

commander of the United States garrison in Raleigh, ordered that flags be lowered to half-mast while the ceremony was taking place.⁹⁶

The monument was completed in 1872. The inscription on the monument reads:

IN MEMORY OF
OUR
CONFEDERATE DEAD
ERECTED AD 1870
SLEEP WARRIOR, SLEEP THE STRUGGLE,
THE BATTLE-CRY IS HUSHED
OUR STANDARDS HAVE BEEN LOWERED,
OUR BLOOMING HOPES BEEN CRUSHED.
SLEEP! FOR THY NAME IS CHERISHED
BY THE BRAVES AND THE BEST,
AND SOLDIER'S HEARTS AND WOMAN'S LOVE
ARE WITH THEE IN THY REST.

GEO. M. WHITING⁹⁷

These words are somewhat a departure from the words and ideas presented at the cornerstone ceremony. The inscription implies more of a lament of losing the war rather than the loss of life, which was one of the main themes of the masonic ceremony used to memorialize the dead.

Overall, the themes of this monument include a eulogy to fallen soldiers in their burial space, transmittal of grief from family members of the deceased, the reconciliation of Union and Confederates, along with a little bit of Confederate hero worship. This was

⁹⁶"Memorial Day," *Standard* (Raleigh, NC), May 12, 1870.

⁹⁷"Commemorative Landscapes," *Documenting the American South: University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*, Accessed December 20, 2016, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/comm/land/monument/163/>.

a monument to the dead, but not to the surviving Confederate veterans that fought in the war.

Charlotte 1887

Another monument to the Confederate soldier would not appear in a Piedmont county for another 17 years. Erected by the Women of Charlotte, the granite obelisk was placed among the graves of fallen soldiers in the Elmwood Cemetery, and contained an inscription which read:

TO THE
CONFEDERATE SOLDIERS OF
MECKLENBURG COUNTY
CSA / UDC/ 1861 1865 / CONFEDERATE VETERAN
WE HONOR THEM
AND
REMEMBER THEM
AND
THE UNKNOWN
WHO
REST HERE⁹⁸

The ceremony to dedicate the Charlotte monument was held on July 1, 1887. It began at 4:30 pm with a procession that began at the First Presbyterian church, and was led by "the Hornets Nest Riflemen [and] visiting companies of [the] North Carolina State Guard,"⁹⁹ who were there by order of Col. J.T. Anthony, the commandant of the 4th Regiment of the North Carolina State Guard. In his order, which was published in the

⁹⁸"Commemorative Landscapes," *Documenting the American South: University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/commland/monument/354/>.

⁹⁹"Unveiling of the Confederate Monument," *Charlotte Democrat* (Charlotte, NC), July 1, 1887.

Charlotte Observer, he said about the invitation to attend the ceremony "that no time in the histories of your several companies, have you been called upon to respond to a more patriotic duty than upon this...being only to pay tribute to departed valor, whose deeds this granite will stand to commemorate, and I trust teach the present and future generations to emulate."¹⁰⁰

Followed by the State Guard, the surviving Confederate veterans marched, wearing commemorative medals of mourning upon their left arms. They were led to the ceremony by Major General T.F. Drayton and Brigadier General Rufus Barringer. The Hornet Steam Fire Engine Company, Independent Hook and Ladder Company, and Pioneer Steam Fire Engine Company also participated in the procession, following the veterans to the cemetery. Finally, a carriage carrying the speaker of the day, Senator Zebulon B. Vance (former Colonel in the Confederate army, who also served as Governor of North Carolina during the Civil War), along with members of the Women of Charlotte.¹⁰¹

After arriving at the Elmwood Cemetery, the ceremony began with an invocation prayer by Reverend E.A. Osborne, followed by a reading of a poem written by Mrs. B.L. Dewey, which drew an emotional reaction from those in attendance. Senator Vance was introduced and began his oration. The *Raleigh News and Observer* printed excerpts of his speech, and highlighted points of emphasis. The printed excerpts focus more on contemporary issues of the day, especially North Carolina and other southern states' place in the post-war Union. Vance stated, "[w]hen the great civil war terminated, two

¹⁰⁰"Special Orders No.1," *Charlotte Observer* (Charlotte, NC), June 30, 1887.

¹⁰¹"Attention Firemen!," *Charlotte Observer* (Charlotte, NC), June 30, 1887; "Unveiling of the Confederate Monument," *Charlotte Democrat* (Charlotte, NC), July 1, 1887.

momentous duties devolved upon the defeated party. The first was to submit with dignity to the decree of fate and accept with good faith all the legitimate results which followed; and the second was to preserve our own self respect by maintaining the purity of our motives and the courage and honor of our soldiers, so that our children should in nothing feel ashamed."¹⁰² He claimed that the people of the South had done an acceptable job with this first duty, and believed that their resistance to reconstruction legislation "by peaceable methods to many of the measures of so-called reconstruction was not evidence of an indisposition to accept the legitimate results of the war, but quite the contrary."¹⁰³ Vance iterated that North Carolina and the South did not agree to accept whatever the North desired them to do, but rather accepted the rule of the Constitution. He stated that they had submitted to the authority of the Constitution but were fighting legislation that they interpreted as being unconstitutional. "History will tell future generations that the Southern people, by the dignity, the wisdom and good faith of their course in the hour of defeat, served well themselves and their children, and the cause of constitutional freedom itself."¹⁰⁴

Vance continued by saying the second duty, to preserve their own self-respect, had not been adequately fulfilled. "To preserve our self-respect and secure the respect of our children, it is necessary that there should be permitted no shame cast upon the cause or upon the manly honor of the men and women who participated in that struggle, the living or the dead. Yet both has been done. From the moment when the flaming

¹⁰²"Charlotte Honors Her Dead," *News and Observer* (Raleigh, NC), July 2, 1887.

¹⁰³*Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴*Ibid.*

signals of failure began to flash across the heavens, we have had among us those who from timidity of heart, or baseness of soul, have sought to propitiate the stronger by a repudiation of their own cause, and a consequent imputation upon its defenders.”¹⁰⁵ In this statement, Vance addressed the lingering idea that the men who fought against the Union were traitors against their country. Vance accused those who did this of dishonoring the men, who he termed “the unconscious dead,” unable to defend themselves against these accusations.¹⁰⁶ He believed that it was not fair that the idea of “honoring the soldiers and leaders...will be taken as evidence of our desire to keep alive the issues which led to it, and of the insincerity of our professions of allegiance to the restored Union.”¹⁰⁷ This implies that Vance believed that one could honor the men who gave their lives for their State during this war, while at the same time demonstrate loyalty and service to the Union. It was his belief that it was not treasonous for the people of the South to support the Lost Cause narrative that was being created after the war, and that doing so did not call into question their current loyalty to the United States.

Vance continued by stating that their friends in the Union should not ask the people in the South to place “shameless treachery to our late Confederates,” and told a story about a speech that he had given at an event in Boston, in December 1886.¹⁰⁸ He said that he “vindicated the Southern view, justified our cause, eulogized our leaders and people, placed the blame upon the North, and in all respects talked to that Boston

¹⁰⁵Ibid.

¹⁰⁶Ibid.

¹⁰⁷Ibid.

¹⁰⁸Ibid.

audience pretty much as I do here at home. I was applauded to the echo.”¹⁰⁹ Vance then told his audience that he was approached by Senator Henry Dawes of Massachusetts, who thanked Vance for his speech and told him, “our people have no more use for a sneak than yours.”¹¹⁰ This statement should be recognized as a desire of reconciliation between whites in the north and whites in the south, as an acknowledgment of shared interests between the two people and of maintaining white supremacy within the United States.

Vance concluded his speech by thanking the women who were responsible for the erection of the monument. He also said that he believed that sectional difference was fading away and that in the future there would be a true union between North and South - a union that would allow the people of the South to create this false narrative of southern unity and the intentions of the Confederacy.

Finally, he gave praise to the people of Mecklenburg County. “The hopes of your ancestors have been fully realized. The history of your country has splendidly illustrated the powers and capacities of the great race from which you sprang. Your progress has in all things been of that steady and conservative character which betokens enduring strength and gives promise of continues growth throughout an indefinite future. The increase of your wealth may be due to your industry; the growth of your population may be ascribed to the natural gifts of soil and climate; the rapid and wide-spread [sic] advance of education and learning in your midst may be set down to that spirit of

¹⁰⁹Ibid.

¹¹⁰Ibid.

intelligence which is the heritage of your race. In all these things your progress deserves all praise.”¹¹¹

Analysis of this monument reveals elements that are not present in previous Piedmont monuments. Similar to the previous monuments dedicated nearly two decades before, this monument was placed in a space of death, where the remains of the men the monument was meant to memorialize rested. However, according to the surviving accounts of what took place in this ceremony, the focus of this ceremony was not to simply eulogize the men who paid the ultimate price for their state, but more focused on justifying the reasons that they were sent to fight against the Union states. Vance took considerable time justifying the reasons that North Carolina left the Union and joined the Confederacy, which ultimately led to the deaths of the men laid to rest in the Elmwood Cemetery. He also spent great energy arguing and providing justification that these men should not be shamed but honored for their service to a legitimate cause. Before the war, Vance had considered himself a unionist but did not contest the legality of the secession of the southern states. He changed his views on secession after Lincoln’s call for troops and supported North Carolina’s secession from the Union. An analysis of the United States Federal Census reveals that Vance was a man of considerable wealth and the owner of six enslaved people in 1860. It was in his best financial interest to support North Carolina’s membership in the Confederacy, and for that reason, he was most likely a firm believer in the Confederate cause, which was expressed in his speech.

¹¹¹Ibid.

Comments towards the end of this speech also reflect this belief. Vance made pointed references to the "great race" of the people of Mecklenburg County. This can be interpreted as his belief in white supremacy. While he does not state this outright, it makes sense that his mention of race is a veiled insult in response to the growing influence of Republican and African American influence in North Carolina. Vance, a Democrat after the war, was not happy to see African Americans making political gains during the 1880s.

It can be determined through the evidence presented that the Charlotte 1887 monument, while placed in a burial space, was not meant to memorialize solely the fallen Mecklenburg County soldier, but was meant to serve as a monument to the cause of the Confederacy, and the institutions that the Confederacy was meant to protect. In the ceremony, there is no mention of unionism, which Vance played a considerable role in opposing as governor during the war. This could be because Mecklenburg County was heavily in favor of secession in February 1861, with 85% of the votes cast in favor of leaving the United States. It also would make sense that an orator, who was himself a former Confederate officer and the Confederate governor during the war, would promote so many pro-Confederate themes in a county that was so supportive of the Confederate cause. Vance also sought to justify his service to the Confederacy.

Greensboro 1888

The ceremony to dedicate the Confederate Monument erected at Greene Hill Cemetery was part of the first Fireman's Tournament celebration, held between September 26-27, 1888. The tournament, a celebration of the creation of the North Carolina State Fireman's Association that had occurred earlier in September, was the

source of grand excitement throughout Greensboro.¹¹² Advertisements had been printed in the Greensboro newspapers a week in advance to attract large crowds, among the main attractions being "Engine and Bucket contests...Hook [and] Ladder contests...[a] Reel contest...[and] Foot and Bag races..."¹¹³

On the first day of the Fireman's Tournament, there was a ceremony to dedicate a monument for the over 300 unknown Confederate soldiers buried in the cemetery. Many of these soldiers' remains had been resting in hastily dug graves in a field outside of town during the war, which was in proximity to the Methodist Cemetery. The Ladies Memorial Association of Greensboro originally had planned to place the monument in that burial space, but a land dispute forced them to have the remains of the soldiers exhumed and reburied in Greene Hill Cemetery.¹¹⁴ The program began with a prayer from Reverend Jacob Henry Smith, which was reported by the *Daily Evening Patriot* as a "blessing upon the people before him, who were assembled to honor the memory of those brave, true men whose lives had been given nobly to a noble cause. Brief, earnest, touching, it was an eloquent invocation, and received reverently with bowed heads and full hearts."¹¹⁵ The event appeared to have little significance for Rev. Smith, as his diary entry did not provide much insight to the event in which he held an important role. His diary entry for September 26, 1887, reads as follows:

¹¹²Mike Legros, "Firefighter Games a Long Tradition in North Carolina," *Carolina Fire Rescue EMS Journal* (Spring 2012), https://issuu.com/moorecreative/docs/fire_spring_2012?e=1969360/5569217.

¹¹³"The Races," *Evening Patriot* (Greensboro, NC), September 22, 1888.

¹¹⁴"The Confederate Monument," *Greensboro North State* (Greensboro, NC), October 4, 1888.

¹¹⁵"Memorial Services," *Evening Patriot* (Greensboro, NC), September 27, 1888.

"Firemans' Tournament—today & tomorrow. The day is fair—The town crowded—In the afternoon the [illegible] of the Confederate Soldiers in bronze [illegible] the monument was unveiled—I offered a prayer—Mayor Barringer delivered an address—Daisy Caldwell recited some verses [and] a few girls took off the covering [of the monument]—Daisy Caldwell, Retta Leftwich, Miss Dixon & Miss Jones—Prayer meeting a good attendance."¹¹⁶

There is no record of the speech Mayor John Alston Barringer gave to dedicate the monument. In its coverage of the ceremony, *The Daily Evening Patriot* wrote, "After music Mayor J.A. Barringer delivered the address, of which it is not expected of us to give here even a summary. The graceful and impassioned speaker, passing by the political causes which had ushered in the great revolution of more than a quarter of a century ago, touched the hearts and moved the souls of his listeners with the sentiments which had followed the cause with prayers and hallowed it with tears and now cherish in enduring memory of the past and 'its unsheeted dead.'"¹¹⁷ The newspaper article does provide interesting insight. First, the fact that the newspaper was not willing to devote space to covering the speech made by Barringer reveals that they may not have believed that it was newsworthy or were not willing to sacrifice valuable space to cover this event in more detail. The Fireman's Tournament had considerably more coverage, as they felt that posting the results of the tournament games was of higher importance, or held more interest for their subscribers. Second, they noted that Barringer did not speak on any of the issues that led to the war. There are a few factors that may have contributed to this; John Alston Barringer was born on August 30, 1851, which made him not even 10 years old when the events that brought

¹¹⁶"September 26, 1888," in the J. Henry Smith Diary, #1938, Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

¹¹⁷*Ibid.*

North Carolina into the Confederacy occurred. Also, Guilford County was heavily against North Carolina's secession in February 1861, with 87% of the votes cast in opposition to the convention. It is possible that some of the men who were buried in those unknown graves may have been conscripted to fight for a cause which they did not necessarily subscribe to. It is impossible to say whether this was a conscious decision by the mayor to not address these issues and invoke images of Confederate patriotism, but the possibility is there.

The newspaper coverage of the ceremony by *The Daily Evening Patriot* asserted that the men who were memorialized there died for as "a noble cause."¹¹⁸ The editor and owner of the newspaper was Zollicofer Wiley Whitehead, who was a staunch Democrat. Whitehead was not born until 1862, after the events of 1861 which brought the country into the Civil War, and did not have first-hand life experience to determine if the cause was a "noble one."¹¹⁹ These words are probably more of a reflection of his attitudes on the state of North Carolina's contemporary politics or could be attributed to a desire to romanticize the ceremony.

Based on the available evidence, the monument erected in Greene Cemetery was a memorial to the unknown soldiers who died during the Civil War from Guilford County and was not a monument to the Confederate Veteran. Images of Confederate nationalism are present in the poem that was recited by Daisy Caldwell, "The March of the Deathless Dead," written by Father Abraham Joseph Ryan, a Confederate supporter. However, most the verses discuss the death of the Confederate soldier,

¹¹⁸"Memorial Services," *Evening Patriot* (Greensboro, NC), September 27, 1888.

¹¹⁹J. Marshal Bullock, "Whitehead, Zollicofer Wiley" *NCPedia*, Accessed December 29, 2016, <http://www.ncpedia.org/biography/whitehead-zollicofer>

which was probably the reason that it was chosen for the ceremony. As stated previously, Guilford County had been a pocket of Unionism before the war, which could have been a factor in Confederate imagery not being used. It is also important to note that the ceremony was billed as a side attraction, with many of the people in Greensboro interested in the Fireman's Tournament. Simply put, the evidence suggests that the memorial ceremony in Greene Hill was not that big of a deal.

Raleigh 1895

The first and only state funded monument in North Carolina was erected on the Capitol Grounds and dedicated in 1895. The dedication of the monument was two-fold: there was a ceremony for the laying of the cornerstone for the monument on May 22, 1894, and then another ceremony to dedicate the monument after its completion on May 22, 1895. The cornerstone ceremony was preceded by a Grand Confederate Concert the previous day in Raleigh, playing anthems in celebration of the Confederacy. The cornerstone ceremony began with a call to order from the Governor, Elias Carr. Then "Old North State" was sung, followed by an invitational prayer from Reverend James A. Watson. Afterward, another song, "Let us Cross Over the River and Rest Under the Shade of the Trees," was sung by the choir. The orator of the day was Thomas W. Mason, who before the war had been a member of the planter class in Virginia, and owner of 26 enslaved people in 1860.¹²⁰

¹²⁰"Thomas Williams Mason Papers Abstract," in the Thomas Williams Mason Papers #5004, Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; *1860 U.S. Federal Census - Slave Schedules* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2010.

In his lengthy speech, Mason addressed several topics. First, he asked his audience to “consider the memory of her soldiers, those whom she gave to the Confederacy.”¹²¹ He continued by asking the audience to “stand, with hearts aglow, and with uplifted heads, in the presence of our heroic past.”¹²² Referring to the occasion as their “Independence Day,” Mason gave justification for the cause of the memorialization for the fallen Confederate soldier. He claimed that they owed it to history to consecrate their memories into stone and that this action would be supported by Northerners. “[I]f the memory of Grant is sacred; if the name of Lee is our priceless heritage, then have we waited long enough to dedicate this stone to the memory of the North Carolina Confederate soldier.”¹²³

Mason continued his address with a discussion of why the Confederate soldier left his home to join in the fight against the Union states. Mason told his audience that the North Carolina soldier left his farm to defend North Carolina’s sovereignty, “that he loved the Union, but let it be said of him, his proud lineage taught him that his own beloved State and her sister States were sovereigns.”¹²⁴ Mason invoked stories of North Carolinians defending their homes from the British during the American Revolution. “In 1861, as in 1775, his sensitive ear caught the first foot-fall of the foe upon the soil of the State that holds the ashes of Washington. It was enough. The plow stood still in the furrow, the trembling wife held to his breast his first-born, the unuttered good-bye was

¹²¹*Address of Hon. T. W. Mason, Before the Ladies’ Memorial Association, at the Laying of the Corner-Stone Of The Confederate Monument, Raleigh, N.C., May 20. 1895,* <http://www.archive.org/details/addressofhontwmaOOmaso>.

¹²²*Ibid.*

¹²³*Ibid.*

¹²⁴*Ibid.*

said with quivering lips and straining eyes, the door of his home closed behind him, and he went forth to battle...”

In the next part of his speech, Mason expressed feelings of regret that the conflicts between the North and South had resulted in bloodshed. He claimed that they had been one people with many commonalities. “They spoke the same language, they worshiped at the same altars, they had been school-boys [sic] together, they had shouted together in the shock of battle, and together they had filled the world with their victories of peace...”¹²⁵ He noted that each side had a cause that they considered to be just.

After listing and describing events of Confederate heroism and glory on the battlefield, along with North Carolina’s contributions to the Confederate war effort, Mason addressed the question of whether the Confederate soldier died in vain. His answer was no, that the war had taught the nation lessons “that can save the life of our Union.”¹²⁶ He also stated his belief that history would exonerate the Confederate soldier and their leaders, saying “the men of the gray uniform will answer to their names and take their places in the world’s Legion of Honor.”¹²⁷

Analysis of Mason’s speech indicates that his account of why the North Carolina soldier went off to fight for the Confederacy is not supported by historical facts. Mason acknowledged the feelings of unionism present in the state but he implied that these feelings vanished when the conflict began. As stated in the previous chapter, Confederate support was very weak in the Piedmont region. The common Piedmont

¹²⁵Ibid.

¹²⁶Ibid.

¹²⁷Ibid.

man was not very excited to leave home to fight in support of a government that they had not democratically endorsed and that they would not economically benefit from, as evidenced by their low volunteer rates. It would have been more accurate for Mason to say that the soldier left his home to fight for the Confederacy because he was conscripted to do so. Mason's romanticized attitudes stated here the product of his social class and not historical evidence.

After Mason's oratory performance, the contents of the cornerstone box were announced to the crowd. The contents of the box are as follows:¹²⁸

- Roster of NC Troops in the war, published in four volumes by the State
- Sketches of Gen's Branch, Gordon, Hill, Rammer, Grimes, McRae, Pender
- Address by Gen. Scales on the Battle of Fredericksburg
- Address by Col. Waddell on The Confederate Soldier, delivered in New York.
- Address by Senator Vance, before the Andrew Post, Boston, on the Social Condition of the South during the war.
- Account of the Charge at Gettysburg, by S.A. Ashe
- Copy of the Fayetteville Observer published in 1862
- Confederate Testament, Hymn Book, Arithmetic
- Confederate bills, State bills, a Colonial bill
- The Centennial volume of Raleigh
- Map of Wake County
- A North Carolina Almanac for 1894
- Copy of Wilmington Star & Raleigh Papers
- Manuscript copy of Farewell Order of Gen RE Lee
- A small box containing a lock of Gen. Lee's hair with his autograph card, a strand of hair plucked from Gen. Lee's horse, Traveller
- The bullet that killed the horse that Gen Pettigrew when he was captured before Richmond
- Piece of an apple tree from Appomattox
- Button of a coat of a cadet of the Hillsboro Academy killed near the end of the war near Goldsboro
- A button cut from the dress coat of Gen Lee
- An autograph letter from Gen Beauregard
- A Confederate Song Book
- A flower from the bier of four Confederate soldiers buried by Rev. M.A. Curtis and Miss Cameron

¹²⁸"A Historic Day," *News and Observer* (Raleigh, NC), May 22, 1894.

- Last letter written by Lt Thomas Cowan, commanding Co. B, 3rd NC Troops, written on the day he was mortally wounded in the battle of Sharpsburg
- North Carolina Almanac during the war
- Sketch of Gov. Jonathan Worth, Treasurer of the State during the war
- Confederate money
- Confederate flags, of each of the three designs adopted by the Confederate States government, and a battle flag, made by the ladies of the Monumental Association
- Picture of the monument when finished
- Copy of the invitation to attend the laying of the cornerstone
- Souvenir picture and handbook of Lee's monument unveiled at Richmond 1890
- Pay roll of certain regiments
- A bible found at Appomattox about the time the last gun was fired

Interpreting the contents of the cornerstone box, one is left with the impression that this monument is not meant to memorialize the common soldier of North Carolina who was killed during the war, but is rather an example of Confederate hero worship, and a monument to the Confederacy itself, along with the ideals of that Confederacy. Items such as Waddell's speech, the Confederate Testament and Hymn books glorify the cause more than the men who died. Furthermore, the contents of this box suggest that the state was endorsing the Lost Cause narrative.

After a closing prayer and a declaration that the cornerstone had been set, the ceremony concluded with another Confederate celebration; "Dixie," a song considered by some to have been the national anthem of the Confederacy.¹²⁹

A year later, the monument dedication ceremony took place. The speaker on this occasion was Alfred Moore Waddell, who had served in the Third North Carolina Cavalry and earned the rank of Lt. Colonel. He would later become infamous for his role in the 1898 white supremacist coup in Wilmington, NC, which resulted in him being

¹²⁹"Confederate States of America" *National Anthems Info*, Accessed December 30, 2016, <http://www.nationalanthems.info/csa.htm>.

installed as mayor.¹³⁰ Waddell began his speech by insisting that the accounts of the Civil War had been written by Northerners and that it was his duty to share “the plain unvarnished truth concerning the causes of and the responsibility for the war in which the men to whose memory this monument is erected, were sacrificed.”¹³¹ He claimed he did not want to reignite any of the sectional conflicts of the past, because “they are things now buried, it is to be hoped, forever....”¹³² However, he noted that over the past three decades he had witnessed Southerners portrayed as “ignorant barbarous, cruel traitors and rebels, who, without the slightest justification or excuse, sought to destroy the best government under the sun, and deluged a continent in blood,” and that this was continuing to occur “in conversation, in school books, in magazine articles, in public speeches, in public records, and in published histories.”¹³³ Therefore, he concluded it was his responsibility to set the record straight.

Waddell, who was trained as a lawyer according to the 1860 Federal Census, then began to make a legal justification for the South’s secession from the Union. He compared the situation of the South to that of the American Revolution. He claimed that after declaring themselves no longer under British rule, that the colonies entered into an agreement that they were independent and free states. He argued that even after the replacement of the Articles of Confederation with the Constitution, that the United States government was never a “national” government, and therefore the states siding with the

¹³⁰“Alfred M. Waddell Papers Abstract,” in the Alfred M. Waddell Papers, #743, Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

¹³¹*Address at the unveiling of the Confederate monument, at Raleigh, N.C., May 20th, 1895*, <https://archive.org/details/addressatunveili00wadd>.

¹³²*Ibid.*

¹³³*Ibid.*

Confederacy had a legal right to withdraw. He argued that the Constitution was to be the "supreme law of the land, by mutual agreement of the States, but no such grant of power as that of coercing a State was contained in the Constitution," placing blame for the war on the Northern states.¹³⁴ He stated that the conflicts between North and South left the South with two choices: they could either submit to the will of the Northern states, "which destroyed all hope of preserving the equality of the States under the Constitution or to seek peace and safety by withdrawing from the Union."¹³⁵

After giving more examples that he believed established a legal precedent for the South's withdrawal from the Union, he began a discussion on slavery and the history of slavery in the Northern states, claiming that they were just as guilty as the South. "They not only imported negroes, and exported them again, but they sold Indians also, and, worse still, white slaves. Mrs. Earle, a New Englander who wrote a book entitled 'Customs and Fashions in Old New England' says among other things of the same kind: 'I have never seen in any of the Southern newspapers advertisements of negro sales that surpass in heartlessness and viciousness the advertisements of our New England papers of the Eighteenth Century. Negro children were sold by the pound, as other merchandise...'"¹³⁶

Towards the end of his speech, Waddell, after praising the Confederates for their attempt at what he considered to be a peaceful separation, turned his attention to North Carolina's battlefield contributions to the Confederacy. He then concluded by stating

¹³⁴Ibid.

¹³⁵Ibid.

¹³⁶Ibid.

that they had not erected this monument exclusively to the "Confederate Dead of our own State," but to "all who laid down their lives in defense of the rights and liberties of the Southern states and people."¹³⁷

Much of Waddell's speech was concerned with vindicating the South's actions and giving the Confederacy legitimacy. Like the themes presented in the cornerstone ceremony, the evidence suggests that remembering the Confederacy and the cause of the Confederate was of more importance to the people involved in the ceremony than the sacrifices of the common soldier. The common soldier received limited coverage in Waddell's speech; there was a statement that the soldier "had always loved the Union, and would have been ready, as his fathers always were, to give his fortune and his life in its defense against a foreign foe: but he loved his State more, and to her appeal his heart leaped responsive [sic] and his hand grasped the sword."¹³⁸ He characterized the North Carolina soldier as "inflexible, patient, cheerful, self-sacrificing, brave and true," which is an romanticized view that does not encompass the reservations and hesitations of the men from the Piedmont who fought for the Confederacy and especially not the conscripted soldier.¹³⁹

Overall, the evidence presented at both ceremonies associated with this monument reveals that this monument was a monument to the Confederacy and its ideals. This conclusion is supported by the fact that this monument was erected in a public space, rather than a burial space. This action can also be considered an example of the state endorsing the ideals of the Confederacy at the time.

¹³⁷Ibid.

¹³⁸Ibid.

¹³⁹Ibid.

High Point 1899

The monument for Confederate soldiers was dedicated on July 4, 1899, in the Oakwood Cemetery in High Point (JOUAM) by the Junior Order of United American Mechanics. Specific records detailing the exact words used to dedicate this monument have been lost to history, however, according to the *News and Observer*, there were two speakers on this occasion who gave an address to those assembled. F.C. Robbins, who had served as a captain in the Confederate army during the war, gave an address titled, "Dedication of Monument," and Julian Carr delivered an address titled, "The Confederate Soldier and His Monument."¹⁴⁰ Newspapers in several neighboring towns, such as Winston-Salem, printed advertisements, no doubt paid for by the town of High Point to increase tourism, to achieve a large turnout for the dedication of the monument:

The Confederate monument at High Point, recently erected by the Jr. O.U.A.M. to the memory of the Confederate dead buried there, will be unveiled July 4th. Several prominent gentlemen, members of the order and other speakers, will address the people. A grand street parade has been arranged, a couple of brass bands secured and a big time generally is being arranged for. High Point is a very pleasant place to spend the day. Go down and take a day off with our neighbors. You will receive a most cordial welcome.¹⁴¹

According to the *News and Observer*, the weather that day was rainy but did not deter a large crowd from coming to High Point and participating in the day's festivities, with over

¹⁴⁰"Franklin C. Robbins Papers Abstract," in the Franklin C. Robbins Papers #5283, Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, <http://finding-aids.lib.unc.edu/05283/>; "To Unveil Monument" *News and Observer*, (Raleigh, NC), June 25, 1899.

¹⁴¹"The 4th of July at High Point" *Union Republican* (Winston-Salem, NC), June 29, 1899.

800 people in attendance.¹⁴² The speakers were characterized as “all good,” but only Carr’s address was described any further. *The Durham Sun* reported that “General Carr, towards the close of his address, when he referred to the laboring classes, scored the trusts unmercifully.”¹⁴³

No record exists about what exactly Carr said in his speech, but one can gain an idea of what he might have said. In his personal papers at Wilson Library at the University of North Carolina, there is a document containing undated speech notes on trusts. Speaking to an audience that was put together by a fraternal order made up of the working class, Carr may have taken the opportunity to speak on a topic that would appeal to the crowd, not necessarily related to the monument. In his notes, Carr outlined several points that could have been applied to this occasion:

Legitimate trade seeks to obtain an honest competence, but the greatest sale of goods at the most equitable price, advancing the general comfort of all and securing the future of the dealer and the buyer in the happy relationship of mutual advantage.

The trust seeks to reduce consumption, to crush out competing dealers, to force the people to buy by certain provided methods, and from certain agents, and levying the greatest burden thereupon that will admit of sale at all. One builds up society, the other degrades and despoils it. One gives our children a future of hope , and a life of freemen, the other is fast making them slaves to worse than feudal lords. The thirst for the dollar of today is as much worse than the robber barons of burgundy, as the Maxim gun and the poisonous luddite shell are worse than the bow and arrow of the medieval plunderer.

Men falter over methods to reach these criminal monopolies, these parasites that draw their luxurious life from the from the suffering decay of others.

¹⁴²“Reared to the Heroes of the Lost Cause,” *News and Observer* (Raleigh, NC), July 5, 1899.

¹⁴³“Gave Trusts a Scoring,” *Durham Sun* (Durham, NC), July 5, 1899.

Let the people resolve to be free; go forward, turning aside neither to the right or the left; put none but the fearless and incorruptible on guard, and the men of common sense, clear head and honest heart will find the way to unchain American industry.¹⁴⁴

While these comments provide an interesting insight into a contemporary issue, not knowing exactly what else was covered in Carr's speech, it is difficult to relate these comments to the common soldier that they were there to memorialize. Carr's exact comments on the Confederate soldier that day are not known, but through an examination of other speeches given at dedication ceremonies by Carr, it is possible to develop a hypothesis of what he might have said on this occasion.

Julian Carr can be characterized as a professional Confederate Veteran. Carr served in the Civil War as a private in the Third North Carolina Cavalry.¹⁴⁵ Carr became a member of the United Confederate Veterans and was awarded the rank of Major General. After developing great wealth in the tobacco industry, Carr gained notoriety for traveling across the South, giving speeches at Confederate Veteran events. In his papers, there are examples of speech templates, where he had drafted a speech for monument dedications, and left blanks to fill to cater to the specifics of the event he was participating in (for example, the county he was speaking in, the organization putting on the event, etc.) Such a template exists for monument dedication ceremonies, and Carr gave similar speeches in varying North Carolina counties, and at South Carolina and Virginia monument dedications.

¹⁴⁴"Undated Speech Notes on Trusts," Folder 35a, in the Julian Shakespeare Carr Papers #141, Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

¹⁴⁵"Julian Shakespear [sic] Carr," *U.S., Civil War Soldier Records and Profiles, 1861-1865* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2009.

Based on common speeches given by Carr at other monuments, there are three themes that may have been presented at the dedication ceremony in High Point. First, Carr often included in his oratory with a justification or defense of Southern Secession and accused the North as being the aggressors in the conflict. Second, Carr discussed how the South was outmatched in numbers and in resources and would list and describe the deeds of the men who came from the place the ceremony was being held. Carr also often included an anecdotal story about an experience he had while serving as President on one of the courts-martial of General Lee's Army of Northern Virginia. In this story, a soldier named Edward had been accused of being absent without leave and stated in court that he had made the decision to leave his post after receiving a letter from his wife, Mary, about the difficulties that they were having at home in his absence. In this letter, his wife says, "Edward unless you come home, we must all die."¹⁴⁶ Edward told Carr that after reading this, he no longer identified himself as a Confederate soldier but as a father that needed to tend to his family. He applied for a furlough, but was denied, but decided to leave anyway. Upon his arriving home, Mary realized that he had left without having formally been granted a leave of absence, and begged him to return to save the honor of his name. Edward did return to the army to face judgment. According to Carr, "[e]very officer of that court-martial felt the force of the prisoner's words," but by duty the officers were forced to deliver a guilty verdict.¹⁴⁷ However, Edward received a pardon from General Lee and returned to his post. At the next battle,

¹⁴⁶"So. Boston, Virginia," in the Julian Shakespeare Carr Papers #141, Folder 35a, Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

¹⁴⁷*Ibid.*

Edward was wounded and upon seeing Carr and recognizing him, asked, "General, tell me, I have one shot left, have I saved the honor of Mary and Lucy [his daughter]?"¹⁴⁸ Moments later Edward succumbed to his wounds.

Carr most likely told this story to depict the Confederate soldier as one who honorably served and fulfilled his duty, as well as to place the benevolence of General Robert E. Lee on a pedestal. Inadvertently, Carr's story also illustrates where the man's true loyalty lied; with his family. Edward deserted the army to tend to his family's needs, which was his priority. This suggests that Edward, and men like him, were not as devoted to the cause as Carr would have had his audience believe. Edward only returned to the army at the request of his wife, who most likely feared for her husband's life because he was a deserter.

However, it is important to point out a significant plot hole in this story. Julian Carr's military records show that he enlisted in the Third North Carolina Cavalry as a private at the age of 16 in 1864. Therefore, it is highly unlikely that within a year's time that Carr would have been able to rise to the rank of an officer, much less a general as he claimed Edward called him in his speech.¹⁴⁹

Admittedly, it is impossible to know whether any of these exact themes were presented in Carr's address at High Point, but it seems likely that at least some of them would have been present based on other speeches that Carr gave at similar occasions.

The High Point monument is like most of the other monuments erected in this era as it was placed in a burial space. This implies that its purpose is to commemorate the

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ "Julian Shakespear [sic] Carr," *U.S., Civil War Soldier Records and Profiles, 1861-1865* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2009.

common soldiers of High Point who lost their lives during the Civil War three decades prior. High Point lies within the borders of Guilford County, which was a pocket of unionism in February 1861. However, there is no record of any mention of that unionism in the newspapers or any source that depicted the story of the events that took place at the dedication ceremony. Additionally, there is no record of Confederate imagery being celebrated, nor evidence to suggest that this was a monument dedicated to the memory of the Confederacy or its ideals.

In conclusion, the majority (five out of six) of the early monuments erected in honor of the Confederate soldier in the Piedmont region were placed in burial spaces, which implies that they were meant to memorialize the fallen soldier, and were displays of personal grief by the people who erected them. The exception, the Raleigh Monument at the State Capitol Grounds erected in 1895, was placed in a public space, and built with both private as well as public funds. This suggests an endorsement of Confederate values from those in the state government who appropriated the funds and that these were values that they wanted to promote. However, it should be noted that this monument was to represent the Confederate soldiers of the state of North Carolina. When the issue of secession was introduced in 1860-61, there was a considerable number of people statewide that supported secession from the beginning. Therefore, it is understandable that unionism would not have been a theme represented in this monument. With no monuments to the Union present on the Capitol grounds, it can be interpreted that the State was endorsing the Lost Cause narrative, ignoring the unionism that was present in North Carolina before and during the war.

As the decades progressed, the ceremonies became more infused with a defense of the ideals and cause of the Confederacy, and support of white supremacist views. Much of the language used in these monuments and ceremonies, as well as the contemporary articles written describing what took place, depict grief and mourning for the dead. Admittedly, the records about the monuments are sorely lacking, and other primary source documents that might give insight to the feelings of the common man in the Piedmont region did not survive to be examined. This may be attributed to the idea that the importance of these ceremonies was a low priority for many of the common people during this era, as a memorial ceremony for those who had perished years ago would not have had a significant impact on their lives. Certainly, the lack of newspaper coverage and lack of address transcripts give support to that conclusion.