted the stories of its heroes in conjunction with creating monuments to them.

Newspapers helped to achieve this goal, narrativizing events through conscious and unconscious use of what global studies scholar Jack Lule calls the “universally understood stock of archetypal stories,” the fundamental storytelling structure of myth to represent social values and beliefs.⁵² Myth, Lule suggested, exists as a sacred, societal story that draws from archetypal figures and forms to offer exemplary models for human life.⁵³ Through this negotiation of legacy, the subjectivities of elite society via the press glazed over atrocities and race relations to usher in the era of purported reunion.⁵⁴

In the case of heroism and news, the hero remains a pervasive myth intended to inspire individual success and belief in the ability to achieve greatness.⁵⁵ Schudson maintains that “successful narratives often foreground individual protagonists and antagonists rather than structures, trends, or social forces,” suggesting that efforts devoted to an individual, not unlike monuments devoted to figures like Robert E. Lee, lend resonance in storytelling that overshadows less dramatic or hallowed ways to describe the past.⁵⁶ This archetype sometimes functions in conjunction with the *victim* archetypal narrative wherein news “elevates and transforms death into sacrifice.”⁵⁷ Particularly during Reconstruction, stories of “family suffering” and “collective victimization” bolstered white southerners in school houses and public meetings as they worked to

reclaim civic autonomy during a time viewed by southerners as an oppressive Union occupation.⁵⁸ As historian Harry L. Watson suggests, “memories of victimization and outrage were the bedrock of white southern identity,” becoming an important facet of regional culture and the Lost Cause in “Dixie” where, as the song goes, “old times there [were] not forgotten.”⁵⁹ The nation adopted these terms of heroism and sacrifice in remembering Confederate soldiers, promoting equal valor in a reunified nation.

By turning away from vitriol against secessionists and toward narratives that favored what Blight calls “moral righteousness and valor,” the nation distorted its memory, a process which Michael Kammen notes serves as a cure-all for societal anxiety.⁶⁰ Especially in the South, society needed to uphold the “heroic and martyred” dead as paragons who defended their homes to protect order.⁶¹ The North and South no longer made distinction between the moral bases for which they fought and with which they performed their duties, ignoring roots of prior contention to favor valor, sacrifice, and mutual honor.⁶² As memory scholar Janice Hume notes in her study of American obituaries, regional societies and the nation itself “have the capacity to ‘remember’ and ‘forget,’ and this situational relevance plays a role in determining what citizens believe, collectively, about their history.”⁶³ The new nation stood free to choose how to commemorate its tumultuous recent past in order to create a new order. Post-Reconstruction America reconciled the sins of traitors, blended industry and agriculture, and kept Black citizens relegated to the margins of society under Jim Crow rule.⁶⁴

The words of *Atlanta Constitution* editor Henry W. Grady echoed through the months following his death from pneumonia in 1889: “The new South is enamored of her work. Her soul is stirred with a breath of a new life...She is thrilling with the

consciousness of growing power and prosperity.”⁶⁵ With burgeoning industry in cities like Atlanta and Alexandria after Reconstruction ended, the South stood ready to attract former foes as business allies in its quest to rebuild—on its own terms. An economic revival meant prospective advertisers for newspapers, and the press likewise engaged in changes to promote business. Increased reporting on business in the 1890s signaled the Fourth Estate’s role in supporting and promoting capitalistic trends while advertising remained interspersed with news columns to ensure readers did not overlook ads and read only news.⁶⁶ Marketing items became hard to discern from reporting and editorial content as the number of items on a single page ranged from twenty-five to sixty-five.⁶⁷ Crowded pages advertised rail rates, lumber, ointments and salves with testimonies and infused a new hallmark of postbellum journalism: event reportage.

After the Civil War, the drama of death and destruction that plastered front pages during the conflict had faded, and newspapers needed to find a way to keep the public’s attention through reporting. Emphasizing events and individual personalities, like hero personas, reporters embraced an emerging brand of postwar journalism colored by deep description or potential for pomp to attract audiences and advertisers.⁶⁸ As a result, growing cities and industries, political and military figures, and large-scale events emerged as news items ripe for audience engagement. Event coverage played a partial role in coloring public memory. Newspapers help to reshape memory to reflect the societal climates of a particular time, forming belief through coverage, information chosen to remember and information to ignore, by functioning within cultures and subcultures rather than apart from them.⁶⁹

Newspapers as sources for memory

Media scholars like Carolyn Kitch have examined the press's role in construction of and as a site of collective memory, noting that media provide "important sites of meaning-making, community-building, and reminiscence" on a "narrative trajectory with national meaning."⁷⁰ Memory remains intertextual as a constant exchange between people and places across time. Newspaper coverage serves as a form of memory.⁷¹ Reporting should be considered in the context of the time itself and the values of the community the media described within that time frame. The press serves as the site for public "anticipation of memory" through journalism's capacity as "the first draft of history" and of memory, "a statement about what should be considered, in the future," as having mattered to individuals, groups, and nations at a particular juncture in time.⁷² Memories repeat through time, constantly engaged with different thought systems at different points in the life of an individual, group, or nation, negotiating value under different contexts to fit societal needs at each point.⁷³ When actuality fails to reflect a group's values, storytelling serves to shape a more amenable remembrance.

Naturally, oration, literature, and the press operated during this time of reconciliation and monument construction. As society remembered the Civil War and its actors through public gatherings and monument construction, journalism functioned within the parameters of culture to document unveilings and commemorations both national and local, white and Black. Journalism, as Kitch points out, works within culture, not as a discrete form, to construct memory across times, spaces, and types of journalism; thus, examining reportage of Confederate monuments' consecration might offer a glimpse into the values and perceptions held by the nation at that particular

juncture.⁷⁴ Jill Edy noted in her examination of memory and media that journalists covering authorized commemorations of the past, like monument unveilings, often “tell the story of the commemorative event and the story of the event that is commemorated.”⁷⁵ Thus, Confederate monuments and the newspapers describing them contain the deliberate memory of society about the Civil War at that juncture. Monuments and the media both, then, exist as spaces of public memory.

In the case of the Civil War, both the North and the South had to negotiate what facets of the war represented Gilded Age values, shaping narratives in press coverage to appease a nation working to repair fractures between families, industries, and races. In his *Legacy of the Civil War* (1961), Robert Penn Warren professed “When one is happy in forgetfulness, facts get forgotten,” pointing to subjectivity’s influence over memory.⁷⁶ What results is the collective memory of a group or nation, thematically similar across memory sites like monuments and media. Newspapers played a role in shaping collective memory by detailing monument constructions and Memorial Day celebrations in addition to covering veterans’ reunions and reenactments, often called Blue and Gray days,⁷⁷ as veterans, widows, children, statesmen, and communities gathered with common aims of remembrance and reconciliation, narrativizing and negotiating remembrances of key figures.⁷⁸ And while the white majority press narrativized its heroes, the Black press sought not to forget its own truth, terming figures like Lee as antagonists by engaging in reasoned *vilification*, the villain as the antithesis of the hero. In examining historical newspapers, scholars might come to understand how the Lost Cause narrative emerged and remained in collective memory, relegating some voices to subordinate positions for more than a century after the Civil War.

Origins of memory studies

Collective memory study emerged in France with the work of sociologist Maurice Halbwachs in the early half of the twentieth century to examine how individuals and groups share and express memories.⁷⁹ Barry Schwartz succinctly defines collective memory as “a metaphor that formulates society’s retention and loss of information about its past in the familiar terms of individual remembering and forgetting.”⁸⁰ In the 1980s, historian Pierre Nora built upon the notion of collective memory, encompassing national identity formation, sites of memory, and memory’s place in historical moments in study. Monuments and newspapers both fit Nora’s description as sites of memory. Nora asserts that “memory takes root in the concrete, in spaces, gestures, images, and objects,” including the media space, which acts as “*lieux de mémoire*,” spaces that preserve the sense that “we must deliberately create archives, maintain anniversaries, organize celebrations, pronounce eulogies, and notarize bills,” history changing within remembrance at each moment and space in time.⁸¹

An extension of collective memory thus lies in how various groups and individuals within the same culture remember the same individuals and events. As Schudson points out, memory distortion remains inevitable because groups select what to remember—and what to forget.⁸² Through narrative and discourse analyses⁸³ of media texts including newspaper articles, editorials, letters to the editor, and magazine features in both the mainstream and Black press, Amber Roessner considered public remembrances of Ida B. Wells-Barnett and her legacy’s negotiation in cultural spaces from the framework of collective memory theory, noting “the bias of communication can determine the bias of memory, how stories are told and remembered.”⁸⁴ This study

follows that theoretical and methodological precedent in examining newspaper coverage of the construction and dedication of Confederate monuments, both of which serve as sites of memory, to explore the collective memory of a reunifying nation.

Research Question

This study thus asks: How did mainstream and alternative newspapers in both the North and the South remember the past in coverage of the construction and dedications of Civil War monuments during the 1890s and 1920s?

Methodology

This study examines press coverage of the monuments' unveilings from three months prior to three months after the ceremonies in national, regional, mainstream, and Black newspapers: the *Atlanta Constitution*, *The New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Chicago Tribune*, *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, *Alexandria Gazette*, and *New York Age*.⁸⁵ Newspapers were selected on the basis of prominence in terms of location, political leaning, ownership, and readership to contrast national sentiment across region, politics, race, and education. Studies including Blight's examination of *Race and Reunion* indicate the significance of such papers in narrativizing the Civil War in the contexts of its aftermath, pointing to widely-circulated,⁸⁶ mainstream white papers like *The New York Times* and southern paragon papers like the *Atlanta Constitution* as conceding to the majority narratives of common valor and morals, further marginalizing the newly enfranchised Blacks and their press and reimagining terms of the Civil War.

Newspaper searches through online databases including ProQuest Newspapers and Historical Newspapers (1860-1970), America's Historical Newspapers by Readex (1690-1930), and Newspapers.com by Ancestry yielded a population of 258 articles

relevant to these events. A full-text search of the monument names in combinations with their years dedicated and geographic locations yielded a total of 513 results, 258 of which were directly related to the monument constructions and dedications. The word searches, though not exhaustive, formed a population of articles germane to exploring collective memory of the Civil War in newspapers at particular flashpoints in time, narrowing from voluminous databases of text across hundreds of years. Doing so, as historians Hieke Huistra and Bram Mellink argue, allows for an expedient process to unearth “new sources that can change our understanding of thoroughly studied historical episodes.”⁸⁷

Newspaper coverage is considered chronologically as to examine shifting memory narratives over time. Review of the relevant articles from across the seven newspapers demonstrates increasing acceptance of Lost Cause and reconciliation narratives, with results diminishing over time as the narratives become hegemonic in American rhetoric of the early twentieth century. As reconciliationist ideals gained acceptance in public discourse, the need for reinforcement in the press likely diminished. Thus, a total of 226 relevant articles appear from the 1890s versus only 32 in the 1920s.⁸⁸

Before examining the specific coverage, broader discussion of the newspapers and their relevance in the geo-socio-political landscape helps to provide context for press discourse at the turn of the century. Whereas *The New York Times* catered to the views of educated white northern elites in the majority mainstream, the *New York Age* functioned as an alternative paper, offering minority or fringe perspectives as one of the most influential Black newspapers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Both covered national events with different perspectives despite geographic proximity because of social constructs associated with each group.⁸⁹ *Age* Editor Timothy Thomas Fortune

often criticized Republicans for failing to protect Black citizens' rights in the South and across the United States, reporting against the allowance of Lost Cause sentimentalities while also opposing New South storylines in the southern press.⁹⁰ Similarly, the *Washington Post* catered to the views of political elites in the more Republican ruling class while more regional alternatives like the *Alexandria Gazette* began to adopt Democratic sympathies in the South, portraying lingering sentiments of sectionalism in smaller southern regions and fighting for fracturing partisan audiences. The *Gazette* situated itself in the New South by advocating for local industry, primarily reporting on events' effects on the local community.⁹¹ The *Chicago Tribune* and *Chicago Inter-Ocean* provided contrast in reporting as two papers competing against one another for the same audience, adopting varying tones. The *Tribune* under the direction of lauded editor Joseph Medill became the leading Republican-leaning newspaper in the city with nationally-focused news articles while the equally partisan *Inter-Ocean* served as "an upper-class arbiter of cultural tastes," developing foreign and domestic news services, a vigorous editorial policy, and illustrations—the first paper to do so in Chicago.⁹²

In contrast to northern papers, the *Atlanta Constitution* represented the metropolitan New South. Henry W. Grady (1850-1889) served as a vocal supporter for reconciliation, promoting the New South progressive narrative through print and oration as editor of the *Constitution*. Grady encouraged industrialization and assertion of white dominance in social controls, becoming an arbiter of Lost Cause myths and white supremacy whose legacy also remains embodied in monuments and physical spaces across Georgia.⁹³ A businessman and wordsmith, Grady tailored his messages and his newspaper's editorial voice to persuade audiences in favor of capitalism befitting the

white professional class and old-money elites. Speaking to businessmen in New York and New England, he discounted the feudal antebellum South and reliance on slavery to promote a racially peaceful region ready for economic progress saying, “No section shows a more prosperous laboring population than the Negroes of the South; none in fuller sympathy with the employing and land-owning class.”⁹⁴ Meanwhile, he turned to southern counterparts and asserted, “The supremacy of the white race of the South must be maintained forever, and the domination of the negro race resisted at all points and at all hazards.”⁹⁵ The dueling messages manifested as means to entice business ties among white industrialists in the age of robber barons and postbellum capitalism with cities and opinion leaders adopting whichever strain best suited their interests.

Grady’s message of reconciliation spread across North and South, echoing in other papers as profit margins grew. However, some challenged his platform, including *Age* editor Fortune. The predominant Black paper contested his narratives through the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In 1905, the *New York Age* noted, “The South went mad with Grady philosophy as it had before gone mad with the Calhoun philosophy of secession” in post-war America, and by 1921, continued to quote reports like that of the *St. Paul Appeal*, which called Grady “the most bitter, dangerous and insidious enemy of the colored people that the country has produced.”⁹⁶ Though Grady died unexpectedly in 1889, just months before the dedication of the Robert E. Lee monument in Richmond, his blueprint of the reconciliation narrative would lead to construction of Civil War memory in newspaper coverage of public remembrances and demonstrations related to the Civil War and its legacy.

This systematically developed sample will provide insight to how newspapers remembered the Civil War and its actors during the construction and dedication of Confederate monuments and how the public reacted as recounted by these newspapers while acknowledging that it, as all archives, remains incomplete with biases based on inclusion, omission, and point of view.⁹⁷ This study examines reportage surrounding monument construction using narrative and discourse analyses to consider how newspaper coverage distorted collective memory across regional, political, and racial lines. Memory distortion could appease motivations for economic stability and against racial integration, manipulating memory of the Civil War and its actors to fit that particular social moment and set the stage for the rest of the Jim Crow segregation era. Narrative analysis seeks to understand common themes and structure of text in journalism while discourse analysis situates the text's word choice in relation to ideology, reflecting the cultural and political contexts in which it originated. Both methods have been used for analyzing journalistic content, often in media history.⁹⁸ Further, critical discourse analysis allows for examination of how texts reflect power and inequalities in cultures and societies, revealing dominant themes illuminating how collective memory emerged in newspaper texts.⁹⁹ This study examines discourse thematically for representations of reunion, reconciliation, sectionalism, heroism or victimization, villainism, and identifications of key figures like women's societies or politicians. Articles are considered contextually, including placement within the newspapers and the thematic relation to adjacent articles.

The first two subsequent chapters each comprise narrative and discourse analyses of newspaper coverage. Chapter 2 focuses on monuments in Richmond and Chicago

constructed and dedicated in the 1890s in chronological order as to explore attitudes and memory over time. Similarly, Chapter 3 focuses on the New York and Charlottesville monuments constructed and dedicated in the 1920s, again chronologically. Chapter 4 then discusses more broadly the common threads of thematic discourse appearing across newspaper coverage and discusses shifts in collective memory of the Civil War and social relations revealed in that coverage. The concluding chapter also correlates coverage to theoretical assumptions about memory in public spaces and its potential cultural implications.

CHAPTER 2
FLAGS, FLOWERS, AND FOUNDING FATHERS: SHAPING THE
RECONCILIATION NARRATIVE

Richmond plans to honor Lee, 1890

In the former capital of the Confederacy, Richmond's fresh aristocratic class of white merchants, bankers, engineers, and lawyers developed and revitalized wide new boulevards and avenues with handsome houses and burgeoning businesses. As the nineteenth century waned, old money mingled with new as Southerners whitewashed both fences and recent history to tell a new story about their city. One avenue stood out from the others as a focal point in 1890: Monument Avenue. The Lee Monument Society, a group of women and prominent men like Virginia Governor P.W. McKinney, launched an initiative to create a monument to the "great Confederate chieftain" Robert E. Lee, enlisting the efforts of famed French sculptor Antonin de Mercié for the project. This chapter analyzes newspaper coverage of the monument's construction and dedication, from its finishing touches in Paris nearly 20 years after Lee's death to three months following the unveiling ceremonies. Then, attentions turn to the Confederate prisoner of war monument at Oakwoods Cemetery unveiled in Chicago in 1895 to explore shifts in collective memory of the Civil War as businessmen and former soldiers sought to engender sectional reconciliation.

Mercié, who had recently completed a statue to the Marquis de Lafayette in Washington, D.C., won the project proposal contest which had been highly publicized in

the French press in 1884.¹⁰⁰ Clamoring for event news that might infuse their pages with some drama, newspapers picked up the story as the monument society prepared for a large spectacle to commemorate Lee and showcase the city. The *Chicago Inter-Ocean* signaled lingering sectional feeling thirteen years after the last of the Union forces left the South, noting the commission of the statue went to Paris, “finding few sculptors of eminence in the Southern States” and “disliking to ask of a northern artist an effigy of their old commander.”¹⁰¹ Though lamenting that “it [was] unfortunate that a foreigner should be the one who designs the statue of a popular idol,” the editorial staff praised the sculpture, noting the great repose of the simple figure on his horse Traveller, that avoided trappings and pomp of war.

Two months before the unveiling, Col. C.P. Burgwyn of the Lee Monument Association cabled the United States from Paris where he prepared to pack and ship the statue to Richmond by way of New York. While the *Alexandria Gazette* simply noted “all of Paris [was] delighted” over the equestrian statue, the *Washington Post*, *Atlanta Constitution* and the *Chicago Inter-Ocean* made note of its import to the United States.¹⁰² The *Constitution* chose to report about the adoption of resolutions at the state legislature to accept the monument on behalf of Virginia, allowing the deed of conveyance to be recorded and import dues to be saved. Similarly, the *Post* simply recorded the deed would be transferred so that the monument could come duty free in a paragraph subordinate to reporting on faults with the granite pedestal columns.¹⁰³ Whereas the tenor of the *Constitution* reporting conveyed the acceptance by Virginia as an economic saving, the *Inter-Ocean* took a different stance. The Chicago newspaper stated the property transfer record from the Lee Monument Association and others to the State of Virginia allowed

the funding parties to “avoid paying the heavy tariff duty which would have been imposed on the statue when it [landed] in New York.”¹⁰⁴ Though front-page news on all counts, the *Inter-Ocean* framed the decision as an avoidance of tariffs, a key difference in discourse that distinguishes New South reportage from the more skeptical and metropolitan nature of the highbrow Chicago paper appealing to Union Republicans. However, all papers failed to report the president of the Lee Monument Association was also the governor of Virginia, a fact vital to illuminating the political influence on the manifesting festivities.

Invitations for the unveiling, slated for May 29 just before the federal Memorial Day, reached the offices of governors of the Carolinas, West Virginia, and Georgia. The democratic governors of the South, Confederate veterans themselves including John B. Gordon of Georgia, responded positively to the invitations along with regiments of Confederate Veterans from Louisiana to Maryland.¹⁰⁵ The Seventh Regiment of New York seemed ready to venture South, too, until reports trickled through the press that the Confederate flag and battle flags would be flown at the event.¹⁰⁶ On April 10, *The New York Times* learned from a Lee Monument Association committee member that the group anticipated rejecting the invitation. Opposition loomed large among citizens of the North, although a “well-known southern resident of New York” had written to Richmond saying one company expressed willingness to attend in good faith.¹⁰⁷ The news made the front page and included historical context, citing a prior cordial visit of the First Regiment of Richmond to New York during the Centenary when the Union men showed “every courtesy” to the southern constituency.¹⁰⁸ The sectional issue sparked at the implication the northern men would march beneath “battle-seared Confederate flags” at Richmond.¹⁰⁹

As the *Times* and *Washington Post* recorded, the Philadelphia Brigade Association set a precedent in October 1888, refusing to march under the flag at the unveiling of a monument to Col. Desha Pickett of Gettysburg fame.¹¹⁰ Though some like Gen. John R. Corke, chairman of the General Monument Committee, harbored “doubts as to the propriety of inviting any soldiers from the North,” Richmond citizens were surprised at the reported refusal given “tender [spots] in their hearts” for the Regiment.¹¹¹

Sectionalism lingers

Corke and other political and military power brokers voiced a lingering sectionalism that would color coverage for the next month as the flag debate unfurled. Ironically, coverage ignored any sectional symbolism of the monument itself. Quoted in the *Times*, Corke said the absence of northern constituencies made no difference to the “home matter” in which he expected the South could get along quite well.¹¹² The *Alexandria Gazette* reprinted in full a paragraph from the *Army and Navy Journal* that expressed the sectional feeling of the North. The federal publication maintained that “unsuccessful rebellion [was] always and everywhere treason,” and the record should have persuaded the Seventh to abstain from attending. The men had, on the battlefield, divided their last drinks with a wounded enemy, but the Federal press denounced engagement in celebrations to the enemy cause – a bad cause fought for by a “noble enemy.”¹¹³ The *Gazette* called the paragraph against the southern cause “savage,” reprinting the article to demonstrate lingering animosity among U.S. forces and perhaps to vilify those loyal to the Union.¹¹⁴ The headline alone signaled a resentment, saying northern men were “Still Trembling at the Rebel Yell,” an insinuation the North had not yet moved beyond the war as the paper’s growing city had in the New South.¹¹⁵

Vilification themes emerged in the press, making Northern men scapegoats for sectional animosity.

The flag debate roused voices in the political arena and those of editorial staffs, both those that pointed to sectionalism and those that actively worked to squash the narrative in favor of reconciliation. The *Gazette* lamented the “South-haters in the house” who proposed to introduce a resolution prohibiting the exhibition of Confederate flags and the erection of Confederate statues, though the resolution failed.¹¹⁶ Meanwhile, the *Atlanta Constitution* noted “some difference of opinion,” acknowledging the sight of a miniature Confederate flag might provoke partisans of the north as a red flag might provoke a bull, but maintaining that “thousands upon thousands” of national flags would “intertwine with the ‘Conquered Banner’ to lend beauty” to the affair in a “grand and happily reunited country.”¹¹⁷ The *Constitution* noted that enterprising factories of the North had long manufactured battle flags of the “dead” Confederacy in great numbers “from which to reap a harvest.” Peddlers already stood on southern streets “vending Confederate badges and souvenirs.”¹¹⁸ The argument, then, became one of business between the sections, shifting away from symbolism and maintaining the Grady-inspired narrative: The issues of struggle were dead, the South stood loyal to the Union, and “occasional” tributes to the Lost Cause served no divisive means as fraternal feelings grew.

Newspapers continued to print names and dealings of those invited to the monument unveiling. Ex-Confederate generals and other political figures became the focus of much coverage in the early 1890s. As veterans died in larger numbers, those remaining, especially those who fought in significant battles or served in high ranks,

earned a degree of celebrity. General Fitzhugh Lee, formerly governor of Virginia and Robert E. Lee's nephew, campaigned for an "era of good feeling and fraternity" as he spoke to New England editors during a visit to Roanoke days before the unveiling at which he would serve as Grand Marshal. The *Atlanta Constitution*, consistent with Grady's vision, reported Lee, the "knightly Virginian," won the hearts of the "Puritan scribes" as he "rose above petty issues of parties and sections" to describe Virginia's ambition to meet Massachusetts as "generous rivals in the march of progress, contesting for the crown of success heart to heart and shoulder to shoulder."¹¹⁹ As reporters followed the former Lost Cause leaders, the latter became opinion leaders, quoted frequently with purported representative voices. These men, and sometimes women, spoke for the South and its renewed life in the death of sectionalism, striving for an economic rebirth for a stronger reunited nation.

Former Confederate president Jefferson Davis died in December 1889 nearly six months before the Lee monument unveiling, an effort he championed while alive. His widow Varina Davis wrote a letter to Governor McKinney which was published in the *Atlanta Constitution* and claimed that "sorrow and physical deformity" would prevent her being in attendance with the likes of Longstreet, General Joseph Johnston, and others, though she extended thanks, "gratified by the knowledge that a fitting monument" would rise to the fame of Lee, which stood as "the proud heritage of the southern people."¹²⁰ The notion of heritage had taken root as the generation responsible for the war—those who fought or brokered secession—raised and taught children to remember the dead.

Collective memory of the dead and living veterans promoted by Southerners rested on the idea of sacrifice for belief, and Southerners believed children should

recognize valor. In a letter to the editor reprinted in the *Constitution* from the *Richmond Dispatch*, a reader wrote in regard to northern school books that he proposed failed to adequately enlighten students on figures like Davis, who not one student in a Richmond school could identify. The writer protested Virginia's schoolbook purchases from New York, which was perhaps a show of economic reconciliation. He protested "in the name of sound policy and patriotism" because the "youthful toilers" would not be able to describe "the place occupied by Robert E. Lee in the lost, but glorious cause."¹²¹ The letter writer offered a glimpse into a Lost Cause tenet, the need for remembrance established by monument committees as they sought to educate generations and remember their leaders—their heroes—to perpetuity. At Richmond, Southerners partially achieved this goal, marching their children toward the Lee statue as a parade of veterans passed through the new boulevards before the unveiling followed by a mock battle. As a ragged veteran carried the battle flag he bore during war, his son kept his hand on the flag. The sight, according to the *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, was hailed with deafening yells. The moment symbolized southern storytelling, thorough education in the secession narrative, the idea "that they must sustain and, if necessary, fight for the 'cause' for which their fathers fought."¹²² Robert E. Lee thus provided the kind of protagonist necessary for any narrative arc.

Lee as an American hero

Lee emerged as a heroic figure in public memory as evidenced by reportage leading up to, during, and well after the monument unveiling. The *Atlanta Constitution* remembered him as exhibiting one of the "loftiest types of American valor."¹²³ His actual military record in the Confederacy, though noted, seemed like an afterthought in

reconciliationist coverage. Lee's renown as a mythic soldier had endeared him to the public who regarded him with ardor or curiosity at his quiet mystique as a reserved man and leader, according to newspaper coverage. This myth memory endured in coverage of his likeness, a statue of "great repose" that stood "easily and naturally," reflective of Lee's skill as a cavalry officer. Reports in the *Constitution* and *Washington Post* noted "the horse and rider" would travel to Richmond, like a living dignitary and horse coming to be paraded in a buggy ride.¹²⁴ Regardless of partisanship or views about secession, editors and quoted sources conceded that Lee's military record and affability promoted him to the archetypal public hero. Collective memory of Lee as a hero overshadowed any misgivings about the cause for which he fought. *The New York Times* said Lee long and ably defended the "ill-started Confederacy" with valor and skill of "superb soldiership."¹²⁵ Northern papers, though denouncing the Confederacy itself, lauded Lee as a dignified soldier who accepted final defeat and humbly recommitted himself to the Union. Even the staunchly Republican *Inter-Ocean* praised Lee for evincing his deep honesty of character by applying for American citizenship two months after Appomattox and "to the hour of his death never again [swerving] from the strict line of duty an honor as a citizen of the United States."¹²⁶ However, the Chicago newspaper also used the narrative to rail against the appearance of the Confederate flag at the ceremonies, maintaining that Lee would have recommended the stars and bars die with the Confederacy as he rejoined the Union.¹²⁷

The 'Conquered Banner'

Heroism reportedly embodied in the monument fell subordinate to the symbolism of flags. The day-of monument unveiling coverage from the *Atlanta Constitution* offered

the southern perspective highlighting decorations as central to the spectacle, harmonious groupings of “happy blendings of colors” of which total description would be “a severe task.”¹²⁸ In a city capitalizing on increasing connections to northern business, the narrative of reunion proved advantageous to attract citizens to the New South. The *Constitution* said the national flag numbered in “proportion of fifty to one of the stars and bars,” promoting the notion of southern loyalty to the Union.¹²⁹ Joseph Medill’s *Chicago Tribune*, working to edge past competitors in the metropolitan market comprising southern transplants, reported the flags flew side by side as no utterances against the Union entered the public discourse during the “occasion of intense enthusiasm and good feeling.”¹³⁰ *The New York Times* likewise adopted the notion of growing fraternity in the country, saying though thousands of Confederate flags decked the streets, “they were entwined with the Stars and Stripes,” and on no occasion had any more “genuine loyalty and devotion to the Union” been displayed.¹³¹

However, other coverage recounted a different image. The *Inter-Ocean*, running a story from *Cincinnati Commercial Gazette* correspondent F.D. Mussey, maintained the “starry banner of the United States” failed to receive much of a show while every conceivable variant of the Confederate flag made conspicuous appearance in a “wealth of Confederate colors” including: the Bonnie Blue flag, battle flag with St. Andrew’s cross, the stars and bars, and the “beautiful flag” of the Confederacy with its “snow-white field” and St. George’s cross.¹³² The subheading indicated disparity: “Confederate Flags Flutter in Myriads, But Union Flags Are Furled.” To Mussey, the display represented worship of southern causes illustrated to the last extent possible, an emblematic affair suggesting that the Lost Cause merely slumbered and awaited “its call to come to life again in practical

fact.”¹³³ Northern elites failed to buy in to reconciliation discourse, using the flags as an example of stalled progress, and the *Inter-Ocean* capitalized on sectional appeals. The Confederate flags floated free to the breeze while the national colors held to the staff from the staunch Union vantage.¹³⁴ Yet, as the *Alexandria Gazette* reported, the Confederate flags—aside from those “stained with blood and riddled with bullets”—came from Massachusetts manufacturers.¹³⁵ The southern newspaper charged that New England exploited the South through its economic prowess. New England ship owners brought slaves to the South in the Triangle Trade when they “ceased to be profitable in the North.” Then they sold guns to Southerners who used them for rebellion in 1861.¹³⁶ Flags would stand as yet another example of northern industry influencing southern life. The banners simultaneously embodied memory of Confederate defeat, rebellion, and northern economic advantage during and after the war, creating bases for argument in both sections. Contradictory coverage of intent, either symbolic or economic, overshadowed the monument itself with both North and South arguing their positions in the purportedly reunited country. At the statue of George Washington where Jefferson Davis delivered his inaugural address as President of the Confederate States, the defeated banner flew from Washington’s hand, though newspaper reports diverged as to who placed it there.¹³⁷

Revolutionary parallels

Regardless of who placed the flag on the Washington statue, the parallels between Lee and the founding father had already been well cemented in newspaper coverage. By comparing Lee to Washington and the Confederate rebellion to the Continental Army’s revolution, ex-Confederates weaved a narrative of common heroism into a tapestry of

American tradition dictated by states' rights and the Lost Cause. Colonel William Preston Johnston, quoted in the *Constitution*, recalled the first time he saw Lee with his "rich, brown coloring, dark hair and eyes, aquiline features and shapely limbs," just as Washington looked as a Virginian and leader with a "perfect poise of his bearing."¹³⁸ Newspaper coverage, often through quotes from ex-Confederates, pointed to commonalities between the two Virginians who led their states' militia and army forces into battles against the ruling government. The *Alexandria Gazette* promoted the voice of former Confederate general Jubal Early, as he defended the flag on the Washington statue.¹³⁹ He said the display was "all right" because while he and his comrades only carried the rebel flag for four years, Washington carried it for eight, and it wouldn't "hurt him any to carry it a day or two longer."¹⁴⁰

Confederate remembrances capitalized on collective memory of George Washington as a representation of archetypal heroism to promote Lee. Newspapers across sections printed the oration from Colonel Archer Anderson, chosen speaker of the day, who said the Washington statue had found its only fitting complement and companion in Lee.¹⁴¹ The widely circulated account became a defense to justify the war, exploiting memory to fit an idea of American duty in hopes to establish a notion of common heritage that would lend itself to reconciliation. As the *Washington Post* reported, nearly one hundred thousand people gathered just as loyal to the union as their fathers and grandfathers who helped to make the Union a century prior.¹⁴² The revolutionary parallel offered a vehicle for reconciliation narrative. Though the nineteenth-century rebellion failed, the ennobled losers turned to the heroic examples of the forefathers. In the home state of Grant, the *Chicago Tribune* said no man in the southern army more cheerfully or

manfully accepted the result at Appomattox than Lee, a hero in defeat.¹⁴³ The *Chicago Inter-Ocean* took note of the lack of regret in the South's rebellion narrative, saying the only regret of Union adversaries was the rebellion's failure. Though conceding that Robert E. Lee served as "one of the greatest soldiers of the age, lofty of character," thus promoting language of heroism that became commonplace in coverage, the *Inter-Ocean* vilified the leader, for "he violated his oath" to the Republic for which he pledged his sword for twenty-five years and received an education at its expense.¹⁴⁴

Protests against the monument

Not all were enthusiastic about commemorating the former leader of Confederate forces, nor did they accept the emerging history of heroism that organizers used to justify the monument's erection. *The New York Times* on March 4, 1890, told its readers about a rift on the Richmond Common Council. As Mayor J. Tayler Ellison recommended appropriation of approximately \$10,000 for expenses related to the unveiling, John Mitchell, editor of the *Richmond Planet*, the "paper of his race," spoke up in protest.¹⁴⁵ As one of three Black individuals on the council, he hoped "those who wore the clanking chains of slavery would refrain from voting" on the proposition.¹⁴⁶ Mitchell recognized the semiotics of the statue as marginalizing to the newly enfranchised, a reminder of slavery the Richmond power brokers narrativized as a commemoration to a great leader who initially rejected secession. With the exception of Mitchell and two Black colleagues from the same ward, the appropriation unanimously passed.

During the festivities, the Black community in Richmond stood by as silent spectators as the throngs of white gentry and ex-Confederates waived Bonnie Blue banners and cheered. The *New York Age* noted "perhaps no celebration ever took place in

the history of mankind in which a whole race stood by, silent and unsympathetic while another race was simply deliriously vociferous and enthusiastic with measureless interest” for a statue symbolic of disloyalty to disunion, an illustration of how the Lost Cause threw its shadow over the nation and complicated “the solution of the race problem.”¹⁴⁷ While the narrative in white newspapers depicted the event in Richmond as a great southern spectacle to honor a fallen leader, the Black press vilified Lee in thematic contrast to mainstream newspapers’ hero accounts. The *Age* conceded Lee was “one of the greatest generals of modern times,” but the editorial staff impugned his record as a traitor who gave his “magnificent abilities” to the “infamous task of disrupting the Union and to perpetuating the system of slavery.”¹⁴⁸ The paper bemoaned traditionally Republican voices like that of the *Cincinnati Commercial Gazette*, which gave in to “the counting room where honest sentiment and patriotism are made subservient to the balance sheet” as newsrooms clamored for advertising in an increasingly business-minded press pack. The *Commercial Gazette* sat just across the river from formerly Confederate Kentucky, too near the state line “to be loyal to the party of Wade, Lincoln, Sumner, Chase, and others.”¹⁴⁹ Fortune’s paper exposed the fiscal—commercial—motivations for which his rival Henry W. Grady had toured the oratory circuit and built the *Constitution* as a paragon example for other papers to follow in an era of political and economic turmoil.

The *Constitution* likewise chose to quote the *Commercial Gazette*, which found the display of Confederate flags a tolerable occurrence as a requiem for the Lost Cause. Cincinnati reporter Fred Mussey said that the estimated twenty-five thousand Confederate flags were of northern manufacture, produced in Massachusetts, and the

Atlanta newspaper quickly jumped to publish a reply. “All this would seem to show an absence of sectional feeling on both sides,” the editorial staff detailed, as the businessmen of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Ohio did “their level best to secure contracts for manufacturing the conquered banner bunting.” Southern rhetoric surrounding the “rebel banner made by republican yankees” promoted innocence, an act of sheer economic motive to suggest a reunited country working to reconcile.¹⁵⁰ Meanwhile, sectionalism stirred in the Black press as the *Age* questioned how the “red flag of anarchy” differed from the stars and bars, for which there had never been any funeral.¹⁵¹ Though Lee and his comrades might have been dead and buried, the flag waved over Richmond and rekindled Old South pride, figuring prominently into coverage so that the semiotics of the monument itself fell secondary.

Though Fortune’s position and that of his staff allowed them to have at least some voice in public conversation surrounding the unveiling, former slaves and newly enfranchised Blacks found little expression in coverage. *The New York Times*, in its primary coverage of the dedication, devoted some mention to Black attendees unlike the southern and midwestern papers. The paper of record noted four or five former Black confederate soldiers attended the ceremonies to “do honor to Lee’s memory,” including an “Uncle Tarleton Alexander,” an 82-year-old body servant of Judge John L. Cochran who appeared adorned with Confederate badges.¹⁵² The report noted that Alexander always voted on the Democratic ticket but failed to mention whether he did so out of loyalty to the party or for fear of retribution in the South where it held a stronghold. Yet another unnamed “old colored man” had traveled with the Huntington, West Virginia, Camp of Confederate Veterans on the dime of “those he served so faithfully.”¹⁵³ Again,

he wore badges represented Confederate camps—gifts from their original white owners. The *Times* chose to uphold the news value of the peculiar in this instance, mentioning one of a few Black men who served under white Confederate commanders instead of reporting on the throngs of silent onlookers revealed by the *New York Age*. Discourse sustained the idea of Black men as servile, servants in the war just as in the fields.

Most notably, the *Times* directly quoted one particular exchange between Early, who wrote for magazines like *Century* to uphold the chronicle of secession, and his former slaves present at the Lee monument unveiling. Early introduced “two reputable colored gentlemen of Virginia,” two of his former slaves, to another white dignitary. The *Times* then quoted the two men who said, “We is Mars’ Jubal’s niggers...we is, and we done cum over two hundred miles to pay our ‘specs to him.”¹⁵⁴ By using colloquial spellings to make a distinction in speech contrary to the genteel tenor of Early, the article framed the former slaves as simpleton southern servants loyal to their former master.¹⁵⁵ The inclusion also perpetuated the notion that the Civil War stemmed from issues of land and state sovereignty, not slavery or race, upholding a primary theme of Lost Cause mythology. Directly quoting the men, and attributing the quote to both, generalized the sentiment of former slaves without a counterview and debased their status as citizens by failing to even acknowledge which man spoke.

The *New York Age* editorially expounded on the same direct quotation, denouncing notions of familiar ex-Confederate and former slave relationships in white press discourse, saying an “impartial” observer might see instead heartless patronage and scornful indifference toward the Black race.¹⁵⁶ The *Age* engaged in a double-conscious assessment of the former slaves in discussion of their relationships to the former

slaveholder, a “relic of the dead past” representing arrogance and insolence of the master. While condemning Early, who classified these men as “respectable darkies” and “none of your scalawag niggers,” the *Age* denounced his former slaves who, according to the editorial, perpetuate the “servility and cowardice of the slave” that would make freedom and equality impossible until they had “died dead as a door nit,” rendering subservience to the past.¹⁵⁷ In a time when Harriet Beecher Stowe’s 1852 novel *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* remained in vogue, the *New York Age* pushed to move toward the future beyond “woeful condition” as an unequal citizenry, both promoting equality and condemning members of the Black community – “coward” ex-slaves left without work or homes at the end of Reconstruction.¹⁵⁸ The editorial position dually defended and scoffed at members of the same race, exhibiting issues of double consciousness that allowed language like Early’s “scalawag” distinction to endure despite efforts for advancement.

However, *Age* editorials continued to express opposition to the reconciliation tale, saying the “band that holds matters together [was] constructed of sand...as it was prior to the war,” and the corroding element remained the denial of Black rights.¹⁵⁹ Press coverage of the unveiling exacerbated alienation of rights and recognition of newly enfranchised Blacks as evinced by contrasting practice. The *Washington Post*, in its coverage of the mock cavalry charge, provided no name for a “negro knocked down and badly injured,” while giving the name and hometown of ex-Confederate Major T.M. Baker of Charleston, who was kicked by a horse.¹⁶⁰ Reconciliation and economic advancement loomed for the former white Union and Confederate soldiers, but the Black community, including those who fought in the war, remained relegated to the rear of social ranks, subordinate in all fields.

The editorial staff of the *New York Age* did not, however, stand alone in voicing opposition to the day in Richmond. The affair stirred Republican lawmakers in Congress to speak against southern pageantry ahead of Memorial Day celebrations honoring the Union dead. The sole acknowledgement of any embodied memory in initial reportage came in a direct quote of Confederate general Fitzhugh Lee in the *Washington Post*: “Any objections to Confederate flags flying in the ranks of the old soldiers who participated in the ceremonies of the unveiling of the statue of General Lee might equally apply to the monument also.”¹⁶¹ Republicans applied the standard. Congressman Boutelle of Maine lamented the rebellion that served as a “conspiracy organized in the interest of human slavery” seeking pretext for bloody conflict while W.E. Mason of Illinois “earnestly [protested]” against the Lee monument unveiling—not the monument itself, but the celebration featuring the Confederate flag.¹⁶²

While these orations made headlines in multiple papers including the *Alexandria Gazette* and *Chicago Tribune*, Mason’s hometown paper, opinion leaders like McKinney seemed to prevail in promoting the reconciliation thread, thematic discourse that said the issues of the war stood dead and irrelevant as the country moved toward the twentieth century.¹⁶³ Boutelle’s acknowledgement of slavery as a central issue of the war made little note save for direct quotation in the *Gazette* and *Inter-Ocean*, both partisan papers on opposite sides. The *Gazette* printed a letter to the editor in reply against the “bastard rebel rag” that hung “the revolting shadows of slavery” in which the writer, “A Gray,” felt “it was bad enough to serve with negroes” in the ranks of the Republican party, but listening to “such unchristian sentiments” festering in malice and hatred against the South seemed worse.¹⁶⁴ Dissenters were portrayed as those most trying to divide the nation,

living villains in contrast to dead heroes. The *Gazette* reported the dissenting protests were made in the capital of the “reunited” country by three members of the “national” Congress.¹⁶⁵ The editorial italics insinuated skepticism of the notion of reunion, pointing to the northern congressmen as perpetuating sectionalism in expounding upon the South’s sectional display in Richmond. Similarly, the *Atlanta Constitution* said, “a few newspapers and a few politicians up north” were trying to revive the “old war feeling,” while the majority of citizens embraced the South’s “progress and prosperity with pride and pleasure.”¹⁶⁶

Partisan politics, then, caused protest from former military men working to craft narratives of heroism and economic advantage in the quest for reconciliation, promoting claims of progress while also illuminating racism in policy and party allegiance. General James Longstreet, one of the last surviving Lieutenant Generals of the Confederate Army, received laudatory coverage from the democratic *Alexandria Gazette* for his positions. Longstreet had joined the Republican party so that “the whites of the South should have control and not the blacks,” and that the “best men” might be in office.¹⁶⁷ The *Gazette* reported he had “recovered his senses” in converting back to the Democratic party after Republicans “not only failed” to ensure white supremacy, they actively strove to defeat it, putting “the negroes and the worst white element in control.”¹⁶⁸ Longstreet’s prominence as a military figure and controversial opinions proved good fodder for the postwar newspaper press, as would the sentiments of other ex-Confederates attending the unveiling ceremonies, making them celebrities of the day while overshadowing opposing perspectives. Those against the Lost Cause found themselves villains in the press. The Virginia governor told the *Washington Post*, “any man who attempts to make political

capital out of it is fit subject for a lunatic asylum or a penitentiary—he is either a crazy man or a scoundrel.”¹⁶⁹ The beginnings of a hegemonic narrative promoting reconciliation thus took root, marginalizing dissenting voices as power brokers planted the seeds for more Confederate monuments in displays working toward acceptance of the Lost Cause narrative.

Reconciliation stirs in Chicago, 1895

The quest for reconciliation remained a priority among power brokers in business and the press five years later. In Chicago, ex-Confederate general and former newspaper publisher John C. Underwood took up the mantle of erecting the first statue to the Confederacy on northern soil. Underwood had been imprisoned in Cincinnati and Boston after the Federal Army captured his unit during Braxton Bragg’s retreat of 1863. After President Lincoln granted his parole, he moved to Bowling Green, Kentucky.¹⁷⁰ Underwood owned newspapers in Bowling Green and Louisville, Kentucky, and Cincinnati before entering into business in Chicago. He quickly rose through the ranks of Chicago society and befriended ex-Union soldiers. He launched a campaign for the monument at Oakwoods Cemetery where nearly 6,000 Confederate prisoners of war were buried to ignite fraternal feelings and strengthen economic ties across the Mason and Dixon Line.

The statue, the only Confederate monument north of the Mason and Dixon, would commemorate “brave deeds and heroic fortitude” as reported by the paper of record in Atlanta where Senator John B. Gordon once served as governor.¹⁷¹ Editor Henry W. Grady had helped to elect Gordon governor with the *Constitution*’s endorsement. Gordon remained head of the Ku Klux Klan in Georgia and sponsored the legislation for the

United States government to recognize the monument carved from Georgia granite, the first national acknowledgement of the Confederacy.¹⁷² Underwood, identified by *The New York Times* as an ex-Lieutenant Governor of Kentucky whose family fought on both sides in the war, worked with businessmen and legislators to promote the monument to honor common valor, gaining contributions from both northern and southern men.¹⁷³ The *Tribune* reported men of influence, including veterans in the Grand Army of the Republic, thought Underwood was “doing a smart thing from a business standpoint in booming the monument dedication” because it served to “increase the kindly feeling for the North now growing in the South and help the trade relations of the two sections.”¹⁷⁴ With reconciliation as an aim, Underwood needed to silence any protest and craft a narrative pleasing to both sides.

Swapping flags for flowers and fraternal feeling

Aware of sectional anger about flags and prior debates in national news coverage, Underwood traveled to Atlanta to launch a campaign for swapping flags for flowers in the dedication of the Chicago monument in a show of southern wealth and tribute he hoped would cement “fraternal bonds” and “help Chicago and the South in a commercial way.”¹⁷⁵ Politicians and members of the press had assumed the flag would appear after the precedent set in 1890. An unidentified “Washington newspaper” quoted in the *Alexandria Gazette* less than a month before the unveiling called the Confederate flag a typification of a cause “discredited and condemned.”¹⁷⁶ Working to attract democratic readership away from a competing paper, the *Gazette* noted “this Washington paper” proposed nomination of an ex-Confederate for President by the following democratic national convention, calling out apparent hypocrisy. That paper happened to be the

Washington Post, which defended the monument itself as an honor of virtue and sacred familial legacy, “spirit without which the generation would be poor indeed,” while saying the “flag stood for nothing but error and regret.”¹⁷⁷ Underwood swiftly issued a reply in a Letter to the Editor to quell any inference the dedication might glorify the Lost Cause. He called the *Post*’s editorial “totally and wholly incorrect and unjust,” saying he never said the Confederate flag would appear.¹⁷⁸ He villainized the “scarecrow statements” of flaunting the Confederate colors which he stated “too frequently [found] their way into print without the slightest shadow of foundation.”¹⁷⁹ Recognizing opinion power inherent to newspaper editorial pages, Underwood mustered a defense for the Chicago celebration intended to serve prominent white businessmen. Thus, he crafted an elaborate event replete with southern imagery, this time with flowers instead of flags.

The staged reunion displayed southern colors, though this time in the hues of palmetto, smilax, moss, and magnolias with the “most beautiful and costly flowers that could be gathered” in major southern cities—a display that proved the South could afford extravagant tributes and perhaps enter into strong business with Chicagoans.¹⁸⁰ As flowers from Savannah, Atlanta, and Charleston filled Pullman refrigerator cars, Chicago anticipated a reunion of Blue and Gray. The *Inter-Ocean* reported the Memorial Day event would see both sides clasp hands. Ex-Union men would be “doing honor to those who fell in Dixie’s cause” surrounded by flowers contributed by almost every southern state in “great masses of blossoms” at the base of “the lonely figure which in the years to come [would] teach generations yet unborn the lesson of forgiveness, love, and peace.”¹⁸¹ Themes of southern victimization and reconciliation emerged in newspaper coverage as the two sections planned to meet and strengthen economic ties in the northern metropolis.

The once staunch Union paper extensively described the monument with allegorical pictures of the enthusiasm at war's outbreak and eventual victimization of the South as its paroled soldiers walked home amid "rank grass" and debris upon the "desolate scene."¹⁸² The monument description evoked a pathos for the southern soldier who returned home to nothing or failed to return at all. The report also noted the prisoners over which it would loom died inevitably with "disease supplementing homesickness."¹⁸³ No words against the Lost Cause appear in the monument report, nor in a similar description printed by the *Chicago Tribune*.¹⁸⁴ Rather, interpretations of the monument's symbolism offer the notion the South merely tried to defend its homelands, a narrative which permeated the Lost Cause mythology suggesting worn soldiers tried to protect what was theirs—their homes and their states which had a "right" to secede.

The *Tribune's* editorial staff, however, lamented justification of the right of secession from the Union, assuming a sectional tone. The monument to the "memory of the men who struggled to destroy a Nation created by Washington" stood as an abomination to "every Union man who reads history carefully and aright," from the vantage of the northern paper which maintained "the South precipitated this struggle for the propagation of slavery and the extension of human bondage over free territory" in willful, treasonable defiance.¹⁸⁵ The *Tribune*, able to offer strong editorial remarks without financial fear as it remained in the top ten circulating papers in the country, remembered the war as the near destruction of the republic that could have led to feudal territories built on oligarchy, but this point of view sat in the shadow of reconciliation needed to forge a strong economic future.¹⁸⁶ Instead, opinion leaders and reporters crafted stories in which war served as a necessary fratricide, a divine event with no parallel in

history, to further strengthen the world superpower. In Chicago churches attended by both Blue and Gray, pastors pontificated about the inevitability of a “bloody collision between feudal system and modern democracy” in which the latter naturally prevailed in its quest for the national and “inalienable liberty in which God created every man.”¹⁸⁷ War earned remembrance as an inevitable, divine conflict or, as a Colonel Hunter said in the *Washington Post*, a necessary arbitrament of arms stemming from misunderstanding that led to a “splendid era of good feeling.”¹⁸⁸ The theme of southern heroism found in 1890 morphed into terms of equal heroism to appease both sections in reunion.

Chicago businessmen needed the positive press. The year prior, the Pullman strikes stalled the rail industry and marked a moment of pivotal contention between laborers, industrialists, and strikebreaking forces. The First Infantry of the Illinois National Guard, formed in 1874, stood as one such state military organization. The same businessmen who sought to mitigate “anarchist” workers’ strikes in coal, rail, and other industries lobbied for the creation of a uniformed command.¹⁸⁹ Moreover, with the Great Migration bringing throngs of Black men, women, and families to the North, a police power could subdue purported crime perpetrated by the migrants. As the *Atlanta Constitution* would note more than a month after the dedication, Chicago grew quickly postbellum, and “some kind of military protection was almost necessary” because “the military spirit in Chicago [had been] lost in the business revival that prevailed” during the late 1860s and 1870s.¹⁹⁰ As Illinois’ state constitution did not provide for uniformed military, the Chicago businessmen outfitted and equipped the unit.¹⁹¹ Yet, the history of the local regiments’ field service in Pullman and at stockyards did not appear in coverage until after the dedication. Instead, preceding coverage evoked a thematic sense of reunion

between northern and southern forces mentioning the presumed attendance of regular army Lieutenant General Schofield and others in conjunction with the First, as if the regiment had seen action in the Civil War and now honored Confederate dead. The First's participation made the front page of *The New York Times* as northern servicemen would act as a firing party at the dedication.¹⁹² The polished unit came across as a Union fixture, not a local regiment orchestrated by the same businessmen who welcomed the Gray—and the green in their pockets. The *Alexandria Gazette* noted its commander, Henry L. Turner, welcomed southern “comrades” and offered tribute in poetry as officers on either side gathered to honor the Confederate—American—dead.¹⁹³ Underwood's crafted invitation achieved a semblance of reunion with Confederate leaders.

Confederates as celebrity

As in Richmond, ex-Confederate generals garnered the most attention from spectators and from the press with celebrity coverage becoming a primary theme in promoting prominent men and women. Longstreet, the grizzled Lieutenant from Gainesville, Georgia, received perhaps the most attention given his rank and his age, the last of the old veterans who fought alongside Lee. He gained celebrity in coverage, like in that of the *Tribune* which described him as “hero of the day,” keeping the “irresistible” women fawning over him as they crowded around at the reunion dinner given by the First.¹⁹⁴ Newspapers created a central character out of Longstreet to demonstrate North and South alike remembered and revered the example of the prior generation that fought in the necessary struggle.

Confederate celebrity overshadowed even that of recently deceased Secretary of State Walter Q. Gresham, whose funeral took place at the same cemetery the afternoon of the dedication, and that of President Grover Cleveland who attended the funeral.¹⁹⁵ Coverage implied Longstreet's position stood so laudatory, even presidential cabinet members needed an introduction. The *Tribune* noted Longstreet received much attention with "one of the men introduced to him being Vice-President [Adlai] Stevenson."¹⁹⁶ Though the Gresham funeral earned front page coverage alongside the monument dedication in the Chicago papers, *The New York Times* relegated coverage to page four while "Blue's Tribute to Gray" made the front page.¹⁹⁷ Coverage focused on Confederate "military heroes" and Chicago masses clamoring to see them while overlooking the highest ranking officials in the country. Moreover, the sole mention of a Black attendee, Ulysses Grant's former body-servant Harrison Terrell, detailed him as the servant of Confederate general Marcus Joseph Wright, who the *Tribune* termed his "southern master."¹⁹⁸ The reference revealed a persistent sense of subordination that upheld a notion of second-class citizenry, a populous ignored in pomp.

Glory in the Lost Cause

Newspaper coverage embraced the Chicago monument as one for all Americans as a symbol of reconciliationist optimism for the future. The *Atlanta Constitution* editorial staff articulated that the monument stood in "the sunlight of a measureless common hope" which kindled aspiration in the hearts of "Americans of every section, of every race and previous nationality," in benediction.¹⁹⁹ Accounts shifted to blanket statements recognizing a reunion of sections that remembered the Civil War as a unifying event, one with necessary losses to strengthen a nation singular in the world. The

Confederate dead were described as heroic, just as were Union dead. The *Inter-Ocean* editorial staff said the dead “were brave and true to the cause they had been persuaded was right,” as the Union men had equally been, inquiring why their children and friends should not erect a monument in their honor.²⁰⁰ The *Constitution* directly replied to the *Inter-Ocean* editorial saying its perspective proved “sensible” and “charitable” with the “genuine American ring.”²⁰¹ Issues of the war mattered not in coverage, though orators quoted expressed the prevailing sentiment of sectional rights espoused by the Lost Cause. Reverend R.F. Johonnot, in his remarks quoted by the *Chicago Tribune*, said the terrible war in which the South plunged the nation “was begun by the North” simply to maintain the Union, “not to abolish slavery or with any intent of interfering with the government or domestic institutions of the south,” adding that emancipation only came as “a war measure necessary to its successful issue.”²⁰² Abolition stood remembered as a means for the North to weaken the South and end the war, not as a central goal. The *Washington Post* likewise promoted the voices of opinion leaders like federal General James Brady, a Virginia native, who said the war settled several issues, including “freedom of slaves, once owned in all sections of the country,” and the secession doctrine.²⁰³ Coverage failed to recognize the institution of slavery as a central detail in declarations of secession, permitting the Lost Cause myth to grow in its dismissal of slavery as a central issue and distorting memory of the Civil War as one fought primarily to resolve fraternal misunderstandings.

When the monument found success and acclaim nationally, narrativized as a historic wonder in all the world,²⁰⁴ Underwood and Fitzhugh Lee hatched a plan to make similar welcome between North and South, this time at the Cotton States and

International Exposition in Atlanta where New South industrialists planned to welcome a large delegation of Chicago businessmen. The *Constitution* announced the coming of a “northern host of gray-coated soldiers,” the First Infantry that would accompany several hundred Chicago power brokers at the behest of Lee, who reportedly turned to Underwood and said, “How much [he] should like to have that regiment where all of [the southern people] could see it.”²⁰⁵ The regiment would provide spectacle, drilling and going into camp as businessmen bargained further reconciliation. While the *Constitution* led with news of military parade, *The New York Times* recognized the trip to Atlanta as Chicago’s effort to “cement the bond of good feeling” engendered at Oakwoods Cemetery, largely to promote commerce between the South and the Northwest.²⁰⁶ In creating yet another highly publicized spectacle, Lee and Underwood further strengthened the notion of a reunited country in which sectionalism could no longer hinder progress. The theme of reconciliation economic promise continued in quieting sectionalist coverage.

Requiem for sectionalism

Newspapers pushed a consensus narrative that sectionalism was “dead,” and reconciliation served as the only sane sentiment, using the Confederate monument in Chicago as a semiotic pawn for advancing the notion in coverage. Dissenters, labeled as “bigots” and “bloody shirt” wavers, were swiftly dismissed, relegated to the margins of the American narrative at the turn of the century for trying to “[tear] down monuments of love and devotion, erected to [Confederate dead] in the hearts of loyal and patriotic people, by a deep and damnable design to tarnish [soldiers’] honor and cheapen the value of their services.”²⁰⁷ Again, a theme of northern villainism permeated coverage. When

Department Commander Thayer, Grand Army of the Republic, published a public protest against the Chicago monument, which he described as an unburied hatchet, the *Atlanta Constitution* maintained the “overwhelming majority of the Americans” living were done with the “old passions and issues” of the war, and the “Thayers” belonged to the dead past, lagging “superfluous on the stage.”²⁰⁸ The editorial promoted the notion patriotic Americans saw no profit nor happiness in sectionalism, willing to “clasp hands in a patriotic fraternalism that will make the country more powerful and prosperous” in a commercial age of material progress in which the public had “no time to waste in dragging up problems of the past.”²⁰⁹ The *Chicago Tribune* agreed, saying the “general opinion” stood that Thayer’s “bitter epistle was ungracious and uncalled for,” not representing the fraternal feelings of Chicagoans.²¹⁰

The discourse expressed in newspapers, including the *Atlanta Constitution* where New South promotion first appeared, capitalized on rhetorical appeals of sanity and reason. Opinion leaders like Underwood maintained “every man of sense” knew the Confederacy was dead, and its flag with it, in rhetorical appeals framing reconciliation at Chicago as obvious fact to make editors and readers alike consider sensibility.²¹¹ This emerging pattern of hegemonic narrative veiled Lost Cause memory and allowed it to remain through permissiveness in public opinion brokered by the oft-quoted opinion leaders present at unveilings like Longstreet and Fitzhugh Lee. By celebrity rationale, no sane American could argue against progress. According to newspaper coverage, military heroes became great captains of industry and commerce, helping the nation enter the twentieth century as a world power regardless of their prior positions in the war. As the *Constitution* and *New York Times* editorial staffs reported, Grant’s appeal, “Let us have

peace,” had been realized.²¹² Yet, it was peace in the sense that those who protested against Confederate displays remained relegated to silence.

CHAPTER 3

STORIES OF THEIR FATHERS: CONFEDERATE REMEMBRANCES IN THE 1920s

Lee to the Hall of Fame, 1923

In 1901, New York University formally dedicated the Hall of Fame for Great Americans, a colonnade on the campus to honor 150 men and women every five years until 2000.²¹³ Beginning in 1900, the public submitted nominations to the university senate and 100 electors comprised of authors, editors, artists, university presidents, historians, public officials, and scientists. Both Robert E. Lee and Ulysses S. Grant received nomination and immediate votes, 68 and 93 respectively, earning places in the inaugural group of honorees. Public groups would sponsor the busts for each. The university tasked former U.S. Ambassador to Italy Robert Underwood Johnson with the creation and execution of the Hall of Fame including its unveiling ceremonies. This chapter focuses on newspaper coverage of those unveiling ceremonies in New York City and those of the monument to Robert E. Lee in Charlottesville, Virginia, one year later to examine how it reflected collective memory of the Civil War in these cities nearly 60 years postwar. This chapter also considers shifts in journalistic practice at the turn of the century to contextualize differences in reporting more generally that would likely influence monument event coverage and memory of the Civil War.

A writer and editor, Johnson served as co-associate editor of *Century* magazine, formerly *Scribner's Monthly*. Between 1883 and 1887, Johnson and editor Clarence C. Buel commissioned series of eight to ten articles by officers of both sides of the Civil

War to write about key battles and their experiences. The “major magazine of taste and high culture” courted these public figures, though Johnson lamented the “literary inexperience of men of action.”²¹⁴ The editors stood concerned about war articles in a literary journal initially, but circulation increased from 127,000 to 225,000 in the first six months after they were published.²¹⁵ As Buel said, the air was “infectious with the whole war idea,” still in vogue for its drama and romanticism.²¹⁶ “The *Century* editors intended to shape a culture of reunion,” calling for point-counterpoint coverage in picturesque, yet accurate, stories—mutual recounting and understanding of all soldiers’ valor.²¹⁷ Johnson had convinced major living generals like Johnston and Longstreet, and even Ulysses S. Grant, to write. With the magazine’s wide circulation, all were highlighted through the reconciliationist strategy of equal valor. With profit in publicizing these figures, other news outlets, including newspapers, followed suit in part by covering reunions and monument unveilings in the 1890s. They took cues from the widely-circulating magazines to find their celebrities for the pomp and drama coverage sorely needed postwar, a move that would support increasing profit margins for them in the early part of the twentieth century.

Newspaper Professionalism and Technology

Journalistic norms significantly shifted between the 1890s and 1920s. Gone were the days of detailed event coverage of the 1890s reported by fragmented individual reporters influenced by partisan readership. Technological advances allowed newspapers to publish photographs and more visually detailed advertisements. This in part changed the way newspaper editors reported the news, with less column space for each story and decreasing word counts. The business of news roared in the twenties as advertisers

funded a “massive inter-connected industry shaped by chain ownership and devoted to the sale of news, opinion, and entertainment,” allowing publishers to sever ties with political bosses and parties that once acted as patrons.²¹⁸ Advertisers outmaneuvered politicians for editorial influence as the partisan press declined.²¹⁹

At the same times, newspaper circulations were on the rise. More Americans had access to education, which led to higher literacy rates and demand for news. Moreover, as the nation entered a new century, journalists found a new sense of professionalism and corporate identity through a growing focus on ethics. American journalism rode a wave of progressivism as North and South found strength in reconciliation.²²⁰ The country was changing. Increased cross-sectional connectivity in industry and trade prompted a “burden” on the press to “uncover and explain” the modern world as Americans became “part of a larger and often bewildering whole.”²²¹ Newspaper chains themselves expanded across county and state lines, prompting evaluation of their power and influence, particularly how they shaped and reflected attitudes, values, and behaviors. The American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE) gathered to draft the Canons of Journalism, a set of ethical standards including “the right of a newspaper to attract and hold readers” restricted only by considerations of responsibility to “public welfare.”²²²

Unfortunately, industrialization and urbanization also led to greater class and racial disparities.²²³ In 1923, the same year as the unveiling of the Great Americans colonnade in New York, the revived Ku Klux Klan reached a power apex.²²⁴ Newspapers did not often criticize the Klan, which held considerable political influence in modernizing progressive states like Indiana.²²⁵ Newspaper chains instead focused on economic gain. Papers like *The New York Times* strove to provide the “official record” of

“governing elite and middle- and upper-class audiences” through “rational, logical, and factual” formats that typically included equal space for all subjects in a story—a promotion of objectivity to attract readers as costs for machinery, ink, and newsprint rose.²²⁶

New York Times publisher Adolph Ochs, who purchased the paper in 1896, had predicted audience appetite for “sober, factual news for its own sake,” a marketplace need unmet by the “salacious headlines” of major dailies controlled by William Randolph Hearst and Joseph Pulitzer in the era of Yellow Journalism.²²⁷ His newspaper touted factual news and photographic advancements in contrast to the nineteenth-century drama, cartoons, and illustrations offered up by other metropolitan papers. Yet his editors still engaged in overt partisan slant and deference to hegemonic power in American society including economic reconciliation.

Ochs, who had lived in Knoxville, Tennessee, after the Civil War, wanted to attract “converts” in the South.²²⁸ He proposed the *Times* send 10,000 copies of the newspaper to political leaders in small communities of the southern states.²²⁹ New South integration with the North had meant rapid industrialization which only hastened after World War I. By adopting pragmatic, credible reporting, Ochs appealed to southern sensibilities of morality and stability as the country faced “doubt and dislocation of modernity.”²³⁰ One facet of press practice remained, however: the promotion of opinion leaders like prominent politicians, celebrities, and socialites. While the *Times* and other papers peddled impartiality, they continued to defer to social power structures—and the power brokers—that enabled their success.²³¹

Strengthening Lost Cause celebrity

Johnson was on the forefront of promoting opinion leaders in both North and South. Both Robert E. Lee and Ulysses Grant had been elected to the Hall of Fame in the first round of inductions in 1900. When it was time for the unveiling on May 22, 1923, Johnson organized equal opportunity for remembrance and display, though public sentiment regarding both figures had likely shifted in the 23 years since their nominations. The *Chicago Tribune* and *The New York Times* both listed organizations and sculptors contributing the busts and the chosen speakers for each Hall of Fame honoree, granting roughly equal space to each of the seven: Grant, Lee, Alexander Hamilton, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Frances Willard, Henry Ward Beecher, and Abraham Lincoln. The men and women of “national and international prominence” would each be recognized with busts presented to a descendent or associate before a speech by a chosen orator. Equal space and terse descriptions in newspaper coverage reflected the growing interest in non-partisan reporting.

Dr. George Bolling Lee, grandson of Robert E. Lee, traveled to New York where Mrs. R.W. Jones, former President of the New York Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, presented him his grandfather’s bust by sculptor George T. Brewster. The speaker for Lee’s unveiling, Martin W. Littleton, was identified simply as President of the Southern Society of New York, but he was known for much more. The son of a Federal officer, he had risen through New York ranks as a rags-to-riches lawyer. Littleton was well known among the social elite in New York. In 1919, the *Times* had identified him as “the lawyer and Democrat who nominated Judge Alton B. Parker for the presidency in 1904,” Theodore Roosevelt’s challenger who only carried the traditionally

democratic South.²³² Littleton's brother-in-law was Cornelius Vanderbilt IV, a newspaper publisher and correspondent for the *New York Herald* and *The New York Times*.

Littleton had already demonstrated his affinity for the Old South. After philanthropist George Foster Peabody helped him secure a law position, Littleton represented filmmaker D.W. Griffith before the U.S. House Committee on Education concerning censorship of his silent epic *Birth of a Nation* following protests by the NAACP.²³³ The 1915 film had promoted a reimagining of the Civil War in which the South emerged as victor—though both sides again received the reconciliation treatment as equally noble—and the “heroic, hooded riders of the Ku Klux Klan” defended America against emancipation, which the film implied was the downfall of the nation.²³⁴ The popular film represented a growing sentiment in the United States. The Klan attracted millions of members after World War I as “the war spirit still smoldered in many American people and was transformed to intolerance for potential enemies at home.”²³⁵ Southerners feared returning Black soldiers “eyeing white girls” and their “new independence” in the post-war economy. The Klan promoted this viewpoint nationally, and Littleton defended it.²³⁶

The *Times* quoted Littleton's remarks on unveiling day. He spoke of Lee as the embodiment of a “cause which was lost, but the representative of a principle which will never die.”²³⁷ He defined the cause as the right to secede and the principle being “patriotic loyalty to the sovereignty which [Lee] acknowledged.”²³⁸ Threads of the heroism theme continued in defining Lee's character as a soldier loyal to his state, a narrative conducive to the Lost Cause myth handed down to subsequent generations following the war.

National heroes lauded

The New York Times noted that a group of citizens had donated Grant's bust, and former Army Chief of Staff General J.G. Harbord spoke of "Grant as a soldier," a role more frequently noted by newspaper coverage than his presidency.²³⁹ In a display of equal heroism, Union and Confederate, the *Times* reported that laurel wreaths and flags adorned both generals' busts with the flag of Virginia also waving over that of Lee.²⁴⁰ However, discourse signaled a lingering fascination with Lee. Below the *Times*' coverage of Harbord's speech detailing Grant's magnanimous nature as a "great soldier" and aptitude for arbitration—notably pointing to Grant's proposal of a world court—a subheading heralded the subsequent coverage of Lee's bust.²⁴¹ The Lee bust unveiling received its own section in coverage unlike the other homages. His inclusion in the Hall of Fame signaled an acceptance of reconciliation memory, the idea of Confederate figures as American figures whose actions shaped the nation through valor, albeit losing. The column section, "Lee's Name Applauded," reported "prolonged applause" as the "tall and erect grandson" of the general stood at attention while trumpeters played "Dixie."²⁴² The physical description of Lee's descendent marked a departure in coverage which largely focused on remarks or identifiers rather than appearance. This description keeps in line with nineteenth-century newspaper coverage of Robert E. Lee as a Virginian of rigid stature, lending to the notion of heroic myth via discipline. Yet, the moment marked a departure from non-sectional display touted at Chicago in 1895 when Underwood stressed the importance of not playing Confederate songs or waving Confederate flags. Sectional songs like "Dixie" reemerged as Lost Cause tradition and nostalgia grew in the mainstream vogue post-*Birth of a Nation*. An appetite for war

memory lingered, as did the myth of the chivalric South—memory of a distant kingdom in a nationalistic America following World War I.

In similar practice as the *Times*, the *Washington Post* designated its own subheading to Lee saying, “Lee’s Principles Praised.”²⁴³ The *Post* only designated one other section to another bust: Abraham Lincoln. However, Grant’s memory earned the headline as the *Post* pointed to Harbord’s credit to Grant as first visionary of a world court. Grant’s purported idea would have predated Woodrow Wilson’s League of Nations, an international organization formed after World War I (which the United States never joined) to resolve international disputes.²⁴⁴ Though memory of Grant often stemmed from his Civil War service, his remembrance at New York stemmed from his presidency (1869-1877), perhaps in promotion of a moral pacifist position post progressivism and war. Northern memory of Grant as the peacemaker at Appomattox had morphed into Grant the pacifist president, possibly in response to the continuing memory of Lee as a hero. Both sectional sides needed a way to remember each as a victor to continue reconciliation memory.

Newspapers needed a way to nuance coverage to promote distorted memory of two victors amid a Lost Cause while appealing to local audiences—those with purchasing power for local advertisers. The *Times*’ coverage of Grant’s unveiling preceded that of Lee, perhaps in an attempt to follow the inverted pyramid scheme of reporting items most important to the audience ahead of other information. This notion could be supported by the fact Lee’s coverage preceded Grant in the *Washington Post*. The two newspapers appealed to their local audiences, northern and southern constituencies, in ordering their accounts of the Civil War leaders.

However, memory of the Civil War derived primarily from remarks by French ambassador Jules Jusserand in regard to Abraham Lincoln. In the *Atlanta Constitution's* only coverage of the unveiling, the brief article via the Associated Press focused solely on the "martyred president" who Jusserand described as "fitted for a career unique in the history of the world."²⁴⁵ Jusserand said the United States after the Civil War "was 'ready for a more brilliant destiny than it had ever known before,'" strengthened in reunion.²⁴⁶ Opinion leaders still promoted memory of the Civil War as a necessary, unifying force that led to national success. The reunion narrative functioned within new frameworks of nationalism and American exceptionalism following the First World War. American exceptionalism, the notion that the United States is inherently different than other nations, grew in the 1920s after two centuries of undercurrents in political and social rhetoric. The idea of American exceptionalism fit well within the reconciliation strategy of promoting strength in reunion and acceptance of Confederate valor, particularly after victories of their descendants in 1918 overseas.²⁴⁷ Military memory, and by proxy Civil War memory, became a malleable narrative as public discourse lauded returning World War I heroes filling burgeoning factories. Though they fought on opposite sides of the war, Grant and Lee could equally stand as paragons of American exceptionalism, through their senses of duty to nation and state. Yet, the *Constitution* did not mention Grant nor Lee despite impending plans for the construction of Stone Mountain, the Confederate Mount Rushmore featuring Lee, Jefferson Davis, and Stonewall Jackson, in the same state at a time when military remembrance remained a fashion following World War I.

The Black press against southern appeasement

In the year prior to the unveiling in New York, the *New York Age*, a prominent Black newspaper, lamented the continued practice of Republican lawmakers “kowtowing” to the South in pursuit of better relations between sections, saying these better relations should be achieved by means other than adopting southern views as to secession and “the valor of the Confederate generals, and more especially [the South’s] views on the Negro.”²⁴⁸ Nearly 30 years after the displays at Chicago described in Chapter 2, the Black press continued to work against homages paid to Confederate veterans and their descendants, who remained obdurate in disbelief of their defeat in the “War of the Rebellion.” Yet bigger problems took precedence at the *Age*. The newspaper’s editorial staff criticized the mainstream press practice of coupling Black men and crime in barrages of headlines across the country.²⁴⁹ The editorial position mirrored those of other Black newspapers of the era including the *Pittsburgh Courier* and *Chicago Defender* in frequent complaints about racial identification in crime stories with excess attention paid to negative news that penetrated the American psyche alongside disturbing portrayals of Black men in popular culture as in *Birth of a Nation*.²⁵⁰ As the Black press gained a legitimate foothold in business with in-house printing and distribution networks, editors remained adamant in criticizing the mainstream press and politicians, keeping an advocacy spirit in news reporting.²⁵¹

The *Age* seemed to adopt a position that Confederate monument unveilings were not newsworthy, merely continued perpetuations of Lost Cause mythology that stemmed from larger political posturing as southern segregation, xenophobia, and racist ideologies under the guise of “morality” spread to northern cities after World War I. Though the

Hall of Fame stood in the *New York Age*'s circulation area, the ceremonies did not appear in the paper; rather, the editorial staff focused on strides for reparations and equity.

For instance, special correspondence reported that formerly enslaved residents of South Carolina who served in the Confederate army with their owners during the Civil War would be pensioned under the same conditions as the white Confederate veterans after the South Carolina Senate and House passed a bill for the provision.²⁵² The front-page news differed from the same item printed on page 10 by *The New York Times* in key discourse, upholding the *Age*'s position that press and political language framed Black men as subservient. Whereas the *Age* said, "Negroes who followed their masters during the Civil War," would receive pensions, the *Times* termed them "Faithful negroes who stood by their masters during the Civil War."²⁵³ The latter implies ex-slaves supported their masters' positions willingly and fought on equal terms, keeping with the "Uncle Tom" stereotype. The *Times* headline called the pension "rewards" for those who remained "faithful to masters." Meanwhile, the *Age* reported the legislative decision as a decision to pension ex-slaves—not a reward, not for the "faithful." This legislation news reported alongside monument plans in *The New York Times* revealed nuances of lingering Old South sentiment even in the twentieth century Northern press. Though the nation continued to grow in industrial and technological progress, race relations stalled in Jim Crow America in the workforce and in the press.

Back to Virginia, 1924

Thirty-four years after Confederate veterans gathered at Richmond to honor Robert E. Lee, their sons and daughters gathered in Charlottesville, Virginia, to do the same. Once again, the sitting Governor of Virginia prepared for social festivities and a

bronze equestrian statue of Lee traveled from New York to the general's home state. Italian sculptor Leo Lentelli completed the statue upon the death of its original contracted artist, Henry M. Schrady, who sculpted Grant's bust for the Hall of Fame for Great Americans.

The unveiling marked the highlight of the thirty-seventh annual meeting of the Grand Camp of Confederate veterans. Just as they had in 1890, railroad lines offered reduced fares to those traveling for the event.²⁵⁴ Grand Commander Charles B. Linney welcomed the remaining men in gray gathered with "deepest emotions of affection welling in [their] hearts" to honor Lee, "whose pure and unsullied character," Linney said, stood out "preeminently, in all history, without a peer."²⁵⁵ Newspaper coverage and quoted sources centered again around Lee as an archetypal hero, the protagonist in a Lost Cause story passed down to the next generation in attendance. Yet again, this coverage embraced the idea of world anomaly in touting American strength at a time when nationalism raged. Just as Lee served as a vehicle for reconciliation through economic strength, he served as a nationalistic symbol of valor for the next generation.

The Daughters of the Confederacy and Sons of Veterans served on various reunion committees to accommodate the aging veterans who assembled to honor their leader. The Rev. Dr. M. Ashby Jones, son of famous Confederate "unrepentant rebel" chaplain the Rev. Dr. J. William Jones, took up his father's mantle in giving the primary address at the unveiling.²⁵⁶ In 1890, the elder Jones wrote editorials in the *Atlanta Constitution* to remember Lee as "the greatest soldier" and "the greatest college president whom the country ever produced" in reference to his postwar service at what was Washington College (later Washington and Lee) ahead of the monument unveiling at

Richmond.²⁵⁷ After the president of Washington and Lee University presented the monument to the president of the University of Virginia on behalf of benefactor Paul Goodloe McIntire,²⁵⁸ Jones, likely learning the narrative of Lee's heroism from his father, embodied the Lost Cause as he pontificated about the leader of "a united group of self-governing commonwealths."²⁵⁹ Jones promoted the Lost Cause myth of secession and states' rights as principle causes for the war saying, Lee "loved the union of his fathers with passionate devotion" and held to "the legal right of secession," though he contemplated separation as tragedy.²⁶⁰ Jones cited Lee's knowledge of inevitable southern failure in the "military contest," but maintained Lee fought so "there [would] be no more war."²⁶¹ This justification of Lee's action as a defense for the southern view of states' rights echoed the previous generation of opinion leaders like Jones' father. The narrative glossed over slavery as a root cause for secession, with Jones going so far to say, "we know now that [Lee] abhorred slavery," to defend southern rebellion and promotion of Lee as a hero. The storytellers of the nineteenth century seemed to have achieved their goal of educating the subsequent generation in the Lost Cause of secession and reconciliation through American valor.

Lost Cause memory takes the stage

Generations gathered to unveil the monument at the United Confederate Veterans reunion just as they had 30 years before at Richmond. Prior to the Richmond unveiling, the elder Jones had said in the *Atlanta Constitution* that the "gathering of the clans of Confederate veterans [recalled] many an anecdote and reminiscence of 'Marse Bob,' as the soldiers knew and loved him."²⁶² The rebel chaplain chose to use the dialectic moniker for Lee adopted by enlisted men, distinguishing his own status from the plain

soldier, uneducated and submissive. The term reflected discourse parallel to that of slaves, revealing not only racial tension but economic disparity between southern whites.

Memory of the genteel southern leader persisted. Veterans who followed Lee honored him long after his death alongside their children and those of their comrades, remembering with ceremonies befitting a benevolent statesman. The monument stood cloaked beneath a Confederate flag, an exact reproduction of the original Stars and Bars designed by Major Orren Randolph Smith. (Smith's daughter Jessica gifted the flag to the reunion committee for the occasion). And just one year after George Bolling Lee revealed his grandfather's bust at the NYU Hall of Fame, he stood by to watch his three-year-old daughter Mary Walker Lee remove the flag draping the statue. The *Washington Post* reported the most dramatic scene of the day came as master of ceremonies R.T.W. Duke took Mary Walker Lee from her father's arms and said, "I want to introduce you to the great-granddaughter of the greatest man who ever lived."²⁶³ The veterans "rose to their feet and cheered" while Mary Lee "waved her hands to the multitude," in a scene evocative of feudal knights praising a royal family of old. The *Post* called the flag "beautiful" as the little Lee withdrew the veil over the "heroic" figure in front of the few remaining veterans and their progeny.

The monument unveiling marked the highlight of the annual meeting of the Grand Camp of Confederate Veterans. However, the *Washington Post* chose to also report on other sessions of the meeting, continuing the practice of promoting Confederate celebrity in the press. Following the unveiling, public figures like Governor E. Lee Trinkle, McIntire, and Lentelli gathered with veterans like Col. Charles B. Linney for a reception at the University of Virginia's new Memorial gymnasium hosted by "official ladies."²⁶⁴

The *Post* noted “the women of Clarendon played a conspicuous part at the unveiling of the statue” and the governor’s wife presided at the presentation of “women delegates from various camps” of the United Daughters of the Confederacy who aided in organization of events for Confederate Veterans and the Confederate Sons of Veterans.²⁶⁵ Unlike 30 years before, women appeared in coverage as clear players in the monument unveiling and Confederate memory four years after ratification of the nineteenth amendment granted suffrage. Gaining some influence in the public sphere, southern women worked alongside Confederate figures and progeny to promote memory. Yet, coverage remained sparse and delayed in comparison to that of the Confederate Veterans and Sons of Veterans. While the brief note about the Clarendon (a neighborhood in Arlington) women appeared three days after the unveiling, coverage of the largely male business meeting appeared on the day following the unveiling reportage. Veteran leadership requested commanders of camps and executive officers to “associate with them each a representative from the Sons of Veterans” to “expedite routine matters and correspondence.”²⁶⁶ Reporting here reveals direct links between veterans and the subsequent generation, signaling a lingering need to promote Confederate memory and narratives.

Not only did the Confederate constituency aim to continue promoting their cause, they intended to defend it and its actors. The Sons of Confederate Veterans, gathering with “sponsors and maids-of-honor camps” of southern women, turned attention to urging “all Sons to maintain and enforce respect for the name and memory of Jefferson Davis,” remembered by the *Post* as “the one and only president of the Confederacy,” without other descriptors, perhaps to avoid alienating opinion leaders in the Confederate

sphere already disgruntled at Union disrespect of their former leader.²⁶⁷ The Sons maintained they should deprecate references “to [Davis] by speakers and writers as ‘Jeff,’” a reference often used by members of the Grand Army of the Republic.²⁶⁸ Though terms of heroism do not emerge in conjunction with Davis’ name as they do with Lee, the second generation strove to craft a reverent narrative of the Confederate president nonetheless. Surviving veterans and their younger counterparts remained fervent in remembrance with honor and valor. The *Post*’s objective description of Jefferson Davis simply as the president of the Confederacy reinforced a sense of reverence through title identification without expounding on any actions or positions taken by Davis during the Civil War.

National acceptance of Lost Cause remembrance

Three days later, those few in gray attended Memorial Day exercises at the Confederate monument in Arlington National Cemetery where President Calvin Coolidge engaged in what the *New York Age* had called “kowtowing” to the South.²⁶⁹ The *Chicago Tribune* reported Coolidge turned to “veterans in gray” and “their sons and daughters” with a reminder that “time [had] softened” and “discretion [had] changed” the bitterness between North and South.²⁷⁰ The Republican president reiterated the tenet of fraternal feeling promoted by nineteenth-century reconciliation promoters, telling the Southerners their “country [respected them] for cherishing the memory of those who wore the gray,” and for respecting those who cherished the memory of those in blue.²⁷¹ Their respect would found “firmer friendship and a stronger and more glorious union.”²⁷²

The political aims of the reconciliation narrative remained well at-hand in demonstrations of public remembrance where, again, opinion leaders used equalizing

terms of valor and duty to remember actors in the Civil War. Coolidge acknowledged the Civil War as a common experience “made more enduring by a common sacrifice” in which “all Americans” contended “for what they believed were their rights” to bring the nation into the twentieth century as a world power because “Providence would have it so.”²⁷³ Memory of the Civil War as an inevitable struggle for states’ rights once again found its way into the press by the vehicle of an opinion leader, this time the foremost national leader. The *Tribune*, in reporting the words of a prominent figure, revealed the fruits of the reconciliation strategy promoted more than 30 years earlier, including the notion of divine providence that led both sides to battle and later reconciliation.

The New York Times ran a photo of Coolidge placing a wreath on the Confederate monument at Arlington alongside its only coverage of the Charlottesville monument, a photo of the equestrian statue surrounded by hundreds of men and women seated and standing at the unveiling.²⁷⁴ The Charlottesville caption simply stated Dr. Henry Louis Smith, the President of Washington and Lee, unveiled the statue presented to the city by McIntire. The *Times* devoted no space to quoting speakers or attendees at the event as it had the throngs in Richmond 34 years prior. Instead, the *Times* exploited its new photographic technology to display pomp without a written story, leaving discernment to those viewing the rotogravure picture section.

However, Coolidge’s “Tribute From a Real Yankee” to the Confederate dead earned considerable space in weeks to come as letters to the editor discussed “Solving A Southern Problem” of slave and Civil War memory.²⁷⁵ The *Times* editorial board pointed to Coolidge’s “curious” remarks at historically Black college Howard University where the president “revived a theory that was promulgated by pious slave owners...the theory

that slavery was a divinely ordered institution, the purpose of which was to make the negroes Christians.”²⁷⁶ An R.E. Wylie of South Carolina responded, saying God’s providence provided that “slave ships from the North” brought Black men and women from the “jungles of Africa” to “sell them to the people of the South” where they were “as a general rule, treated humanely, until God, in His own time, freed them.”²⁷⁷ Memory here defied the Civil War as freeing the slaves, rather pointing to divine providence, echoing Coolidge in the moralistic South. Wylie maintained slave descendants worked with “the assistance of the white people” to solve the “greatest problem ever given to two dissimilar races” in national coexistence, promoting subordination of the former race found in newspaper coverage in 1890.

The next day, Wylie, the son of a Confederate soldier, defended the impending monument at Stone Mountain saying, “monuments all over the Southland” stood “to perpetuate...the heroism and devotion of the Confederate soldiers” and to the “principle underlying the cause for which they fought,” the right of a sovereign state to withdraw or secede.²⁷⁸ The theme of heroism via devotion to the Lost Cause continued, though more sectional in tone. Whereas the reconciliation narrative of the 1890s promoted soldiers’ loyalty and necessity to fight vaguely as equal valor in misguided belief, the subsequent generation like Wylie used law as a defense—the “constitutional right” to secede. Sons of veterans argued though the South rejoined the Union after Confederates lost the fight for their cause, the “truth of the matter that was at issue [could] not be altered by defeat.”²⁷⁹ The lesson of secession as a constitutional right, an argument framed as Civil War opinion leaders drew parallels to the revolution, resonated with their children who maintained the narrative in 1920s newspaper coverage and editorials.

Dissenters still on the fringe

At the same time, the Grand Army of the Republic (G.A.R.) resurrected sectional rhetoric against the Lost Cause, saying in the *Times* that Stone Mountain would honor “three traitors” who led the “endeavor to destroy [the United States] government in order that human slavery might be perpetuated.”²⁸⁰ Attempts to narrativize the former commanders of the Confederacy as villains in a sectional struggle returned in Northern sections of the country while the economy of the 1920s held steady in postwar boom. Protestations also continued to acknowledge perpetuation of slavery as a root cause for secession, a direct challenge to Lost Cause mythology. U.S. Grant Post No. 28 of the Grand Army of the Republic (Illinois) issued resolutions sent to President Coolidge and other ranking officials detailing that time had not “changed any more than it has changed the treason of Benedict Arnold or Judas Iscariot,” remembering the Civil War as treasonous southern rebellion, a “slaveholder’s rebellion,” that should not be recognized by the federal government.²⁸¹ Federal support for Stone Mountain (the government had minted 5,000,000 memorial silver fifty-cent pieces) drew ire from northern organizations like the G.A.R., taking attention away from other remembrance events. Though *The New York Times* and other papers refrained from expounding upon the argument in their reportage, editorial sections and letters to the editor revealed renewed battles for Civil War memory.

As sectionalist language reemerged in public discussions, questions about Lee’s legacy and association with the Stone Mountain monument overshadowed the Charlottesville unveiling and other events. Writing to the *Times* in response to Wylie’s defense of Stone Mountain, L.K. Gould of Connecticut said Wylie was “rather

unfortunate in using the name of General Lee” in connection with Lost Cause views, for “the leading General of the Confederacy did not believe in the constitutionality or propriety” of secession.²⁸² Wylie fired back, holding he did not state that Lee believed in the right of a State to secede, though he believed that Lee did because “Lee was not only taught and believed in the right of secession, but was opposed to resorting to it at the time Virginia seceded.”²⁸³ The children of the Civil War engaged in public discourse that continued arguments of the Lost Cause and reconciliation through heroism, trying to shape collective memory of loyalty to state and country. Wylie argued “Northern and southern men acted as their consciences prompted them” with their heroism never finding an equal “in the history of the world,” setting an example for their descendants who displayed the same fighting spirit “on the bloody fields of France” in the First World War.²⁸⁴ Lee served as a micro example of the general theme of reconciliation narrativized as equal valor, lending credence to public remembrance both in the monuments of written word and physical sculpted forms. The need to justify Lee as a hero signaled a revived need to defend the South’s pride and position twentieth century, postwar America—a parallel to the aims of those who first crafted the Lost Cause narrative in the years following Lee’s surrender to Grant at Appomattox.

Though the proportion of articles newspapers published about these Confederate monuments pales in comparison to 30 years prior, the reports nonetheless illustrate common themes of reconciliation, sectionalism, heroism, and the Lost Cause. Veterans crafted narratives in the 1890s that their children learned, which manifested 30 years later at unveiling ceremonies. The aim of the Lost Cause myth in perpetuating memory of equal heroism and fighting for belief or principle succeeded as sons and daughters

gathered to promote the stories of their parents. Moreover, Republican lawmakers' interest in the southern vote prompted validation of Southerners' efforts through national displays and federal support of Stone Mountain as to appeal to a majority Democratic section of the country.²⁸⁵

Meanwhile the Black press indicated lingering struggle for equity and social acceptance through lamentations against national Confederate displays and continued criminalizing headlines against Black men. The *New York Age* editorial staff reported growing dissatisfaction for promises unkept by the Republican party to help Black voters regain political status and recognition and protect civil rights. For example, in quoting the *Baltimore Afro-American*, the *Age* reported *St. Louis Argus* editor J.E. Mitchell "argued for condemnation of the Ku Klux Klan by President Coolidge" at the Western Negro Newspaper Publishers' banquet as editors attempted to lobby the Republican chairman for "assurance" that the "party was willing to do the right thing."²⁸⁶ Six southern editors voted against the West's blanket endorsement of the Republican party out of resentment and "continued silent on Klan issue after the debate."²⁸⁷ Distrust of the national government on the part of Black voters and the impervious nature of Lost Cause rhetoric shaped collective memory in the 1920s, a return to the feelings of the 1890s, fraternal or not.

Institutionalization of distorted collective memory

Newspaper coverage of Confederate monuments, though limited compared to 30 years prior, revealed the achievement of southern Lost Cause education and acceptance of the reconciliation narrative, both of which marginalized minority perspectives and ignored slavery as a central cause of the Civil War. Empowered by new economic

strength and little reliance on political aims, newspapers turned away from dramatic articles of significant length and quotation to attract readership, instead shifting to an “objective” strategy that still gave voice to primary speakers at commemoration events, though did not offer direct commentary or effusive monument descriptions. This lack of advocacy for or against and lack of political appeal allowed the mainstream perpetuation of reconciliatory strength in which the Lost Cause could persist.

However, the Black press continued lamentations against the Confederacy and related issues like the rise of the Ku Klux Klan, largely to no avail. Though the Black alternative press grew alongside the behemoth of mainstream chains, it retained its primary aims of equity while the latter retained drive for profit and readership. Yet, this advocacy still fell subordinate to discourse in major metropolitan papers that chose not to lament against displays like the Confederate battle flag, southern airs like “Dixie,” and monuments themselves. As the number of commemorations remained steady in the Jim Crow South where schools and other public areas were named after Stonewall Jackson and Robert E. Lee, the public silently consented to the persistence of Confederate memory, and with the exception of major displays like Stone Mountain, newspapers found little need to comment on Civil War memory and its implications.

Institutions of national power like private universities likewise engaged in promotion of Confederate memory as American memory in attempts to attract wider swaths of potential students from across sections and make concessions to alumni to retain support. Princeton University’s \$1,000 toward the construction of the Stone Mountain Confederate monument stood as just one example.²⁸⁸ Reconciliation had made Confederate figures American figures ingrained in institutions as evinced by academic

and civic participation on the parts of New York University, the University of Virginia, and Washington and Lee University.

As Civil War memory remained commonplace, it lost its newsworthiness, lacking uniqueness and retaining an acceptance of the long-held discourse. News value of Confederate displays waned as newspapers found increased capacity for international, financial, and scientific reporting to appeal to affluent social ranks and advertisers. Importantly, as Civil War memory lingered, an institutionalized, white-washed history promoted by Confederate leaders and public servants failed to appear in newspapers because the public had already accepted the narratives. This hegemonic acceptance allowed Southerners to continue their displays, in part setting the stage for racial ruptures in the 1950s and 1960s following yet another World War and during two subsequent military engagements in Korea and Vietnam. Collective memory of the Civil War promoted American valor and exceptionalism via the Lost Cause belief of states' rights and hero memorialization, relegating challenges to the fringes of American discourse. Atrocities of the Civil War stood forgotten in the South and in the North, setting up a struggle for decades to come, one still unresolved.

CHAPTER 4

NOT SET IN STONE: COLLECTIVE MEMORY OF THE CIVIL WAR

Discourse and narrative analyses of newspaper coverage surrounding the construction and dedication of Confederate monuments in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries reveal a hegemonic reconciliation narrative that worked in tandem with Lost Cause mythology to promote white economic and political advantage. Collective memory of the Civil War, as reflected in news coverage, turned away from sectionalism in the 1890s to embrace terms of equal heroism and divine providence to prompt fraternal feelings between sections. Equal heroism figured prominently in southern Lost Cause myth that stated the Confederacy fought for valid belief in states' rights, an equal counterpoint to northern unionism. This thread of reconciliation that weaved its way into the tapestry of early twentieth century America via opinion leaders like Confederate generals allowed the Lost Cause to remain in vogue and gain strength, distorting memory of the Civil War as not a war won by the Union, but one lost valiantly by the Confederacy. This narrative passed to the subsequent generation and retained power in the 1920s as remembrances continued. In both the 1890s and 1920s, dominant memory of states' rights overshadowed and marginalized racial strife, discounting the abhorrence and atrocities of slavery in the United States. This chapter discusses the implications of collective memory of the Civil War embodied in monument remembrances and lasting iterations to answer the posited research question of how newspapers remembered the Civil War in coverage of Confederate monuments.

Heroes, victims, and villains

The definition of Civil War heroes existed in nationalistic legacy as those who risked their lives for the sake of their country (or cause) with devotion alone meriting national gratitude.²⁸⁹ Lee, a West Point graduate from one of the oldest and most revered families in Virginia, stood as a champion for the Southern home—a defender of his land like his Revolutionary War hero father (and ninth Governor of Virginia), Henry “Light-Horse Harry” Lee. Both the North and South agreed that Lee fought with valor to protect his ideal of the nation, allowing the Lost Cause myth of secession to endure. Newspapers like the *Atlanta Constitution* helped to craft the narrative of Lee as an exhibitor of one of the “loftiest types of American valor” in the 1890s, an idea that translated to the 1920s discourse of American exceptionalism.²⁹⁰

The hero myth emerged as a derivative of the medieval trope of knights and chivalry. Collective memory of the antebellum South embodied courage and honor and a keen feudal sense of land and estate, making Lee an easy figure to stand as the Lancelot of a bygone kingdom. As Lule noted, journalism often draws on familiar story forms to describe events and people.²⁹¹ Lee’s hero trope stood as a nonfiction derivative of fictional myth. Likewise, the memory of average Confederate soldiers as heroes found its way into both Southern and Northern newspapers, myths of bravery and loyalty, according to *the Inter-Ocean*, “to the cause they had been persuaded was right.”²⁹² Such discourse promoting heroism and recognizing rebellion merely as misguided belief led to disregarded charges of treason against democracy and the crime of human bondage, which were explicitly dismissed across sections. These echoes of valor endured in the 1920s as public figures described Lee as without a peer in “pure and unsullied character”

and as national officials like Calvin Coolidge praised the “glorious union” forged through “common sacrifice.”²⁹³ This primary trope in American discourse permitted the construction of monuments to continue.

In the 1890s, newspapers promoted another trope of victimization in regard to Confederate sacrifice and the economic and social circumstances in the South following Reconstruction. Newspapers covering the parade scene at Richmond in 1890 made explicit references to tattered veterans carrying flags “stained with blood and riddled with bullets,” pointing not only to loss but to a sensibility of victimization. Thirteen years after Reconstruction ended, a sentiment of southern victimization at the hands of the North lingered. Discourse like that in the *Alexandria Gazette* charged New England and northern industry had exploited the South dating back to the Triangle Trade, selling slaves and guns to the states that would secede and profiting off their agrarian rebellion.²⁹⁴ Northern industry, according to Southern discourse, squashed the southern way of life, necessitating a need to secede in defense of states’ rights. The victim narrative stemmed from southern origin through John C. Underwood’s design. The images of paroled Confederates marching home to a “desolate scene” on the Oakwoods Cemetery monument earned their victimized descriptions through newspaper reporter interpretation. The press put into words the pathos of the monument evoking destitution, death, debris, and disease in the prisoner of war camp. Power brokers like Underwood capitalized on newspapers’ concessions to the victim narrative, using it as impetus to defend Confederate memory as commendable and brave. By these discourse manipulations, the victims became the victors by the 1920s, keeping in line with Lule’s

assertion that myth via newspapers turns death into sacrifice, which in turn offers “reconciliation and elevates life in the face of death.”²⁹⁵

Actual military records, actions, and battles seemed like an afterthought or non-issue in reconciliationist coverage. Laudatory terms of heroism and valor took precedence in remembering the Civil War without factual accounts of battles, strategy, or historical moments to capture collective memory of the war or support descriptors. Myth clouded memory as coverage described figures like Lee as embodiments of “the loftiest types of American valor” largely without pointing to specific engagement in battle, decisions, or diplomacy in concrete terms of historical fact. Reporters covering the commemorative unveilings did not tell the story of the Civil War, but rather spun mythic tales of valor, sacrifice, and motivation behind service in the war. Failing to engage in what Edy described as telling the story of the event commemorated, newspaper reporters crafted mythic narratives that power brokers could use to distort collective memory of the Civil War by ignoring the record of the war altogether.²⁹⁶ Heroism and victimization became expedient terms to dismiss any atrocities or failures found in military records or earlier coverage.

In contrast to collective memory of heroes and victims (turned heroes through memory), the Black and northern press pointed to villainism on the part of Confederate actors like Lee and public figures who supported Civil War memory that glossed over Confederate actions in the defense of slavery. The *New York Age* described Lee not as famous, but infamous—a traitor to a race that would be free in words alone, one that would stand by “silent and unsympathetic” as white power brokers honored Confederate soldiers who fought to maintain slavery.²⁹⁷ And though mainstream newspapers

published opinions and quotes from Republican lawmakers who abhorred memorialization of the Confederacy, those papers largely chose not to express editorial opinion to support these views. Failure on the part of nineteenth-century newspapers to acknowledge slavery's part in secession signaled a reliance on opinion leader quotes and editorial positions to narrativize the Lost Cause without deeper scrutiny that would be adopted later in the twentieth century.

Memory in the press distorted away from slavery positions and toward promoted reconciliation discourse that abetted Lost Cause myth including equal valor in fights for “beliefs” without expounding upon definitions of said beliefs. The Black population stood “othered,” outside the dominant narrative of the Civil War which focused solely on white actors like Lee, Grant, and regular infantries in achieving a divinely ordered conflict based on state and union power.²⁹⁸ Black newspapers grappled with double consciousness between former Southern slaves portrayed in the mainstream press and the struggle for racial advancement in the face of the Ku Klux Klan and continued Confederate displays.²⁹⁹ Meanwhile, mainstream coverage allowed sectionalism to linger in silent margins of the American public while promoting the celebrity and public figure-driven reconciliation strategy, leading to festering undercurrents of racial tension and political resentment.

Reconciliation and sectionalism

Reconciliation and sectionalism functioned as memory themes to primarily advance economic and political actions on a national scale, ignoring social and cultural arguments from each individual section following the Civil War. Specifically in the 1890s, newspapers pushed a consensus narrative that sectionalism was “dead” and

reconciliation stood as the only sane sentiment, using growing Confederate displays as semiotic pawns for advancing the notion in coverage. This pattern seemed to grow into a hegemonic narrative that veiled Lost Cause motivations while silencing dissenting voices in sectional, partisan, and importantly, the Black press.

Northerners embraced the Lost Cause interpretation of the war as Hillyer suggested, either explicitly or implicitly, and they secured good will toward trade between sections. This was demonstrated by the actions of Underwood, Fitzhugh Lee, and prominent Chicago businessmen that led to reconciliation discourse in the Chicago papers and *Atlanta Constitution* ahead of the Cotton States and International Exposition.³⁰⁰ The nation, according to the dominant newspaper narrative, reunited and reconciled to become a world power through increasing recognition of equal valor on both sides and the economic promise of joining the two sections through connections like those between Chicago and Atlanta. By the 1920s, the reconciliation narrative had been well-established by opinion leaders, leading to few prominent challenges in coverage of Civil War memorials. Reconciliation had become the norm, and newspapers recognized little need to report on or challenge the idea of united sections following World War I when the notion of American exceptionalism grew on global stage. Both newspapers and celebrity figures engaged in authority creation and perpetuation of Confederate monuments as legitimizing symbols of both reconciliation and the Lost Cause, winning over northern and southern constituents alike in forming a dominant white social order.

But while prominent businessmen and veterans promoted “good feeling” between sections, southerners had schooled their children in the myth of the Lost Cause. Without a need to uphold reconciliationist strategy—because economic aims had been achieved and

equal valor had been accepted—sons and daughters of southern veterans could promote secessionist language and heritage. As the reconciliation narrative became accepted and complicitly upheld in the press, dissenting voices disappeared and Lost Cause children had room to speak—children whose parents spoke a generation before. Sectionalism returned as the children of ex-Confederates reach adulthood and play a public part in commemoration and memory. The Lost Cause myths they learned emerged and began to replace their parents' gentler tones for reconciliation, which seemed obsolete 60 years postbellum. Sectionalist defense of the Lost Cause grew, particularly in the Jim Crow South, reviving white southern pride that carried prominently into the Civil Rights struggle of the 1950s and 1960s and remains in heritage defenses of Confederate memory.

The Lost Cause upheld

The Lost Cause theme found its way into public rhetoric via opinion leaders like Confederate generals made celebrity through postwar press coverage. Thanks to the drama of the war, newspapers and magazines found economic advantage through conflict reporting and officer memories. With wide circulation in magazines like *Century*, the corresponding generals became familiar names through the reconciliationist strategy. Veterans retained influence in public discourse as their stories turned profits. Newspapers covering the monuments naturally gave ample space to opinion leaders likely because they believed the nation was fascinated by the old ranks and would buy or subscribe to their coverage.

Though the United Daughters of the Confederacy later led or jointly organized pro-Southern campaigns, engaging in what would later be called public relations to

achieve commemoration efforts including monuments, the work of Confederate memory began well before the group's founding in 1894 through press engagement. Giving space to the words of James Longstreet, Jubal Early, and Fitzhugh Lee surrounding Confederate memory and monuments, newspapers allowed defenses of secession and pushes for economic reconciliation between the sections to permeate discourse. The cult of the Lost Cause grew as newspapers seemed to validate their ideas by printing their narratives through fiscal incentives, printing fewer counterviewpoints like those expressed by the staunchly Republican and Black press. Major Confederate leaders and their progeny became celebrity figures in the South and the North as evinced by the unveiling ceremonies in the 1920s at which George Bolling Lee and his daughter Mary received note in newspaper coverage. Though women took up the mantle of remembering and honoring the dead during wartime and in subsequent memorial celebrations, the Confederate men and subsequent generations stood as the focus of media coverage and collective memory discourse, largely overshadowing women's contributions to Civil War efforts.

By capitalizing fiscally on celebrity memory of the Civil War, newspapers disseminated accounts upholding the Lost Cause and equal valor narratives that marginalized Black and integration perspectives that would remain quieted through most of the subsequent century. As the cult of the Lost Cause grew, Republican leaders like Calvin Coolidge "kowitz" to the South to retain support by acknowledging the learned memory of the Civil War that persisted alongside Jim Crow law. Though Black newspapers like the *New York Age* gained publishing traction in the early twentieth century through economic advancement, the new era of "objectivity" and professionalism

in mainstream journalism overshadowed the partisan and partial Black advocacy press through the moralist appeal of what Ochs called “sober, factual news.”³⁰¹ The Black press grew in the 1920s by molding a sense of community among American Blacks, connecting the southern population to the northern population, particularly those who had travelled north and west during the Great Migration.³⁰² Yet, Black newspapers garnered few subscribers, and as Stevens explained, every issue had to sell itself, primarily through lurid tales of crime and scandal that bucked the mainstream newspaper trend away from sensationalism.³⁰³ Whereas Och’s newspaper reached a circulation of 542,039 by 1923, the *Age* reached only twenty-five thousand.³⁰⁴ Though circulation had grown from 4,300 in 1890, the *Age*’s resources and reach proved no match for the climbing influence of the business-oriented mainstream newspapers like *The New York Times*. Even in Chicago where Robert S. Abbott’s *Defender* circulated two hundred thousand copies per week by 1917, the white newspapers dominated the dissemination of information with the *Tribune* passing eight hundred thousand by 1923.³⁰⁵ Influence remained localized to the surrounding Black community, failing to penetrate the national market. Moreover, as Henk La Brie noted, “almost all lacked printing equipment and were forced to depend on the erratic scheduling of job printers” in the early part of the twentieth century.³⁰⁶ National editions of Black papers like the *Chicago Defender*, *Pittsburgh Courier*, and *Baltimore Afro-American* would emerge in the 1920s, but the narratives of Civil War valor would be hard to quell as mainstream circulations likewise rose. The Black advocacy press continued to publish against white leadership, criminalization, lynching, and inequity, focusing storytelling on drama and emotional appeal rather than offering up hero figures of their own in attempts to garner readership. With no competing heroes and

far fewer readers, the Black press stood little chance of making significant noise in American rhetoric, particularly as radio and motion pictures entered the realm of mass media.

Purportedly objective coverage of Confederate and Civil War commemorations posed little to no challenges to the reconciliation strategy of good will or to the Lost Cause myth made more popular by media like *Birth of a Nation*. North and South alike engaged in promotion of a strengthened America, one that emerged from the Civil War stronger than ever thanks to heroism and bravery akin to the colonial revolutionaries and to economic revitalization reportedly unique in world history. American exceptionalism aided morale ahead of impending conflicts like the Spanish-American War in 1898 and subsequent engagement in World War I. Thus, the Lost Cause heroes became American heroes as evinced by monuments to them across the country.

Geographic sections in relative accord

Newspapers in the North and the South adopted similar myths, themes, and strategies in covering Confederate monuments across sections in public discourse, shaping largely uniform memory of the Civil War as an inevitable conflict surrounding states' rights waged by heroes on both sides that provided an avenue to reunion and reconciliation that would make the nation even stronger than in antebellum life. Though scholarship surrounding the northern position in relation to the Civil War often focuses attention on abolitionist positions and Republicanism that would dismiss the notion of states' rights, discourse analysis reveals newspapers in cities like Chicago and New York equally contributed to the myth of the Lost Cause through laudatory coverage of Robert

E. Lee as a hero, Confederate veterans as victims, and economic progress as an impetus for reconciliation.

With the *Chicago Tribune* promoting “intense enthusiasm and good feeling” for the reunited Union in 1890 and *The New York Times* promoting the semblance of reconciliation via the First Infantry in 1895, evidence supported the notion that newspapers themselves played a role in crafting and upholding reconciliation and Lost Cause storytelling and promotion. Though the monuments constructed in the North resulted from strategic campaigns from press actors like John C. Underwood and Robert Underwood Johnson who endorsed such myth and narrative, the press supplemented their aims. Further, the aspiration of objectivity which would offer more space for public commentary by way of letters to the editor gave voice to southern sectionalists like R.E. Wylie who defended Confederate commemoration in *The New York Times* without offering counterpoints.³⁰⁷ Southern newspapers likewise engaged in coverage that sustained the reconciliation strategy promoted by the late *Atlanta Constitution* editor Henry W. Grady in seeking economic gain and defense. The *Constitution* and *Alexandria Gazette* both pointed to northern economic influence in the South that contributed to the start of the war and the reconciliation that followed, quelling “old war [feelings]” from the “South-haters” through promotion of their good feelings and want of trade.³⁰⁸ Meanwhile, the *Washington Post*, situated at the capital between the sections, chose to cover narratives of “beautiful” Confederate displays during both decades with dissenters mentioned tersely and sparsely.³⁰⁹ Coverage across sections tapered overall as unveiling events became more common in the twentieth century, save for the spectacle of Stone Mountain. Hegemony of the southern position had won the day, the decades.

Ultimately, newspapers across North and South worked within reconciliation culture to engender collective memory that retained heroic myth and states' rights as a primary cause while discarding information about slavery's role in secession, prompting the white majority to ignore or perhaps forget racial and social tensions leading to the war beneath economic and political discourse. Study of newspapers reveals selective memory orchestrated by opinion leaders and celebrities partially distorted collective memory of the Civil War, which continues to pose a conundrum for those working to understand the role of public monuments within American society.

The accord found across sections worked to alleviate social anxiety in reconciling a war against one another, Americans versus Americans. The equal valor narrative that generated in the 1890s provided a sense of purpose to explain why neighbors turned against neighbors, brothers against brothers. Political aspirants and actors like Fitzhugh Lee, many of whom came from the ranks of the Union and Confederacy, partially sought to ease lingering tensions by remembering conflict as a natural continuation of the colonial revolutionary spirit. Such parallels drawn between Confederate leaders like Lee and the likes of George Washington quelled uncertainty about the state of the nation as a viable world power and social force as industrialization and technology grew, connecting people more than ever before. Military campaigns in the Caribbean and elsewhere invited legitimization of figures like Fitzhugh Lee, a popular postwar governor and U.S. consul general. Journalists celebrated his "bellicose defense" of Americans in Cuba and his stature as a symbol of sectional reconciliation and Anglo-Saxon prowess during the outbreak of the Spanish-American War in 1898.³¹⁰ The myth of American exceptionalism worked in tandem with the Lost Cause tale of bravery and sense of purpose to provide an

explanation for civil warfare. The nephew of Robert E. Lee helped to craft the Confederate memory of manhood and valor on both sides of the Civil War, acting as a “useful figure” particularly in his home state of Virginia, which was “caught between duty to its Confederate past and anxiety about its continued national decline.”³¹¹ Lee’s counterparts and their corresponding newspaper coverage functioned in the same manner across both sections, alleviating tensions by launching campaigns for a united American future through memory of shared valor, sacrifice, and heroism and ignoring the brutalities of a Civil War that tore apart a nation—one waged in the interest of human slavery.

Reconciliation newspaper coverage supports Kammen’s position that memory may be distorted to cure social anxiety, at least for that historical window in time.³¹² In the twenty-first century, social anxiety about divisive Confederate figures prompts a need for a different narrative cure, one that does not gloss over the dark underbelly of Civil War action in a time replete with different tensions and apprehensions.

Future considerations and implications

Opportunity remains for subsequent study, including but not limited to exploration of Confederate monuments and symbols in the 1950s and 1960s as racial tensions reached a new high in the Civil Rights era. This examination of a subsequent 30-year flashpoint might bridge a gap between findings outlined here from the early period of Confederate commemoration to more modern arguments like those raised in Richmond and Charlottesville in 2020. Critical examination of magazine series like those of *Century* might likewise yield an important portraiture of the origins of Confederate generals as opinion leaders, providing additional context to their roles in public memory beyond newspaper coverage of their actions and remarks in conjunction with monument

construction and dedication. Moreover, examination of additional promotional documents, flyers, advertisements, and primary source texts like ex-Confederate and Union memoirs might reveal how strategic rhetorical and memorial strategies influenced the distortion of Civil War memory from a war waged by different sides to a divine event that ultimately strengthened the country and proved the valor of the southern states' rights position.

In addition to monuments to Confederate figures, flags remain points of contention worth further exploration as evinced by news coverage in 1890 and 1895. As Civil War veterans died in the reunified nation, their caskets were often draped in both the American flag and the stars and bars of "Old Glory." As historian Andrew Baker noted, Confederate flags represented "a persistent identity and historical loyalty that waved tenuously within the nation."³¹³ The power of flags, as scholar Stuart McConnel argued, derives from their ambiguity and ability to be condensed and repurposed through time to fit different factions of society.³¹⁴ Just as the nation is said to "rally around the flag" in times of strife like the period after September 11, 2001, Southerners in a post-Reconstruction America rallied around the Confederate flag to honor and remember their dead in terms of sacrifice and chivalry, to instill a sense of moral equity with the Union, and to establish superiority over newly enfranchised Blacks living in the "New South" who took little claim to the Confederacy.³¹⁵ The flag thus became a segregationist symbol. The Ku Klux Klan flew the flag at meetings. Segregationist Strom Thurmond adopted the insignia for his 1948 presidential campaign, and Alabama Governor George Wallace stood beneath the flag raised over the state capitol in Montgomery as he promoted "Segregation forever" in his inaugural 1963 address. In 2015, South Carolina

Governor Nikki Haley decided to remove the flag from the state grounds following a massacre at a historically Black church in Charleston, signaling an institutional change toward the flag more than 100 years after its adoption.³¹⁶ The symbolic nature of the flag, its history, and debates mirror those of Confederate monuments, providing grounds for future studies.

Through the Lost Cause narrative and newspaper myths that persisted amid reconciliation strategies, the notion of heritage resonated with subsequent generations of Southerners from the 1920s to present. Newspaper coverage of the 1890s and 1920s maintained the rewriting of history through public Confederate monuments, legitimizing the southern reasoning to sacrifices during the war that led to humiliation during the Reconstruction era. The publicity strategies adopted by figures like Underwood, Johnson, the Sons of Confederate Veterans, and the Daughters of the Confederacy influenced press coverage that buried dissenting voices as the nation entered the twentieth century. Taking cues from the predecessors, the groups continued to hone commemoration strategies in the reconciliation and Lost Cause models, leading to continued heritage positions. In the 1930s and 1940s, Margaret Mitchell's Civil War epic *Gone With the Wind* revived a sense of Southern strength and attachment to state and land as the novel and film of the same title abetted Lost Cause storytelling. An Atlanta debutante turned journalist, Mitchell joined the staff of the *Atlanta Journal Sunday Magazine*, working rigorous hours alongside reporters like Grantland Rice. Covering primarily lifestyle and society, Mitchell hit the streets and scoured the Carnegie Public Library to find fodder for her columns about her native city from 1922 until 1926. In 1925, her profiles of Georgia's Civil War generals, not so unlike those penned by the men themselves a generation prior,

generated enthusiasm alongside the growing interest in Gutzon Borglum's Stone Mountain carving just 20 miles outside the city.³¹⁷ Her southern, Civil War research provided basis for her then highly popular principle work published in June 1936. The book sold one million copies by that October, and producer David O. Selznick purchased the film rights to the eventual Pulitzer Prize winner.³¹⁸

The 1939 film based on Mitchell's work likewise sent not only the South but the nation into a frenzy. The top stars of the day clamored for roles, and fans of the book checked the newspapers and movie magazines each day to find out which actress would star as heroine Scarlett O'Hara. The premiere, held in Atlanta, brought pride to the southern city where nearly three hundred thousand people clamored for spots on the Hollywood parade route when the stars arrived. They "hung a plethora of Southern Cross flags" and "dressed up in Civil War-era attire" ahead of the movie screening at Loew's Grand Theatre.³¹⁹ Tickets cost around \$170 in today's dollars, and President Jimmy Carter would later call the spectacle the "biggest event to happen in the South in [his] lifetime."³²⁰ Nostalgia and romanticism around the Old South permeated the city, and remaining Confederate veterans attended the festivities.³²¹

Despite its enormous audience attraction, the film retained a tainted legacy in its portrayal of slavery. Though the film avoids the Ku Klux Klan references of the novel, Lost Cause nostalgia prevailed with whitewashed depictions of slavery rife with the Uncle Tom stereotype and genteel white gallantry.³²² Off screen, actress Hattie McDaniel (Mammy) won the Oscar for Best Supporting Actress. The first Black individual to win an Academy Award, organizers forced McDaniel to the back of the Coconut Grove nightclub at the Ambassador Hotel, relegated to the rear with the evening's servers in a

Jim Crow world.³²³ Selznick called in a favor to get her in the door, as the hotel maintained a no-Blacks policy. The daughter of two former slaves, McDaniel had also been barred from the premiere in segregated Atlanta.³²⁴ Though the Black press like the *Chicago Defender* originally praised the performance of McDaniel as inoffensive, the newspaper reviewed the depiction of slaves as “a weapon of terror against Black America,” one the *Pittsburgh Courier* denounced for its debasement of Blacks as “happy house servants and unthinking, helpless clods.”³²⁵ Hollywood’s vast reach in terms of both film distribution and celebrity news aided the endurance of the Lost Cause myth while trivializing the atrocities of slavery in a continuing narrative tradition. Yet, as of 2019, *Gone With the Wind* stood as the highest-grossing film of all time worldwide, earning around \$3.7 billion adjusted for inflation.³²⁶

The Civil Rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s gave revitalized voice to the Black press and actors who had long held ideals against the secessionist narratives of the Lost Cause; however, the former notion endured alongside growing dissent because of longstanding public legitimization through opinion leaders and hegemonic silence. At the 1961 centennial anniversary of the bombardment of Fort Sumter, “thousands gathered on Charleston’s Battery and bellowed approval with every faux shellburst.”³²⁷ As Watson asserts, the like-minded neo-Confederates who proclaimed the war’s purpose stood rooted in state’s rights, not slavery, had “no need for loud proclamations because most white Americans apparently agreed with them.”³²⁸ However, as the decade progressed and the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 worked to dismantle longstanding practices of marginalization, Black voices gained traction in overturning the narrative. However, they still struggled against a pervasive 100-year-old myth, one passed

generation to generation that endures. Thus, public discourse as presented in newspaper and news website coverage today posits two camps in conflict: the “heritage, not hate” proponents who argue validity of Confederate states’ rights memory against a constituency of Americans advocating for removal who remember the Civil War as one waged by the South in the interest of slavery.

This study illuminates how the reconciliation strategy encompassing Lost Cause mythology morphed into a potent generational belief, one that helped to distort memory of the Civil War from factual accounts to narratives of heroism, valor, and divine conflict that ordained a new dawn in the anxious days of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Mainstream newspapers engaged in disseminating reconciliation storytelling through their coverage of Confederate monument consecrations, owing largely to prominent veterans, politicians, and editorial gatekeepers. Meanwhile, the advocacy voices of Black newspapers like the *New York Age* struggled to emancipate American memory from the grips of the white Lost Cause, one that proved a powerful political and social force long after the cause was lost. Confederate monuments stood as strategic craftwork of economic and political development, not as intended remembrances of battles, diplomacy, or strategy. However, their portrayal in the press as icons of heroism, valor, and sacrifice provided a story that debased the struggle for emancipation and glossed over the horrors of the bloodiest war in American history. Failure on the part of the mainstream press to acknowledge Black perspectives and their validity in discourse and failures to question Confederate motivations during the war perpetuated subordination that allowed white supremacy to breed. The construction of Confederate monuments and the discriminatory newspaper practice detailing them opened the door for

racist ideas to justify both memory sites. Ultimately, Lost Cause heroism and myth served as vehicles for white supremacy, narrative arcs constituting political and economic strength and freedom rationales that dismissed a need for racial equality.

Lost Cause scholars and historians like American Civil War Museum exhibition curator Christopher Graham have noted the danger of the myth, as it created space for racial violence and lynching across geographic sections because of its dismissal to acknowledge race-based struggle.³²⁹ Heroism, particularly in the South became an aspiration, one used as a defense for segregation and racial violence. Ex-Confederates defended their positions as protectors of their land, women, and children against alleged Black assaults and governmental meddling via Reconstruction amid “carpetbagger corruption.”³³⁰ The narrative extended north as reconciliationist sympathizers worked to foster business and political relations as made apparent by newspaper coverage of Confederate monuments. These blind remembrances based in little historical fact create passed generationally, and today, “popular conversations on social media and other informal arenas reveal that plenty of Americans continue to discount the cruelty of slavery, deny the role of the institution in secession, revere Robert E. Lee, and disregard the promise and tragedy of Reconstruction.”³³¹

In examining the past’s linkage to the present, Henry Grady III’s defense of Confederate monuments, based on this study, might come as little surprise in the context of his second great grandfather’s reconciliationist strategy and Lost Cause myth. Speaking of his father’s name on the Athens, Georgia, monument to Confederate dead, Henry W. Grady said the following in 1886: “To the foot of that shaft I shall send my children’s children to reverence him who ennobled their name with his heroic blood.”³³²

The persistence of disagreement in Civil War memory shapes monument controversies. Just as the *New York Age* and northern Republicans argued the symbols stand as validation of slavery and rebellion, many American citizens find themselves arguing the same 131 years later. And just as the reconciliation strategists and Lost Cause mythologists argued the symbols stand to honor heroism and heritage in the American tradition, others including their direct descendants continue to echo them in 2021.

Memory is not set in stone.

¹ Dara Lind, “Unite the Right, the violent white supremacist rally, explained.” *Vox*. Vox, August 14, 2017. <https://www.vox.com/2017/8/12/16138246/charlottesville-nazi-rally-right-uva> (accessed December 5, 2019).

² Nicholas Bogel-Burroughs, “8 Minutes, 46 Seconds Became a Symbol in George Floyd’s Death. The Exact Time Is Less Clear.” *New York Times*. The New York Times, June 18, 2020. <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/18/us/george-floyd-timing.html?referringSource=articleShare> (accessed July 21, 2020). It should be noted Floyd’s death marked just one moment in a series of historical inequities that prompted movements for change. As media historian and Civil Rights scholar Earnest Perry noted in his examination of narratives following the Black Lives Matter movement in 2016, “This is not new...” Just as struggles for social justice are not new, the tenuous relationship between mainstream media and grassroots movements and activists is not new. Media remain recognized as both powerful and a power, simultaneously a vehicle for expression and dialogue yet also an institution that has historically marginalized underserved communities. This study recognizes historical struggle. See Earnest Perry, “Teaching History in the Age of Black Lives Matter: Embracing the Narratives of the Long Struggle for Civil Rights,” *American Journalism*, 33 no. 4 (2016): 465-470.

³ Ian Millhiser, “The night they’ll tear old Dixie down.” *Vox*. Vox, June 24, 2020. <https://www.vox.com/the-highlight/21279808/robert-e-lee-confederate-statue-monument-avenue-richmond-racism-george-floyd> (accessed August 2, 2020). Note: This study capitalizes “Black” as a reflection of the senses of identity and community it carries. White is not capitalized, for capitalizing in this context, as Mike Laws writes in the *Columbia Journalism Review*, “risks following the lead of white supremacists.” *The Diversity Style Guide*, which Laws cites, notes historical, social, and political reasons an individual might identify as Black, connecting feelings about “origin, affiliation, colonialism, enslavement and cultural dispossession.” This convention also keeps in line with the *Chicago Manual of Style*, which announced via Twitter on June 22, 2020 “Black” is now preferred in reference to racial and ethnic identity. See Mike Laws, “Why we capitalize ‘Black’ (and not ‘white’).” *Columbia Journalism Review*. *Columbia Journalism Review*, June 16, 2020. <https://www.cjr.org/analysis/capital-b-black-styleguide.php> (Accessed February 22, 2021) and The Chicago Manual of Style. Twitter Post. June 22, 2020, 5:00 p.m. <https://twitter.com/ChicagoManual/status/1275171833365528578?s=20>

⁴ Deepa Shivaram, “Confederate monument coming down in Virginia, but 2 prominent Lee statues remain,” *NBCNews*. NBCUniversal, July 6, 2020. <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/confederate-monuments-coming-down-virginia-2-prominent-lee-statues-remain-n1232940> (accessed August 3, 2020). See also Gregory S. Schneider and Laura Vozzella, “Northam Says Virginia will remove Lee monument in Richmond,” *Washington Post*, The Washington Post, June 4, 2020. https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/northam-to-remove-lee-statue/2020/06/04/0b2c013c-a603-11ea-b473-04905b1af82b_story.html (accessed August 10, 2020).

⁵ In addition to monuments to Confederate figures, flags remain points of contention. As Civil War veterans died in the reunified nation, their caskets were often draped in both the American flag and the stars and bars of “Old Glory.” As historian Andrew Baker noted, Confederate flags represented “a persistent

identity and historical loyalty that waned tenuously within the nation.” The power of flags, as scholar Stuart McConnell argued, derives from their ambiguity and ability to be condensed and repurposed through time to fit different factions of society. Just as the nation is said to “rally around the flag” in times of strife like the period after September 11, 2001, Southerners in a post-Reconstruction America rallied around the Confederate flag to honor and remember their dead in terms of sacrifice and chivalry, to instill a sense of moral equity with the Union, and to establish superiority over newly enfranchised blacks living in the “New South” who took little claim to the Confederacy. See Andrew Baker “American Hero, Confederate Idol.” *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 127 no.1 (2019): 42-68; Robert E. Bonner, “Flag Culture and the Consolidation of Confederation Nationalism.” *Journal of Southern History* 68 no.2 (2002): 293-332 and David Von Drehle, “Debating the Confederate Flag.” *Time*. TIME USA, June 25, 2015.

<https://www.time.com/3935256/debating-the-confederate-flag/>

⁶ Rachel Hinton, “Community Organizers want Confederate monument removed from Oak Woods Cemetery.” *Chicago Sun Times*. Sun-Times Media Group. April 7, 2018.

<https://chicago.suntimes.com/2019/4/7/18406056/community-organizers-want-confederate-monument-removed-from-oak-woods-cemetery>

⁷ Aimee Ortiz and Johnny Diaz, “George Floyd Protests Reignite Debate Over Confederate Statues,” *New York Times*. The New York Times, June 3, 2020. <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/03/us/confederate-statues-george-floyd.html> (Accessed October 2, 2020).

⁸ Charlotte Norsworthy, “Division on Broad Street: Confederate monument in the heart of Athens stirs controversy,” *The Red & Black*. The Red and Black. https://www.redandblack.com/athensnews/division-on-broad-street-confederate-monument-in-the-heart-of-athens-stirs-controversy/article_e2d0184e-8879-11e7-982a-8faa013e2660.html (Accessed Oct. 10, 2020).

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Becky Little, “How The U.S. Got So Many Confederate Monuments.” *History*. A&E Television Networks, LLC. August 31, 2018. <https://www.history.com/news/how-the-u-s-got-so-many-confederate-monuments> (accessed December 3, 2019).

¹¹ Between 1910 and 1930, approximately 1.6 million African Americans left the South for industry and opportunity in the North and Midwest. Jim Crow law, lynchings, and a crippled cotton industry prompted many to leave as they faced intense racial prejudices and agricultural job loss (as the boll weevil ravaged cotton crop and southern farmers refused employ of nonwhites). See Lakisha Odlum, “The Great Migration.” 2016. Retrieved from the Digital Public Library of America, <http://dp.la/primary-source-sets/the-great-migration>. (Accessed May 8, 2020).

¹² Cynthia Mills “Introduction” in *Monuments to the Lost Cause: Women, Art, and the Landscapes of Southern Memory*, ed. Cynthia Mills and Pamela H. Simpson (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 2003), xxi.

¹³ Gary W. Gallagher, *Jubal A. Early, the Lost Cause, and Civil War History: A Persistent Legacy* (Milwaukee, WI: Marquette University Press, 1995).

¹⁴ John A. Simpson, “The Cult of the ‘Lost Cause.’” *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 34 no. 4 (1975): 350-361.

¹⁵ David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), 276.

¹⁶ Michael Schudson, “Dynamics of Distortion in Collective Memory,” In *Memory Distortion: How Minds, Brains, and Societies Reconstruct the Past*, ed. D.L. Schacter (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 346-364.

¹⁷ Pierre Nora, “Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire,” *Representations* 26 no. 2 (1989): 12.

¹⁸ Catherine W. Bishir, “Landmarks of Power Building a Southern Past, 1885-1915” in *Southern Cultures: The Fifteenth Anniversary Reader*, ed. Harry L. Watson, Larry J. Griffin, Lisa Eveleigh, Dave Shaw, Ayse Erginer, and Paul Quigley (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 58.

¹⁹ Ibid., 58.

²⁰ Craig B. Hollander and Martha A. Sandweiss, “Princeton and Slavery: Holding the Center,” in *Slavery and the University: Histories and Legacies*, ed. Leslie M. Harris, James T. Campbell, and Alfred L. Brophy (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2019), 4-18.

²¹ K. Savage, “The politics of memory: Black emancipation and the Civil War monument,” in *Commemorations: The politics of national identity*, ed. J.R. Gillis (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 127-149.

- ²² Mills, "Introduction," xix.
- ²³ Reiko Hillyer, "Relics of Reconciliation: The Confederate Museum and Civil War Memory in the New South." *The Public Historian* 33 no. 4 (2011): 37-39.
- ²⁴ According to data compiled by the Southern Poverty Law Center, approximately 104 monuments and symbols of the Confederacy were constructed or dedicated across the United States in the 1920s alone, with potentially hundreds more in that decade given unknown dates for hundreds of symbols. The "Whose Heritage?" project accounts for 1,880 Confederate symbols across the United States dating back to the 1870s. See "Whose Heritage? Public Symbols of the Confederacy," *SPLC Southern Poverty Law Center*. The Southern Poverty Law Center, 2020. <https://www.splcenter.org/data-projects/whose-heritage#words> (Accessed February 14, 2020; October 15, 2020)
- ²⁵ Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory*, 201-202
- ²⁶ Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory*, 191, 260-265.
- ²⁷ Mark Auslander, "The 'Family Business': Slavery, Double Consciousness, and Objects of Memory at Emory University," in *Slavery and the University: Histories and Legacies*, ed. Leslie M. Harris, James T. Campbell, and Alfred L. Brophy (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2019).
- ²⁸ W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, ed. Brent Hayes, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 8.
- ²⁹ *Ibid.*, 8.
- ³⁰ Theorist Emmanuel Levinas established the idea of the "Other" and "Othering" theory through a series of four lectures at the Collège Philosophique in the Latin Quarter of Paris from 1946 to 1947. He establishes the alterity (otherness) of another, noting that in identity construction, human beings discover entities in contrast to the self, assuming the existence of an alternative viewpoint or complete alternative identity encompassing ideology, culture, and worldview. See Emmanuel Levinas, *Le Temps et l'Autre [Time and the Other]: Lectures in Paris at the College Philosophique, 1946-1947*, trans. Richard A. Cohen (Pittsburgh, PA: Duquesne University Press, 1990).
- ³¹ Earnest Perry, "It's Time to Force a Change: The African-American Press' Campaign for a True Democracy during World War II," *Journalism History*, 28 no. 2 (Summer 2002): 87.
- ³² Jinx Broussard, "Exhortation to Action: The Writings of Amy Jacques Garvey, Journalist and Black Nationalist," *Journalism History*, 32 no. 2 (Summer 2006): 89.
- ³³ Lawrence W. Levine, *Black Culture and Black Consciousness: Afro-American Folk Thought from Slavery to Freedom* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 269.
- ³⁴ Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982).
- ³⁵ Travis D. Boyce and Winsome M. Chunny, "'I Want to Get Rid of My Fear': An Introduction," in *Historicizing Fear: Ignorance, Vilification, and Othering*, ed. Travis D. Boyce and Winsome M. Chunny (Boulder, CO: University of Colorado Press, 2019), 7-8.
- ³⁶ Mark Auslander, "The 'Family Business': Slavery, Double Consciousness, and Objects of Memory at Emory University."
- ³⁷ Hillyer, "Relics of Reconciliation." 45.
- ³⁸ Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 3.
- ³⁹ Hillyer, "Relics of Reconciliation," 58.
- ⁴⁰ Cultural hegemony can be defined as authority creation and perpetuation of legitimizing symbols used to create a dominant view or narrative of experience, winning consent of subordinate groups to strengthen dominant social order while relegating other views or narratives to societal margins. The notion proposed by Marxist thinker Antonio Gramsci locates dominance and subordination within capitalist societies through political and moral examinations. See T.J. Jackson Lears, "The Concept of Cultural Hegemony: Problems and Possibilities," *American Historical Review*, 90 no. 3 (1985): 567-593; Thomas Brown, "Confederate Monuments," in *The New Encyclopedia of Southern Culture Vol. 4: Myth manners, and Memory*. ed. Charles Reagan Wilson (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 47.
- ⁴¹ Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 204.
- ⁴² Hillyer, "Relics of Reconciliation." 58-59.
- ⁴³ *Ibid.*, 60-61.
- ⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 61.
- ⁴⁵ Brown, "Confederate Monuments," 45.
- ⁴⁶ John McCardell, "Reflections on the Civil War." *The Sewanee Review* 122 no. 2 (2014): 296.

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- ⁴⁷ T.R.C. Hutton, "Sleuthing for Mr. Crow: Detective William Baldwin and the Business of White Supremacy," *Journal of Southern History* 85 no 2 (May 2019): 286-287.
- ⁴⁸ Thomas Carlyle. *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993). muse.jhu.edu/book/25616.
- ⁴⁹ Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 76, 91.
- ⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 76.
- ⁵¹ Amber Roessner, *Inventing Baseball Heroes: Ty Cobb, Christy Matthewson, and the Sporting Press in America* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 2014), 8-9.
- ⁵² Jack Lule, *Daily News, Eternal Stories: The Mythological Role of Journalism* (New York: The Guilford Press, 2001), 33-34.
- ⁵³ *Ibid.*, 15.
- ⁵⁴ Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 265-266.
- ⁵⁵ Lule, *Daily News, Eternal Stories*, 23.
- ⁵⁶ Schudson, "Dynamics of Distortion in Collective Memory," 357.
- ⁵⁷ Lule, *Daily News, Eternal Stories*, 22.
- ⁵⁸ Harry L. Watson, "front porch," *Southern Cultures* 17 no. 3 (Fall 2011): 3.
- ⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 2.
- ⁶⁰ Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 190-201; Michael Kammen in Janice Hume and Amber Roessner, "Surviving Sherman's March: Press, Public Memory, and Georgia's Salvation Mythology," *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 86 no. 1 (2009): 124.
- ⁶¹ Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 265.
- ⁶² *Ibid.*, 190-199.
- ⁶³ Janice Hume, *Obituaries in American Culture*, (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2000), 13.
- ⁶⁴ Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 387-388.
- ⁶⁵ Henry Woodfin Grady, *The New South and Other Addresses*, ed. Edna Henry Lee Turpin (New York: Maynard, Merrill, & Co., 1904), 38.
- ⁶⁶ Hazel Dicken-Garcia, "Changes in News During the Nineteenth Century," In *The American Journalism History Reader*, ed. Bonnie Brennen and Hanno Hardt (New York: Taylor & Francis, 2011), 251.
- ⁶⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 249.
- ⁶⁹ Carolyn Kitch, "Placing journalism inside memory—and memory studies," *Memory Studies*, 1 no. 3 (2008): 317.
- ⁷⁰ Carolyn Kitch in Hume and Roessner, "Surviving Sherman's March," 124-125.
- ⁷¹ Kitch, "Placing journalism inside memory—and memory studies," 317.
- ⁷² *Ibid.*, 312.
- ⁷³ Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, trans. Lewis A. Coser (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 47.
- ⁷⁴ Kitch, "Placing journalism inside memory—and memory studies," 312.
- ⁷⁵ Jill A. Edy, "Journalistic Uses of Collective Memory." *Journal of Communication* (1999): 75.
- ⁷⁶ Robert P. Warren in Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory*, 1.
- ⁷⁷ Blue and Gray days initially began around 1875 as veterans' reunions at which they would reenact battles and share memories, often at former battlefield sites. This trend intensified in the 1880s, leading toward increased business relations between the sections. Later, sons of veterans, historians, and interested men and women took up the idea and continued reenactments and promotion of Civil War history. See Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 201-202; "All events for Blue & Gray Days," *Events*. Downtown Franklin Tennessee, 2014. <http://downtownfranklinton.com/event/blue-gray-days/all/> (Accessed Oct. 14, 2020)
- ⁷⁸ Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 203-205.
- ⁷⁹ Janice Hume, "Memory Matters: The Evolution of Scholarship in Collective Memory and Mass Communication," *Review of Communication* 10 no. 3 (2010): 181-196.
- ⁸⁰ Barry Schwartz, "Iconography and collective memory: Lincoln's image in the American mind." *Sociological Quarterly* 32 (1991): 302.
- ⁸¹ Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire," 9-12.
- ⁸² Schudson, "Dynamics of Distortion in Collective Memory," 348.
- ⁸³ Narrative analysis seeks to understand common themes and structure of text in journalism while discourse analysis situates the text's word choice in relation to ideology, reflecting the cultural and political contexts in which it originated. Both methods have been used for analyzing journalistic content, often in

media history. See Hume and Roessner, “Surviving Sherman’s March”; Lori Amber Roessner, “Constructing Monuments to the Memory of Ida B. Wells-Barnett,” In *Political Pioneer of the Press: Ida B. Wells-Barnett and Her Transnational Crusade for Social Justice*, ed. Lori Amber Roessner and Jodi Rightler-McDaniels (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2018), 107-127; S. Elizabeth Bird and Robert W. Dardenne, “Myth, Chronicle and Storytelling: Exploring the Narrative Qualities of News,” In *Social Meanings of News*, ed. D. Berkowitz (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1997), 333-350; Roger Fowler, *Language in the News: Discourse and Ideology in the Press* (New York: Routledge, 1991).

⁸⁴ Roessner, “Constructing Monuments,” 118.

⁸⁵ For prior example of similar study, see Hume and Roessner, “Surviving Sherman’s March,” 123.

⁸⁶ According to N.W. Ayer & Son’s American newspaper annual from 1890, circulations for the papers in this study ranged as follows: *New York Times*, 50,000; *Chicago Tribune*, 75,729; *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, 125,000; *Atlanta Constitution*, 143,923; *Washington Post*, 19,900; *New York Age*, 4,300. This annual recorded no circulation numbers for the *Alexandria Gazette* in 1890. Circulations in 1923: *New York Times*, 542,039; *Chicago Tribune*, 807,945; *Atlanta Constitution*, 115,145; *Washington Post*, 81,612; *New York Age*, 25,000. The *Chicago Inter-Ocean* ceased publication in 1914. *N.W. Ayer and Son’s American Newspaper Annual and Directory*. Philadelphia: N.W. Ayer and Sons, 1880-1909; *N.W. Ayer and Son’s American Newspaper Annual and Directory*. Philadelphia: N.W. Ayer and Sons, 1910-1923.

⁸⁷ Hieke Hulstra and Bram Mellink, “Phrasing History: Selecting Sources in Digital Repositories,” *Historical Methods: A Journal of Qualitative and Interdisciplinary History* 49, no. 4 (2016): 220-229. See also Melissa Greene-Blye, “Great Men, Savages, and the End of the Indian Problem,” *Journalism History* 46, no. 1 (2020): 32-49.

⁸⁸ These numbers owe in part to the fact articles from the *Alexandria Gazette* are not available for 1923 and 1924, while articles for the *New York Age* are not available for 1895. However, the significant disparity signals a difference not owing to archival access, rather a shift in remembrance and the need for remembrance.

⁸⁹ This study acknowledges race as a social construction; human beings constitute their social world through communication, using stocks of cultural knowledge and experience within situated groups to form narrative frames of understanding. See Thomas R. Lindlof and Bryan C. Taylor, *Qualitative Communication Research Methods* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2019), 63-64.

⁹⁰ See Cary D. Wintz and Paul Finkelman, *Encyclopedia of the Harlem Renaissance: K-Y*, (New York: Taylor & Francis, 2004), 901.

⁹¹ See “Alexandria Gazette, 1834-1974.” *Chronicling America*. Library of Congress. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn8502>

⁹² See “Newspapers.” *Encyclopedia of Chicago*. Chicago Historical Society, 2005.

www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/889.html; Willis J. Abbot. “Chicago Newspapers and Their Makers.” *Review of Reviews* 11 (1895): 646-655; and Rufus Blanchard, *Discovery and Conquests of the Northwest, with the History of Chicago, Vol. 2*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1900), 239-240.

⁹³ His name and likeness, like those of Confederate soldiers and military figureheads, remain on statues, schools, and other public facilities. In February 2020, prior summer protests against Confederate and white supremacist monuments and namesakes, the Atlanta community debated the name of Henry W. Grady High School. Grady’s legacy also came under fire in June 2020 at the University of Georgia after a group of alumni commenced efforts to remove his name from the Grady College of Journalism & Mass Communication. See Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy*. (Piscataway, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1944), 1354; Raisa Habersham, “Grady High School students call for school name change.” *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*. Cox Enterprises, February 10, 2020; and Maureen Downey, “Opinion: ‘We Are Grady’ But who was Henry Grady?” *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*. Cox Enterprises, July 6, 2020

⁹⁴ Grady, *The New South and Other Addresses*, 34.

⁹⁵ Kathy Roberts Forde, “An editor and his newspaper helped build white supremacy in Georgia,” *The Conversation*, February 15, 2019. <https://theconversation.com/an-editor-and-his-newspaper-helped-build-white-supremacy-in-georgia-111030> (accessed August 4, 2020)

⁹⁶ “Was Washington Wrong,” *New York Age*, December 3, 1921, 4.

⁹⁷ As media scholar Susan J. Douglas notes, media historians must often create archives of their own for studies examining trends and culture, broadly. Archive materials chosen, in this case newspaper articles, must be relevant to salient events and turning points. This study includes multiple newspapers guided by criteria of relevance outlined in the aforementioned literature. As Douglas notes, no archive can be

complete, for some materials do not presently exist or have not existed in an accessible form. In this study, articles from the *Alexandria Gazette* are not available for 1923 and 1924, while articles for the *New York Age* are not available for 1895. See Susan J. Douglas. "Writing From the Archive: Creating Your Own." *The Communication Review* 13 no. 1 (2010): 3.

⁹⁸ See Hume and Roessner, "Surviving Sherman's March," 119-137; Roessner, "Constructing Monuments," 107-127; S. Elizabeth Bird and Robert W. Dardenne, "Myth, Chronicle and Storytelling: Exploring the Narrative Qualities of News," 333-350; Roger Fowler, *Language in the News: Discourse and Ideology in the Press*.

⁹⁹ Norman Denzin and Yvonna Lincoln, ed., *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2011), 344-345. See also Norman Fairclough, *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language* (London, UK: Routledge, 1995).

¹⁰⁰ The call for sculptor submissions first appeared in *Courrier de l'Art*, a weekly newspaper, in September 1884 before reaching the mainstream French press. Mercié's proposal in the Baroque tradition won; however, the ladies of the Lee Monument Association and Ladies' Memorial Association proposed Mercié make the figure less ornate—simple and Southern—reflective of a man of the people. Mercié, trained at Ecole des Beaux-Arts, became one of the most notable French sculptors in the latter half of the nineteenth century. See Clément Thiery, "The French Origin of Robert E. Lee's Statue in Virginia," *France-Amérique*, France-Amérique, LLC. June 25, 2020. <https://france-amerique.com/en/the-french-origin-of-robert-e-lees-statue-in-virginia/>

¹⁰¹ "Three Notable Monuments. The One to Washington that is to Ornament Fairmount Park, Philadelphia. The Equestrian Statue of General Robert E. Lee for Richmond. The Late Theodore Swift Woolsey, of the Yale University. Sensations in Bronze," *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, March 30, 1890, 17.

¹⁰² "Virginia News," *Alexandria Gazette*, March 20, 1890, 2.

¹⁰³ "The Lee Monument. The Defective Pedestal to be Replaced – Sculptor Mercie Satisfied," *Washington Post* March 12, 1890, 1.

¹⁰⁴ "Lee in Bronze. The State of Virginia Accepts the Monument," *Atlanta Constitution*, March 14, 1890, 1; "Gen. Lee's Statue," *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, March 29, 1890, 1.

¹⁰⁵ "The Lee Statue," *Alexandria Gazette*, May 10, 1890, 2.

¹⁰⁶ The *Washington Post* reported the gray uniform of the Confederate army had been modeled after that of the Seventh New York Regiment. The regiment had come to Richmond in 1859 as an escort to the remains of President James Monroe. Monroe had originally been buried in New York, but his remains were moved to Hollywood Cemetery in Virginia. As the military organizations of Virginia had no regulation uniform, the First Virginia Infantry adopted a fully gray uniform using the memory of the Seventh as a model. Confederate uniforms were then derived from the First Virginia Infantry, an indirect result of the Seventh's visit. See "The Origin of the Gray," *Washington Post*, April 16, 1890, 1.

¹⁰⁷ "The Lee Statue. Will The Seventh Regiment Attend the Unveiling?" *New York Times*, April 10, 1890, 1.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁰ "Invited to Honor Lee," *Washington Post*, April 9, 1890, 2.

¹¹¹ "The Seventh's Invitation. The Lee Monument Committee Rises to Explain," *New York Times*, April 15, 1890, 1; "The Lee Statue. Will The Seventh Regiment Attend."

¹¹² "The Seventh's Invitation. The Lee Monument Committee Rises to Explain," 1.

¹¹³ "Still Trembling at the Rebel Yell," *Alexandria Gazette*, April 14, 1890, 1.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶ "From Washington," *Alexandria Gazette*, May 26, 1890, 2.

¹¹⁷ "A Confederate Holiday," *Atlanta Constitution*, May 12, 1890, 4.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ "Spoken Like a Lee," *Atlanta Constitution*, May 20, 1890, 4.

¹²⁰ "A Letter from Mrs. Davis In Reply to an Invitation to Attend the Unveiling of the Lee Statue," *Atlanta Constitution*, May 20, 1890, 1. Note: At the unveiling, Governor McKinney said Varina Davis "suffered as none had suffered since Gethsemane" following the death of Jefferson Davis. Rhetoric promoted Davis to a martyr for the Lost Cause, a dead figure with thousands of disciples at Richmond. See "The Veil Is Removed," *Washington Post*, May 30, 1890, 1-2.

- ¹²¹ “Northern School-Books. An Entire Class in a Richmond School Never Heard of Jefferson Davis,” *Atlanta Constitution*, May 26, 1890, 3.
- ¹²² F.D. Mussey, “General Lee in Bronze,” *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, May 30, 1890, 3.
- ¹²³ “A Confederate Holiday.” 4.
- ¹²⁴ “Lee In Bronze. The State of Virginia Accepts the Monument,” *Atlanta Constitution*, March 14, 1890, 1; “The Lee Monument. The Defective Pedestal.”
- ¹²⁵ Editorial Article 4 No title, *New York Times*, May 30, 1890, 4.
- ¹²⁶ “Only one Flag,” *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, May 27, 1890, 4.
- ¹²⁷ No title, editorial, *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, May 22, 1890, 4.
- ¹²⁸ “The Great Lee in Living Bronze: Ceremonies at the Unveiling in Richmond,” *Atlanta Constitution*, May 29, 1890, 1.
- ¹²⁹ *Ibid.*
- ¹³⁰ “In Honor of Gen. Lee,” *Chicago Tribune*, May 30, 1890, 1.
- ¹³¹ “The Lee Statue Unveiled: Thousands of Veterans Honor His Memory,” *New York Times*, May 29, 1890, 1.
- ¹³² On January 9, 1861, Mississippi adopted an Ordinance of Secession and raised a large blue flag with a single white star over the capitol building in Jackson. The “Bonnie Blue” flag, as it was known, had previously been used in 1810 in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, after disputes about the territory’s sovereignty led citizens of what was then known as West Florida to declare their own republic. Quarrels between French and Spanish ownership of Louisiana land on either side of the Mississippi River had been inherited by the U.S. upon acquisition. The independent spirit of West Floridians who sought sovereignty remained in the deep South, and the flag became an emblem of rebellion, thanks in large part to a song by actor Harry Macarthy. “The Bonnie Blue Flag” became one of the most popular songs of the Confederacy aside from “Dixie.” See William S. Powell, “Bonnie Blue Flag,” *Encyclopedia of North Carolina* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2006); Mussey, “General Lee in Bronze.”
- ¹³³ *Ibid.*
- ¹³⁴ *Ibid.*
- ¹³⁵ Column 1, *Alexandria Gazette*, May 30, 1890, 2.
- ¹³⁶ *Ibid.*
- ¹³⁷ The *Tribune* reported four ex-Confederate men placed the flag in the hands of the Washington statue, but other papers differed in their accounts. *The New York Times*, for example, said a “venturesome boy” climbed up in an act of daring, climbing up nearly seventy-five feet to place the flag in the “hands of the Father of His Country.” Meanwhile, the *Alexandria Gazette* reported a “party of enthusiastic Confederates” placed the flag and scattered flowers around the Washington likeness. Each paper, striving to craft an event story, created a narrative arc embellished to fit the trend of drama leaning toward Yellow Journalism, capitalizing on poignant images like that of the Washington statute. Fact stood subordinate to story. See, “In Honor of Gen. Lee”; “The Lee Statue Unveiled”; “Echoes from Richmond,” *Alexandria Gazette*, May 30, 1890, 2.
- ¹³⁸ “Robert E. Lee. The Men Who Followed Him to Do Him Honor. Crowds Thronging to Richmond/To Witness the Unveiling of a Monument to One of the Greatest Captains in the World’s History,” *Atlanta Constitution*, May 27, 1890, 1.
- ¹³⁹ General Jubal Anderson Early, who served under Robert E. Lee, dedicated postwar life to defending the South’s military legitimacy. As historian Gary W. Gallagher noted, Early took “passionate interest in how the future would judge the Confederacy” and wrote memoirs of his wartime experience to legitimize the military prowess and heroism of an army outnumbered and out-machined. Early sought to legitimize the Confederate military record while maligning northern “folly” in “meddling” in southern slavery practices and the South’s constitutional rights. Early remained critical of Southerners who reconciled quickly with the North and promoted Lee as the war’s greatest hero. See Gary W. Gallagher, *Jubal A. Early, the Lost Cause, and Civil War History: A Persistent Legacy* (Milwaukee, WI: Marquette University Press, 1995).
- ¹⁴⁰ “Virginia News,” *Alexandria Gazette*, May 31, 1890, 2; “The Oration: An Eloquent Effort Befitting the Great Demonstration,” *Washington Post*, May 30, 1890, 1-2.
- ¹⁴¹ No title, *Alexandria Gazette*, May 30, 1890, 2.
- ¹⁴² “Southerners Revere Their Flag, but Are True to the Other Banner,” *Washington Post*, June 2, 1890, 7.
- ¹⁴³ “The Lee monument celebration,” *Chicago Tribune*, May 31, 1890, 4.
- ¹⁴⁴ “...Rebellions Delirious Demonstration at Richmond Justly Rebuked,” *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, May 31, 1890, 3.

- ¹⁴⁵ “The Lee Monument,” *New York Times*, March 4, 1890, 2.
- ¹⁴⁶ Ibid.
- ¹⁴⁷ “An Incident of the Lee Monument Unveiling,” *New York Age*, June 7, 1890, 2.
- ¹⁴⁸ “Robert E. Lee,” *New York Age*, May 31, 1890, 2.
- ¹⁴⁹ *Cincinnati Commercial Gazette* quoted in “Robert E. Lee.”
- ¹⁵⁰ “Rather Mixed,” *Atlanta Constitution*, May 31, 1890, 4.
- ¹⁵¹ “Robert E. Lee.”
- ¹⁵² “The Lee Statue Unveiled.”
- ¹⁵³ Ibid.
- ¹⁵⁴ Ibid.
- ¹⁵⁵ The *Chicago Tribune* later quoted Maj. Horace Lacy as saying Early was a “notorious practical miscegenationist” who emphasized his “devotion to the purity of the Anglo-Saxon and the supremacy of the white race by refusing to enter Virginia’s legislative halls as long as negro” could serve as a member. See “Sharp Words Between Fire-Eaters,” *Chicago Tribune*, July 18, 1890, 4.
- ¹⁵⁶ “An Incident of the Lee Monument Unveiling.”
- ¹⁵⁷ Ibid.
- ¹⁵⁸ Ibid.
- ¹⁵⁹ “Speaking of the Lee monument,” *New York Age*, June 14, 1890, 2.
- ¹⁶⁰ “Sham Battle and Fireworks: Military and Civil Festivities with Which the Day Closed,” *Washington Post*, May 29, 1890, 2.
- ¹⁶¹ “Southerners Revere Their Flag.”
- ¹⁶² “At Washington,” *Alexandria Gazette*, May 31, 1890, 2.
- ¹⁶³ Ibid.; “Memorial Day at Washington,” *Chicago Tribune*, May 31, 1890, 5.
- ¹⁶⁴ “The Blue and the Gray,” *Alexandria Gazette*, June 2, 1890, 1.
- ¹⁶⁵ “At Washington.”
- ¹⁶⁶ “The New North,” *Atlanta Constitution*, June 2, 4.
- ¹⁶⁷ No headline, *Alexandria Gazette*, May 6, 1890, 2.
- ¹⁶⁸ Ibid.
- ¹⁶⁹ “Southerners Revere Their Flag.”
- ¹⁷⁰ Manuscripts & Folklife Archives, “Underwood Collection (MSS 58)” *MSS Finding Aids* (Bowling Green, KY: Western Kentucky University, 2011).
- ¹⁷¹ “The South’s Dead. The Confederate Monument at Chicago to be Dedicated May 30,” *Atlanta Constitution*, March 17, 1895, 9.
- ¹⁷² According to the *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, Gordon “worked assiduously to undermine Reconstruction and became one of the leading proponents of both the New South creed and the cult of the Lost Cause.” He espoused the vision of Henry W. Grady in regard to the New South, earning the Constitution’s endorsement for governor. See W. Todd Groce, “John B. Gordon (1832-1904).” *New Georgia Encyclopedia*. Georgia Historical Society, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/government-politics/john-b-gordon-1832-1904>. (Accessed August 30, 2020); The *Chicago Tribune*, in its extensive coverage on May 31, noted permission had been obtained from the Secretary of War during President Arthur’s administration to construct the “good work.” The Secretary of War at that time was Robert Todd Lincoln, Abraham Lincoln’s only son to live to adulthood, who served in the Union Army and attended law school in Chicago. See “Ends All Ill Will,” *Chicago Tribune*, May 31, 1895, 9.
- ¹⁷³ “Confederate Monument Dedication,” *New York Times*, March 22, 1895, 10.
- ¹⁷⁴ “Sons of Veterans Denounce Confederates,” *Chicago Tribune*, May 15, 1895, 3.
- ¹⁷⁵ “Gen. Underwood works hard to make the dedication ceremonies a success,” *Chicago Tribune*, May 4, 1895, 4.
- ¹⁷⁶ No title. *Alexandria Gazette*, May 4, 1895, 2.
- ¹⁷⁷ “Confederate Celebration at Chicago,” *Washington Post*, May 4, 1895, 6.
- ¹⁷⁸ “The Chicago Monument. Gen. Underwood, an ex-Confederate, Answers Some Criticisms,” *Washington Post*, May 9, 1895, 7.
- ¹⁷⁹ Ibid.
- ¹⁸⁰ “Beautiful Flowers Atlanta’s Offering to the Confederate Dead Goes to Chicago,” *Atlanta Constitution*, May 27, 1895, 5.

- ¹⁸¹ “They Wore the Gray,” *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, April 1, 1895, 7; “Guns Now Are Mute,” *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, May 31, 1895, 1.
- ¹⁸² *Ibid.*
- ¹⁸³ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁸⁴ “Honor Their Dead,” *Chicago Tribune*, May 26, 1895, 33-34.
- ¹⁸⁵ “That Confederate Monument,” *Chicago Tribune*, May 12, 1895, 12.
- ¹⁸⁶ In 1890, the *Chicago Tribune* stood as the ninth-most circulated paper in the United States according to *Ayer’s Newspaper Annual*. Its circulation numbered around 110,000. See Hazel Dicken-Garcia, “Changes in News During the Nineteenth Century,” In *The American Journalism History Reader*, ed. Bonnie Brennen and Hanno Hardt, (New York: Taylor & Francis, 2011), 254.
- ¹⁸⁷ “Vets’ In The Pews. Blue And Gray Listen to Memorial Day Services,” *Chicago Tribune*, May 27, 1895, 3.
- ¹⁸⁸ “Blue and Gray Unite,” *Washington Post*, August 1, 1895, 2.
- ¹⁸⁹ “Chicago’s Troops, The First Regiment, Numbering 1000 Men, Coming to Atlanta,” *Atlanta Constitution*, July 14, 1895, 8.
- ¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁹² “To Aid In Honoring Confederate Dead,” *New York Times*, May 8 1895, 1.
- ¹⁹³ “The Confederate Monument in Chicago,” *Alexandria Gazette*, May 30, 1895, 2. Note: In day-of coverage, the *Gazette* reported “Army officers in full uniform, Grand Army men wearing the old volunteer uniform of 1861, members of the State militia and ex-Confederates decked with the badges of the various camps to which they belonged gathered in groups to talk over the changed conditions since the close of the war” among the “men whose names were historic,” not making any distinctions between the divisions of the First and the divisions who had actually fought in the Civil War (though some members of the First had served in the Union army). By omitting the functions of the First, coverage insinuates the “throngs” at Oakwoods were equally numerous in showing of Union and Confederates, though the latter sent more officers as detailed in the program of the day. See “To-Day’s Telegraphic News. Memorial Day at Chicago,” *Alexandria Gazette*, May 30, 1895, 2.
- ¹⁹⁴ “Bid Guests Good-By,” *Chicago Tribune*, May 31, 1895, 2; Coverage noted “the greatest curiosity was exhibited in regard to the most prominent Confederates,” and the crowds stood grateful to “Every one who could point them out,” thankful for the information about the near mythic figures. See “Ends All Ill Will,” *Chicago Tribune* May 31, 1895, 9.
- ¹⁹⁵ Walter Q. Gresham, a Union officer turned U.S. Circuit Court judge and Secretary of the Treasury under Chester Arthur, joined the cabinet of Grover Cleveland as Secretary of State. He notably switched from the Republican Party to the Democratic Party in 1892, earning respect of ex-Confederates like Wade Hampton who toasted him at Chicago during the reunion. Gresham worked to preserve battlefields like Antietam as national landmarks. He died two days before the Chicago monument unveiling and was placed in a receiving vault the very afternoon of its dedication in Oakwoods. See “Biographies of the Secretaries of State: Walter Quintin Gresham (1832–1895),” Office of the Historian. United States of America Department of State, <https://history.state.gov/departmenthistory/people/gresham-walter-quintin>. Accessed July 2, 2020; “The Confederate Monument in Chicago.”
- ¹⁹⁶ “Ends All Ill Will,” *Chicago Tribune*, May 31, 1895, 9.
- ¹⁹⁷ “With Military Honors,” *New York Times*, May 31, 1895, 4.
- ¹⁹⁸ “Honors to the Brave. Guests From The South Receive A Hearty Welcome in Chicago,” *Chicago Tribune*, May 30, 1895, 2. Note: Terrell’s son, Robert Terrell, graduated from Harvard University in 1884 and subsequently studied law at Howard University. He later served under presidents William Howard Taft, Theodore Roosevelt, and Woodrow Wilson as the first Black municipal court judge in the District of Columbia. See Robert H. Terrell, *Robert H. Terrell papers*. Manuscript/Mixed Material. Library of Congress, <https://lccn.loc.gov/mm76042556>.
- ¹⁹⁹ “A Monument of Peace,” *Atlanta Constitution*, June 1, 1895, 6.
- ²⁰⁰ *Chicago Inter-Ocean* quoted in “Chicago’s Confederate Monument,” *Atlanta Constitution*, May 30, 1895, 6.
- ²⁰¹ “Chicago’s Confederate Monument.”
- ²⁰² “War Principles Not Obscured,” *Chicago Tribune*, June 3, 1895, 9.
- ²⁰³ “Blue and Gray Unite.”

²⁰⁴ At the banquet held in Chicago the night before the monument dedication at Oakwoods, Fitzhugh Lee stated a “great thing” had come to pass as veterans of “the greatest civil war the world has ever seen” gathered in the “city where Presidents” were made. He said by the defeated traveling to the “land of the victor, into the ranks of their bravest foes, bearing flowers for the graves of the conquered dead,” the pilgrims and those who invited them had the audacity to achieve what no nation in the world might: reconciliation. Lee’s words echoed in the press as common valor became a thread to legitimize the Civil War in American memory, one stemming from a common heritage and fraternal bond strong enough to withstand war—one that would lead to economic progress. See “Banquet Makes a Hit,” *Chicago Tribune*, May 30, 1895, 2.

²⁰⁵ “Chicago’s Troops, The First Regiment, Numbering 1000 Men, Coming to Atlanta,” *Atlanta Constitution*, July 14, 1895, 8.

²⁰⁶ “Chicago Day at Atlanta’s Big Show,” *The New York Times*, July 4, 1895, 2.

²⁰⁷ Dissenters were also termed “treacherous wolves, slanderers, malefactors, blasphemers, and calumniators” in coverage, villainizing voices that challenged the reconciliation campaign. “The Confederate Monument in Chicago”; No title, *Alexandria Gazette*, May 31, 1895, 2.

²⁰⁸ “That Confederate Monument Question,” *New York Times*, May 4, 1895, 1; “The Blue and the Gray,” *Atlanta Constitution*, May 15, 1895, 1.

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

²¹⁰ “Thayer Not In Favor, His Confederate Monument Epistle is Uncalled For,” *Chicago Tribune*, May 4, 1895, 4.

²¹¹ “The Chicago monument,” *Washington Post*, May 9, 1895, 7.

²¹² “Wiping Out Sectionalism,” *Atlanta Constitution*, May 23, 1895, 6; “The Blue and the Gray,” *New York Times*, May 13, 1895, 4.

²¹³ “Hall of Fame Nominations Are Already Being Made,” *Boston Globe*, February 25, 1923, 41. New York University received a donation of \$250,000 philanthropist Helen Gould Shepard, daughter of railroad magnate and Tammany Hall backer Jason Gould, to construct the hall.

²¹⁴ Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 174.

²¹⁵ Ibid.

²¹⁶ Ibid, 175.

²¹⁷ Ibid.

²¹⁸ Cathy Covert, “A View of the Press in the Twenties,” *Journalism History*, 2 no. 3 (1975): 67.

²¹⁹ Ronald Rodgers, “The Social Awakening and the News: A Progressive Era Movement’s Influence on Journalism and Journalists’ Conceptions of Their Roles,” *Journalism History*, 46 no. 2, (2020): 87.

²²⁰ Andrew Porwancher, “Objectivity’s Prophet,” *Journalism History*, 36 no. 4, (2011): 186.

²²¹ Rodgers, “The Social Awakening,” 87.

²²² Ibid., “Canons of Journalism,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 109 no. 1 (September 1923): 305-306.

²²³ Covert, “A View of the Press in the Twenties,” 94-95.

²²⁴ Bradford W. Scharlott, “The Hoosier Journalist and the Hooded Order: Indiana Press Reaction To the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s,” *Journalism History*, 15 no. 4 (Winter 1988): 129.

²²⁵ Ibid., “Canons of Journalism,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 109 no. 1 (September 1923): 305-306.

²²⁶ Bonnie Brennen and Hanno Hardt, “Introduction to Part Four,” in *The American Journalism History Reader*, ed. Bonnie Brennen and Hanno Hardt, (New York: Routledge, 2011), 299-300.

²²⁷ Porwancher, “Objectivity’s Prophet,” 190.

²²⁸ Porwancher, “Objectivity’s Prophet,” 192.

²²⁹ Ibid., 192; Marshall Gramm and Phil Gramm, “The Free Silver Movement in America: A Reinterpretation,” *The Journal of Economic History*, 64 no. 4 (Dec. 2004): 1108-1129.

²³⁰ Ibid., 193.

²³¹ Ibid.

²³² “Cornelius Vanderbilt, Jr., Is Engaged to Wed Sister of Martin W. Littleton,” *New York Times*, Oct. 17, 1919, 1.

²³³ *The Birth of a Nation*, which according to Travis D. Boyce and Winsome M. Chunn illustrated white America’s anxiety “rooted in the fear of Black equality,” became a means for the Ku Klux Klan to recruit members through its fictional account of the Civil War and Reconstruction. The film gained wide popularity in the U.S. mainstream, including endorsement from President Woodrow Wilson who held a

screening at the White House. After defending Griffith and his film, Littleton later represented Harry Ford Sinclair (Sinclair Oil) in the Teapot Dome Scandal proceedings of Warren G. Harding's administration in 1928. See Travis D. Boyce and Winsome M. Chunnu, "Toward a Post-Racial Society, or a 'Rebirth' of a Nation? White Anxiety and Fear of Black Equality in the United States," in *Historicizing Fear: Ignorance, Vilification, and Othering*, ed. Travis D. Boyce and Winsome M. Chunnu, (Louisville, CO: University Press of Colorado, 2019): 122-153.

²³⁴ Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 394-395.

²³⁵ Scharlott, "The Hoosier Journalist," 122-123.

²³⁶ John D. Stevens, "The Black Press Looks at 1920's Journalism," *Journalism History* 7 no. 3-4 (1980): 112.

²³⁷ "Busts are Unveiled in Hall of Fame," *New York Times*, May 23, 1923, 8.

²³⁸ Ibid.

²³⁹ "To Unveil 7 Busts in Hall of Fame," *New York Times*, May 6, 1923, E7.

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

²⁴¹ Ibid.

²⁴² Ibid.

²⁴³ "World Court Idea Credited To Grant: Praised by Harbord, in Speech at New York University Hall of Fame," *Washington Post*, May 23, 1923, 13.

²⁴⁴ "The League of Nations," *Milestones: 1914-1920*. Office of the Historian: United States Department of State, <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1914-1920/league> (Accessed October 14, 2020).

²⁴⁵ "Jusserand Lauds Ideals of Lincoln," *Atlanta Constitution*, May 23, 1923, 1.

²⁴⁶ Ibid.

²⁴⁷ Nicole Maurantonio, *Confederate Exceptionalism: The Civil War Myth and Memory in the Twenty-First Century*. (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2019): 6.

²⁴⁸ "Better Relations," *New York Age*, July 15, 1922, 4.

²⁴⁹ "Negro Headlines," *New York Age*, July 1, 1922, 4.

²⁵⁰ Stevens, "The Black Press Looks at 1920's Journalism," 111.

²⁵¹ Ibid, 109-113.

²⁵² "South Carolina to Pay Pensions to Negroes," *New York Age*, March 17, 1923, 1.

²⁵³ Ibid., "Will Pension Old Slaves, South Carolina Rewards Negroes Faithful to Masters in Civil War," *New York Times*, March 8, 1923, 10.

²⁵⁴ No headline, *Washington Post*, May 18, 1924, 1.

²⁵⁵ "Virginia Veterans will pay tribute to Gen. Lee today," *Washington Post*, May 21, 1924, 3.

²⁵⁶ "Statue of Gen. Lee Unveiled," *Washington Post*, May 22, 1924, 3.

²⁵⁷ J. William Jones, "Greater in Peace than in War," *Atlanta Constitution*, May 30, 1890, 1.

²⁵⁸ Paul Goodloe McIntire, a Charlottesville native, attended the University of Virginia for one session before moving to New York where he worked as a stockbroker, investor, and philanthropist. McIntire served on the Chicago and New York Stock Exchanges. He donated frequently to the university and the McIntire School of Commerce bears his name. He gifted the statue to the city of Charlottesville, and university president Edwin A. Alderman accepted on behalf of its citizens.

²⁵⁹ "Local Pastor Chief Speaker at Reunion," *Atlanta Constitution*, May 22, 1924, 4.

²⁶⁰ Ibid.

²⁶¹ Ibid.

²⁶² Jones, "Greater in Peace," 1.

²⁶³ "Statue of Gen. Lee Unveiled," 3.

²⁶⁴ Ibid.

²⁶⁵ "Clarendon Women Attend Unveiling of Lee Statue in Charlottesville," *Washington Post*, May 25, 1924, 3.

²⁶⁶ "Veterans Ask Respect For Memory of Davis," *Washington Post*, May 23, 1924, 9.

²⁶⁷ Ibid.

²⁶⁸ Ibid., "G.A.R. Makes a Protest. Objection Is Raised to Coins to Commemorate the 'Lost Cause,'" *New York Times*, June 19, 1924, 20.

²⁶⁹ "Better Relations," 4.

²⁷⁰ "Nation United Over Graves of Gray and Blue," *Chicago Tribune*, May 26, 1924, 3.

²⁷¹ Ibid.

²⁷² Ibid.

- ²⁷³ Ibid.
- ²⁷⁴ “Unveiled in the Presence of Veterans of His Armies: Statue of General Lee,” *New York Times*, June 1, 1924, RP 2.
- ²⁷⁵ “Tribute From A Real Yankee,” *New York Times*, June 1, 1924, RP 2.
- ²⁷⁶ “They Were Saved By Slavery,” *New York Times*, June 9, 1924, 16.
- ²⁷⁷ “Solving A Southern Problem,” *New York Times*, June 15, 1924, E4.
- ²⁷⁸ “Perpetuating Confederate Idols,” *New York Times*, June 16, 1924, 14.
- ²⁷⁹ Ibid.
- ²⁸⁰ “G.A.R. Makes a Protest. Objection Is Raised to Coins to Commemorate the ‘Lost Cause,’” *New York Times*, June 19, 1924, 20.
- ²⁸¹ Ibid.
- ²⁸² “Lee’s View on Secession,” *New York Times*, June 19, 1924, 20.
- ²⁸³ “Lee’s View on Secession. It is Affirmed He Did Not Believe it Right, but Stood By Virginia,” *New York Times*, June 30, 1924, 14.
- ²⁸⁴ Ibid.
- ²⁸⁵ On March 17, 1924, the U.S. Congress enacted legislation to allow the Director of the Mint to issue 5,000,000 memorial silver half dollar pieces to be turned over to the Stone Mountain Confederate Memorial Association in Atlanta. The profits from the coins’ sale would be used to complete the carving of Jefferson Davis, Robert E. Lee, and Stonewall Jackson. See “G.A.R. Makes a Protest,” 20.
- ²⁸⁶ “The Republican Default,” *New York Age*, October 11, 1924, 4.
- ²⁸⁷ Ibid.
- ²⁸⁸ Hollander and Sandweiss, “Princeton and Slavery: Holding the Center,” 4-18.
- ²⁸⁹ Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 76, 91.
- ²⁹⁰ “A Confederate Holiday,” 4.
- ²⁹¹ Lule, *Daily News, Eternal Stories*, 29.
- ²⁹² “Chicago’s Confederate Monument.”
- ²⁹³ “Virginia Veterans will pay tribute to Gen. Lee today,”³; “Nation United Over Graves of Gray and Blue,” 3.
- ²⁹⁴ Column 1, 2.
- ²⁹⁵ Lule, *Daily News, Eternal Stories*, 22.
- ²⁹⁶ Edy, “Journalistic Uses of Collective Memory,” 75.
- ²⁹⁷ “Robert E. Lee,” 2.
- ²⁹⁸ See Levinas, *Le Temps et l’Autre [Time and the Other]* and Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, 8.
- ²⁹⁹ “An Incident of the Lee Monument Unveiling.”
- ³⁰⁰ Hillyer, “Relics of Reconciliation,” 45; “Chicago’s Troops, The First Regiment, Numbering 1000 Men, Coming to Atlanta,” 8.
- ³⁰¹ Porwancher, “Objectivity’s Prophet,” 190.
- ³⁰² Stevens, “The Black Press,” 109.
- ³⁰³ Ibid, 110.
- ³⁰⁴ *N.W. Ayer and Son’s American Newspaper Annual and Directory*. Philadelphia: N.W. Ayer and Sons, 1910-1923.
- ³⁰⁵ Ibid.
- ³⁰⁶ Stevens, “The Black Press,” 112.
- ³⁰⁷ “Perpetuating Confederate Idols,” 14.
- ³⁰⁸ “A Confederate Holiday,” 4; “The New North,” 4; “From Washington,” 2.
- ³⁰⁹ “Statue of Gen. Lee Unveiled,” 3.
- ³¹⁰ Andrew Baker “American Hero, Confederate Idol.” *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 127 no.1 (2019): 43.
- ³¹¹ Ibid., 44.
- ³¹² Kammen in Hume and Roessner, “Surviving Sherman’s March,” 124.
- ³¹³ Ibid, 42-68.
- ³¹⁴ Ibid.
- ³¹⁵ Robert E. Bonner, “Flag Culture and the Consolidation of Confederation Nationalism.” *Journal of Southern History* 68 no.2 (2002): 293-332
- ³¹⁶ David Von Drehle, “Debating the Confederate Flag.” *Time*. TIME USA, June 25, 2015. <https://www.time.com/3935256/debating-the-confederate-flag/>

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- ³¹⁸ *Ibid.*, xx.
- ³¹⁹ The Editors of LIFE, *Gone With the Wind: The Great American Movie 75 Years Later* (Chicago: TI Inc. Books, 2014): 108.
- ³²⁰ *Ibid.*, 98, 100.
- ³²¹ *Ibid.*, 104.
- ³²² Jennifer Schuessler, “The Long Battle Over ‘Gone With the Wind.’” *New York Times*, June 15, 2020. <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/14/movies/gone-with-the-wind-battle.html>
- ³²³ Seth Abramovitch, “Oscar’s First Black Winner Accepted Her Honor in a Segregated ‘No Blacks’ Hotel in L.A.” *The Hollywood Reporter*, The Hollywood Reporter, LLC., February 19, 2015. <https://www.hollywoodreporter.com/features/oscars-first-black-winner-accepted-774335>
- ³²⁴ The Editors of LIFE, *Gone With the Wind*, 107.
- ³²⁵ John D. Stevens, “The Black Reaction To *Gone With the Wind*,” *Journal of Popular Film* 2 no. 4 (1973): 366-371; Schuessler, “The Long Battle.”
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- ³²⁷ Watson, “front porch,” 2.
- ³²⁸ *Ibid.*
- ³²⁹ Christopher A. Graham, “Lost Cause Myth,” *The Inclusive Historian’s Handbook*, American Association for State and Local History, May 13, 2020. <https://inclusivehistorian.com/lost-cause-myth/> (Accessed Jan. 18, 2021).
- ³³⁰ *Ibid.*
- ³³¹ *Ibid.*
- ³³² Raymond B. Nixon, *Henry W. Grady: Spokesman of the New South* (New York: A.A. Knopf, 1943): 348. Quoted in E. Merton Coulter, “The Confederate Monument In Athens, Georgia,” *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 40 no. 3 (September 1956): 230-247. Note: Coulter, a professor of History at the University of Georgia, is often noted as a Lost Cause mythologist through scholarship whose positions defended Confederate memory and often included racist slights. See Eric Foner, *Freedom’s Lawmakers: A Directory Of Black Officeholders During Reconstruction* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1996): xii.

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