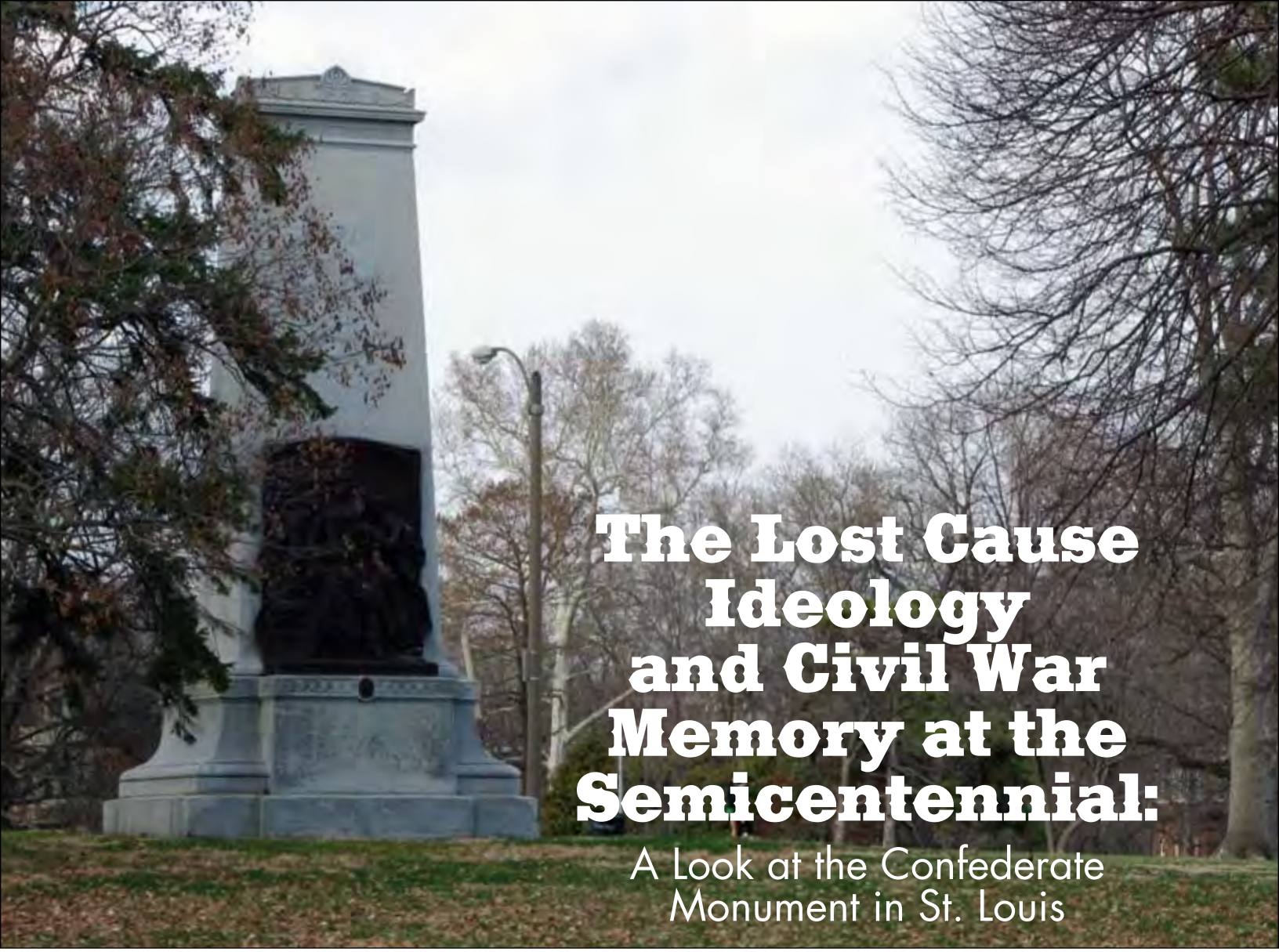


The Lost Cause Ideology and Civil War Memory at the Semicentennial:

A Look at the Confederate Monument in St. Louis

BY PATRICK BURKHARDT

In the "Letters from the People" section of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* on December 5, 1912, a St. Louisan identified only as J.A.L. asked the question, "Are We One Nation?" J.A.L. went on to express his resentment that Union monuments had been raised in parks all over the country, but whenever or wherever a Confederate monument was suggested, people protested. J.A.L. said, "Then they have the nerve to say there is no North and South; we are all one! Well it don't look like it to me, not by a long way."[1] Although fifty years had passed since the start of the American Civil War, many in the country still harbored bad feelings, and there were very different perceptions of how the Civil War should be remembered.

The ideology of the Lost Cause is responsible for creating these divided memories of the Civil War and emancipation; one memory is of forgiveness and forgetting and another is of change and equality. The influence of the Lost Cause ideology can be seen leading up to the semicentennial anniversary of the Civil War. The controversy over both the Confederate monument in St. Louis' Forest Park and the monument itself provide an excellent example of that contest between reconciliationist and emancipationist memories and how the Lost Cause ideology shaped the popular memory of the Civil War by the time of the Civil War semicentennial.

The Lost Cause is the name given to the literary and intellectual movement that attempted to reconcile the Southern white society with the end of the Confederate States of America after its defeat in the Civil War. Civil War historian David Blight defines the Lost Cause ideology as "a public memory, a cult of the fallen soldier, a righteous political cause defeated only by a superior industrial might, a heritage community awaiting its exodus, and a people forming a collective identity as victims and survivors."[2] The Lost Cause ideology sought to reverse the idea that the Civil War had been a "War of Rebellion" and characterized the South as a region victimized by "Northern aggression." John H. Reagan, former Confederate cabinet member, said that ex-Confederates were not responsible for starting African

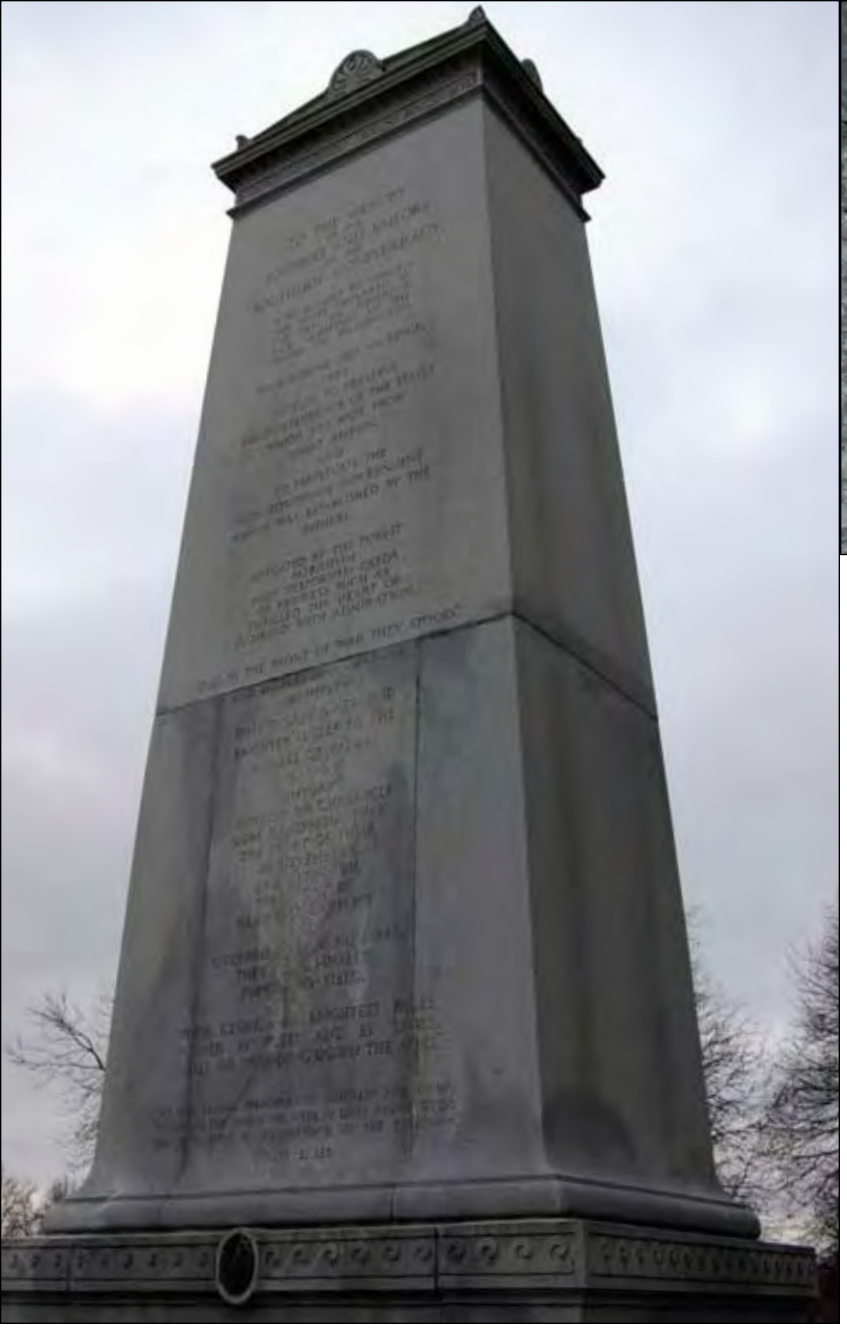
"The Gates of Opportunity," designed by George Zolnay (1863-1949) in University City, held the promise of a thriving area, despite appearances when completed in 1909. Today, the gates stand amidst a populated University City. *(Image: Christopher Duggan)*

slavery and were not responsible for the existence of the "Great War," which was the result of the agitation of slavery.[3] Confederate veterans believed that the South fought from what the editors of the *Richmond Dispatch* described as a "sense of rights under the Constitution and a conscientious conviction of the justice of their position."[4] They believed the Confederacy was a noble cause that would have succeeded had it not been trampled by what Virginia Governor Charles T. O'Ferrall called the "juggernaut wheels of superior numbers and merciless power."[5] To rationalize their belief that they were the victims of the Civil War, those associated with the Lost Cause had to believe what they fought for was noble and justified by the Constitution. The Lost Cause ideology also projected the belief that the Founding Fathers left the question of slavery unanswered, and the South sacrificed itself to find an answer.

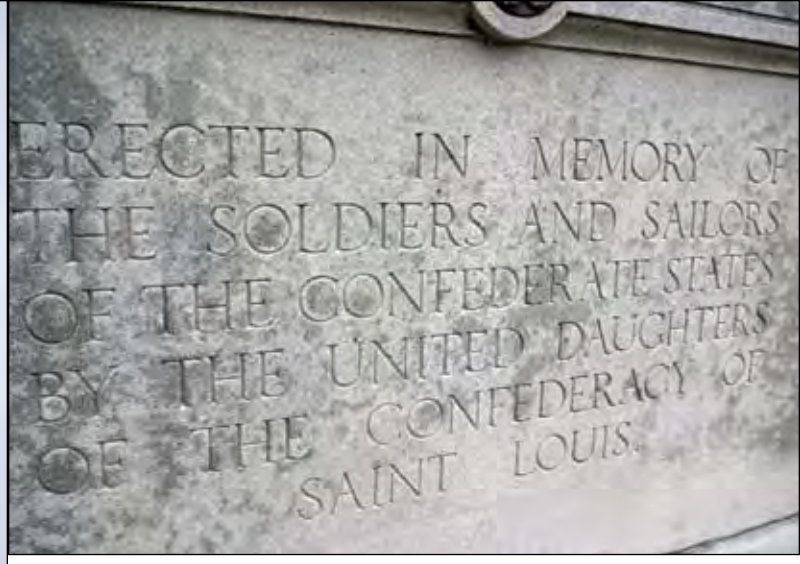
Monuments to Confederate soldiers, such as the Confederate monument in St. Louis designed by famous Civil War monument sculptor George Julian Zolnay, played a major role in spreading the Lost Cause ideology. Zolnay was well known in St. Louis for designing the lions at the Delmar Boulevard gateway in University City and the statue of Pierre Laclede in City Hall Park in downtown St. Louis. Zolnay was also known nationally for his work all across the South on Confederate monuments of fabled Confederate spy Sam Davis, General Charles Barton, General Lafayette McLaws, Duncan Jacob, and Jefferson and Winnie Davis.[6] Zolnay's design for the St. Louis Confederate monument, of a Southern man about to leave for battle, won the competition held by the Ladies Confederate Monument Association in November of 1912 for a $20,000 memorial to be built in Forest Park.

After the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis in 1904, George Zolnay received more commissions locally, including this sculpture of one of St. Louis' founders, Piere Laclede, which now stands in front of the St. Louis City Hall at Market and Tucker streets. *(Image: Christopher Duggan)*

The Ladies Association imposed a bizarre condition on the artists in the competition. According to the *Post-Dispatch*, the women decided to break from the conventional style of soldiers' monuments and to avoid provoking any possible antagonism by imposing a



The Confederate Memorial still stands today in a secluded area of Forest Park, on the north side of the park just east of the Visitor's Center. *(Image: Christopher Duggan)*



This inscription on the side of the Memorial reflected the Lost Cause ideology that sought to recast the defeat of the Confederacy in the decades following the war's end. *(Image: Christopher Duggan)*

restriction that no figure of a Confederate soldier or object of modern warfare should be in the design.[7] When hearing of Zolnay's victory, his fellow artist in the competition, Frederick W. Ruckstuhl of New York, was furious and wrote a letter to the Ladies Association claiming that Zolnay came too close to representing a soldier, which violated the conditions of the contest. Ruckstuhl demanded that Zolnay's design be eliminated from the competition. When George Zolnay heard of Ruckstuhl's letter, he wrote the Ladies Association calling Ruckstuhl's actions a "contemptible procedure," and said, "Mr. Ruckstuhl's design was suitable for a wedding cake."[8] This would not be the only controversy over the St. Louis Confederate monument.

On the north face of the monument, Zolnay inscribed a quote from Dr. R.C. Cave, a St. Louis lecturer and writer. Cave was a Confederate veteran who served under General Stonewall Jackson. Cave authored the book *The Men in Gray* and was the pastor of a popular non-sectarian church in the Central West End of St. Louis. The inscription on the monument reads:

> To the memory of the soldiers and sailors of the Southern Confederacy, who fought to uphold the right declared by the pen of Jefferson and achieved by the sword of Washington. With sublime self-sacrifice, they battled to preserve the independence of the states, which was won from Great Britain, and to perpetuate the constitutional government, which was established by the fathers. Actuated by the purest patriotism they performed deeds of prowess such as thrilled the heart of mankind with admiration. "Full in the front of war they stood," and displayed a courage so superb that it gave a new and brighter luster to the annals of valor. History contains no chronicle more illustrious than the story of their achievements; and although, worn out by ceaseless conflict and overwhelmed by numbers, they were finally forced to yield. Their glory, on brightest pages penned by poets and by sages, shall go sounding down the ages.

Below Cave's quote, Zolnay also inscribed a quote credited to Robert E. Lee that says, "We had sacred principles to maintain and rights to defend for which we were in duty bound to do our best, even if we perished in the endeavor." On the southern face of the monument is a figure in low relief, appearing as a spirit floating out of the granite, representing the spirit of the South. Below that, in bronze, is the figure of a Southern man, compelled by the spirit, as he leaves his home and family to enlist in the struggle. To emphasize the martial spirit of the Southern people, Zolnay included with the family a child looking

When the Confederate monument was erected in Forest Park, the United Daughters of the Confederacy, founded in 1894, was already almost twenty years old. Its emblem at the time, pictured here, appeared on the side of the monument. *(Image: Christopher Duggan)*

up to the man and handing him a symbol of their cause, the Confederate flag.[9] Below the relief is an inscription that reads: "Erected in memory of the soldiers and sailors of the Confederate States by the United Daughters of the Confederacy of St. Louis." The St. Louis Confederate monument is the embodiment of the Lost Cause ideology. The Cave and Lee quotes specifically reflect the Lost Cause attitude that the South fought to uphold the principles of Jefferson, Washington, and the Constitution. Erecting public monuments became a central method by which Southerners of the Lost Cause could rewrite the history of the Civil War from the Confederate perspective by unveiling their monuments with elaborate rituals and rhetoric. The monuments themselves display inscriptions that speak of honor, courage, duty, states' rights, and Northern aggression. Lost Cause women's organizations such as the UDC commissioned Confederate sculptures and staged elaborate unveilings in the hope of preserving a positive memory of antebellum life.[10]

Debate Over the St. Louis Monument

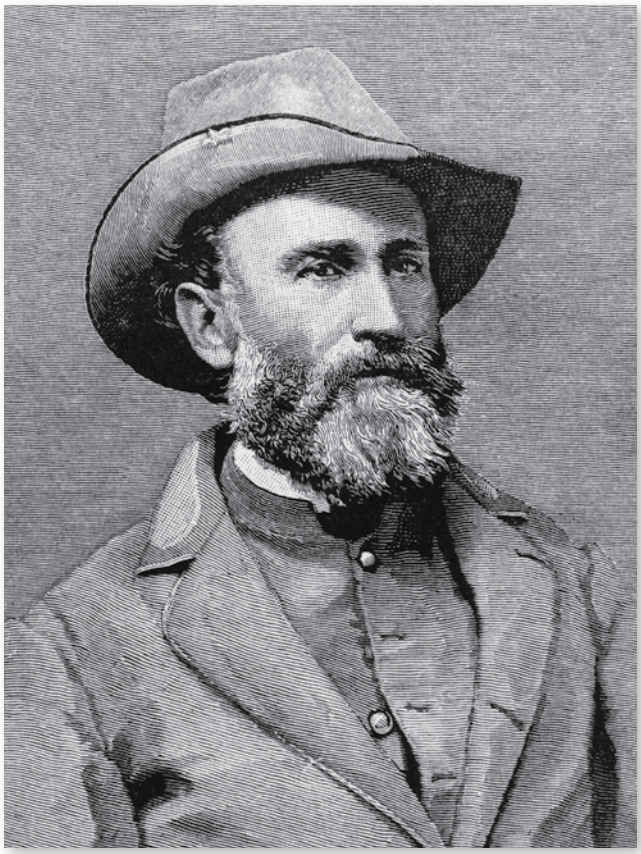
In the decade prior to the semicentennial of the Civil War, the very different reconciliationist and white supremacist memory combined into a powerful influence and served as a counterbalance to the social and economic changes of the new century.[11] Civil War veteran reunions and Civil War monument unveilings during the semicentennial celebrations served as public gestures of social cohesions. The image of the Confederate and Union soldiers clasping hands became a popular, unifying symbol during a time of social upheaval with race riots, labor strikes, and class antagonism. The fact that commercial flag makers produced Confederate battle flags at this time shows there was nostalgia for the battlefields and plantations of the past.[12]

However, the Confederate flag was not universally accepted, as was seen in St. Louis when the city council voted against the Confederate monument in late November 1912, because of the rebel flag in the design. Councilman William R. Protzmann believed that "flaunting the bloody flag in the face of the Unionists" would open up new wounds.[13] Council President John H. Gundlach, on the other hand, could not believe that there were still sectional feelings left and reasoned that museums might as well remove all pictures of historic occurrences if a Confederate flag appears in them.[14] The designer of the monument, George Julian Zolnay, shared Gundlach's

This larger-than-life sculpture depicting a man leaving his family to join the Confederate cause created further controversy over the monument. The family is on the south side of the monument, appropriately. *(Image: Christopher Duggan)*

sentiments and said, "As far as the flag is concerned, it can be removed, but whether I shall is another question. The flag was put on there to represent the Confederacy," and without the flag, in a thousand years, an observer would not know what the monument represented.[15]

Differing opinion on the Confederate flag was not limited to those who were deciding the fate of the monument. St. Louis residents' feelings about the monument could be read in the editorial section of the *Post-Dispatch*. One editorial made the point that the Confederate flag symbolized a dead cause and that it would make as much sense to attempt to erase the Confederate flag, and the cause it symbolized, from the pages of history as to insist upon removing the flag from memorials to the Confederate dead. The editorial staff asked, "Why should not their memorials—with uniforms and emblems—stand side by side in public places, North and South? Would Lincoln or Grant or Lee or Davis or any of the heroes of the Civil War object?"[16]



Jubal Anderson Early (1816-1894) served in the Confederate Army under Stonewall Jackson and Robert E. Lee. He wrote a series of articles for the Southern Historical Society in the 1870s that formed the literary foundation for the Lost Cause ideology. *(Image: State Historical Society of Missouri Photo Collection)*

Two days later in the *Post-Dispatch*, another editorial called St. Louisans to march on other Confederate memorials all over the country, many of them displaying not only the Confederate flag, but the Confederate uniform and said, "There are Confederate flags and other relics in historical museums—why not march on these hotbeds of sedition?"[17] The editorial blamed the federal government for forgetting the past and overlooking the danger that lurks in returning the flags to the South to be preserved as relics and said St. Louis' loyalty to the Union must not be tarnished by tolerance and good will toward the Confederacy. This editorial was satirical. On the same page as this editorial is a political cartoon featuring people fleeing the monument in terror and a caption reading, "Look Out! Here Come the Rebels," which was meant to mock the fear of a Confederate conspiracy in the editorial piece. This is not the last time a *Post-Dispatch* editorial would effect the monument in Forest Park.

The Grand Army of the Republic's response to the Confederate monument was one of reconciliation. Shortly after the city council voted against the monument, Thomas B. Rodgers, assistant adjutant-general of the Division of Missouri GAR, made a statement to the *Post-Dispatch* that the GAR as an organization would not protest the monument being placed in Forest Park because many of the members only had indifferent consideration towards the monument. Rodgers said that the GAR was of the opinion that a national cemetery like Jefferson Barracks would be a better location than Forest Park, but that would not be enough to protest the monument. However, Rodgers said that some members of the GAR might oppose the monument, and that a few of them said they did, but that no protest against the Confederate monument would take place from the society of men who fought the Confederacy.[18]

However, Rodgers was correct that there were members of the GAR who opposed the Confederate monument in Forest Park. Francis P. Becker, a member of the Council of Administration of the GAR, opposed Confederate monuments anywhere, but since they could not be stopped, Becker opposed having them in public parks. Becker suggested that if there should be a Confederate monument in St. Louis it should be at Jefferson Barracks, where Confederate soldiers are buried.[19] The Frank P. Blair Post of the GAR sent an oppositional letter after the city council passed the bill allowing the monument in Forest Park. The letter said that the design was unpatriotic and offensive to Unionists and that allowing such a monument in a public park was comparable to glorifying the British flag.[20]

The organizations allied with GAR also opposed the Confederate monument in Forest Park. Dr. F.W. Groffman of the council of the Sons of Veterans, said, "The Confederacy is a lost cause, and we feel that those who supported it should abandon it."[21] Groffman acknowledged the reconciliationist spirit that was pervasive in the United States, but discussed how in some parts of the South there were objections to placing the United States flag on school buildings, and stated that he therefore opposed permitting

the Ladies Monument Association placing a monument commemorating an attack on the government in a public park. These sentiments show that there was a divided Civil War memory and opposition to the Lost Cause ideology.

Nationally, there were similar controversies over Confederate monuments and memorials, but sometimes the debates were between sympathizers of the Lost Cause. The Stonewall Jackson statue in Richmond, Virginia, dedicated on October 26, 1875, was the first significant monument to a Confederate war hero. Virginia Governor James L. Kemper was the grand marshal of the unveiling ceremonies and asked the leaders of the Confederate veterans to restrain their display of battle flags, so as to not give Northern Republicans another "bloody flag" to waive. Jubal Early, Confederate general and propagator of the term Lost Cause, complained to Kemper about black militia companies and civilians being allowed in the parade procession and threatened to encourage other Confederate veterans to boycott them as well. Kemper told Early to mind his own business. Black militia officers and ministers in Richmond petitioned to take part in the procession. In an effort to appease both parties, Kemper placed the black militia companies and civilians in the very rear of the several-miles-long parade. The black militia companies refused to march, and the only African Americans who participated were a small group of former slaves who had been in Jackson's brigade during the war.[22]

Emancipationist Memory and the African American Perspective

In both Civil War mythology and the actual national memory of the war, the Lost Cause became necessary to national reunion. The United Daughters of the Confederacy reached the height of its power during the semicentennial by funding Confederate monuments, fighting to control Southern history textbooks, lobbying congressmen, and holding essay contests where young Southern children could write about the "truth" of the Lost Cause.[23] As a result of these actions by Lost Cause groups like the UCV and the UDC, the South's Lost Cause mythology garnered a surprisingly wide appeal. These groups won over a large segment of the American historical memory, and the "loss" in the Civil War by the South became transformed for many, even including Northerners, into a "victory" over the experiment of Reconstruction.[24] There was no place for slavery in the way in which most Americans found meaning in the Civil War, and white supremacist memory combined with reconciliation to dominate how most Americans viewed the war.[25]

However, by winning a "victory" over Reconstruction, the Lost Cause created a segregated society in the South, and that society required a segregated historical memory and a national mythology that could contain the conflict at the heart of that segregation.[26] The Lost Cause ideology had opponents such as Fredrick Douglass, author Albion Tourgee, several different reformist newspapers, black churches and intellectuals, and even the fringe of the Republican Party. They were all trying to keep an emancipationist, Unionist legacy alive.[27] By the time of the Civil War semicentennial, Emancipation Day celebrations were as popular as the Fourth of July in some African-American communities, as an occasion both to celebrate culture and to be entertained.[28]

In St. Louis, the African American community seemed to be more concerned with protesting the Jim Crow segregation laws proposed in the city rather than the Confederate monument. The proposed segregation laws made it illegal for whites or blacks to live on a block that was predominately inhabited by the opposite race and imposed a five- to fifty-dollar fine for each day that the ordinance was violated.[29] Unfortunately, the two St. Louis African American newspapers published at that time, the *Argus* and the *Advance*, are not preserved on microfilm before 1915, so it is impossible to tell if the Confederate monument in Forest Park was as hotly protested as the segregation laws.

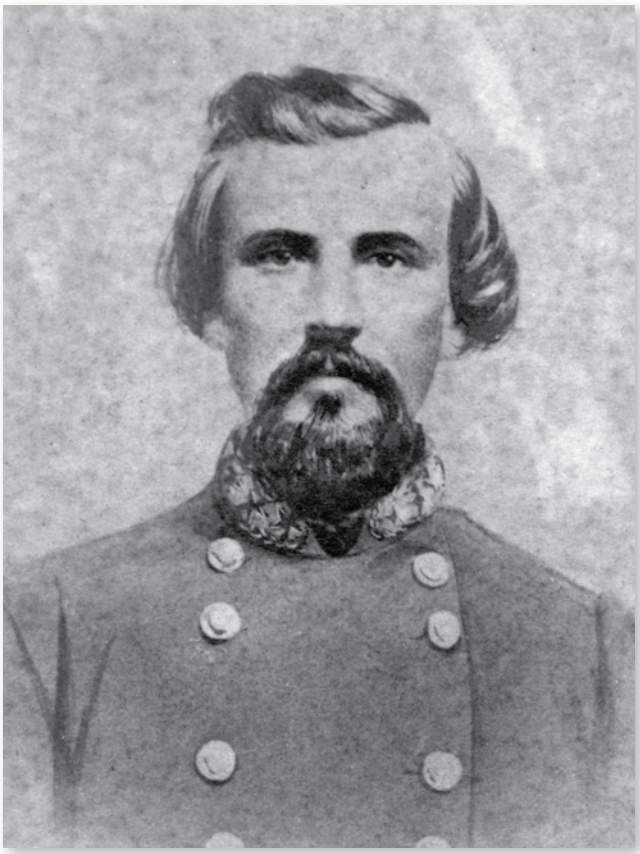
Despite the small number of objections to the flag and placement, and the half-hearted response from the GAR and African American community in St. Louis, it was a *Post-Dispatch* editorial that would ultimately decide the fate of the Confederate monument. Just a few days before the city council was to vote on the Confederate monument in Forest Park, a *Post-Dispatch* editorial asked, "Will St. Louis Offend Southerners?" The editorial suggested that the city council was endangering the business welfare of St. Louis by refusing to allow the Confederate monument in Forest Park. It said that trade with the South was of primary importance and claimed the South can get along better without St. Louis than St. Louis can get along without the South. The editorial also warned against the danger of the boards of trade in Southern cities passing resolutions against St. Louis.[30]

Two days later, Councilman William Edward Caulfield said that he would vote in favor of the monument because the editorial held great weight with him. Councilman Henry Rower also said that the editorial showed how St. Louis might injure its trade with the South.[31] When the bill passed to allow the Confederate monument in Forest Park by a vote of nine to two, Councilman Paul Fletcher, one of the two men who voted against the monument, charged that the *Post-Dispatch* editorial coerced the Council. Rower responded by saying, "I was not coerced, wise men sometimes change their minds, but fools never."[32] Once approved by the city council, the Confederate monument in Forest Park was built in just less than two years.

The Unveiling of the St. Louis Monument

The dedication took place on December 5, 1914, in St. Louis' Forest Park with a crowd of about 500 people in attendance. The proceedings leading up to the unveiling were about a half-mile northwest of the monument in the Thomas Jefferson Memorial. Captain Frank Gaiennie of the St. Louis Police Department was the master of ceremonies, and Dr. H.C. Atkinson welcomed the visitors.

General Bennett H. Young, National Commander of the United Confederate Veterans, was the principal speaker. Young was notorious at the time for his book *Confederate Wizards of the Saddle*, which chronicles the successful Confederate cavalrymen and battles during the Civil War, especially praising Nathan Bedford Forrest as a fierce, natural-born leader equaled by no other Confederate leader. Forrest and the massacre at Fort Pillow, in which Union soldiers (many of whom were African American) were slaughtered after they had surrendered had been an obstacle to the ideology of the Lost Cause because it had made the Southern whites' campaign of idealizing and ennobling the Confederate cause more difficult. To combat the stigma of Fort Pillow, historians and journalists of the Lost Cause praised Forrest and denied that a massacre had taken place. Young's book was part of that Lost Cause ideology. Rather than devoting an entire chapter to Forrest's raid on Fort Pillow, Young only mentions the massacre a few times as "amply disproved by overwhelming testimony," and as propaganda to anger black Union troops. Young also mentions Fort Pillow as an example of Forrest's ingenuity because Forrest was greatly outnumbered and managed to trick the Union forces into surrendering.[33]



Nathan Bedford Forrest (1821-1877) of Tennessee was a major proponent of the Lost Cause, but also loathed by Northerners who saw him as a war criminal after the massacre at Fort Pillow. He was an active and violent member of the Ku Klux Klan and may have been its first grand wizard. *(Image: State Historical Society of Missouri Photo Collection)*

In his speech, Young paid special tribute to Missouri Confederates such as Joseph Shelby, John Marmaduke, and Sterling Price, but specifically those who fought under the command of Francis M. Cockrell at the second Battle of Franklin, Tennessee, where 657 Missourians came under fire and only about 200 returned home.[34] Young also said, "The 600,000 Southern men who served under the Confederate flag fought with bitter determination to win and the beautiful monument was a fitting tribute to their memory."[35] After Young's speech, the First Regiment band, in United States uniforms, played "Maryland, My Maryland," and the Reverend James W. Lee said the benediction. General Seymour Stewart, Commander in Chief of the Sons of United Confederate Veterans, also spoke, and Mrs. Mary Fairfax Childs read an original poem titled "The Boys that Wore the Gray."

After the proceedings in the Thomas Jefferson Memorial, the crowd moved to the Confederate monument, where Alexander H. Major, Jr., president of the Betty S. Robert Chapter of the Sons of United Confederate Veterans, and Dean McDavis, president of the Robert E. Lee Chapter, pulled the chords to unveil the monument. The First Regiment band played "Dixie" while the men removed their hats and the crowd cheered. George Julian Zolnay, designer of the monument, then spoke and said, "The erection of a monument entails more responsibility than that of any other edifice or building, in that while all other buildings, art, literature, etc., might pass away, a monument remains forever."[36] Mrs. H. N. Spencer, chairman of the St. Louis Confederate Monument Association, delivered a brief address presenting the monument to the city and closing the unveiling ceremony. Spencer praised Missouri's "Southern sentiment" and said that she was part of a group of women representing every Southern state that brought love and loyalty to the traditions of the South, and the St. Louis Confederate monument was the embodiment of that love and loyalty.[37] The St. Louis Confederate monument unveiling at the semicentennial of the Civil War represents the effectiveness of the Lost Cause ideology in controlling the history and memory of the Civil War.

Two Conflicting Speeches

When read together, a divided Civil War memory is represented by two speeches delivered in St. Louis about the Confederate monument in Forest Park. The first speech, given at the unveiling of the Confederate monument by Seymour Stewart, Commander in Chief of the Sons of the Confederate Veterans, focused on the bronze relief on the southern face of the monument. Stewart said that the sculpture of an average southern home, without depictions of weapons or battles, neither a mansion nor a shack, told the story that was going on in

all of the homes across the Confederacy. Stewart likened the scene depicted in the sculpture to Egypt of Scripture where the angel of death took the life of every first-born child; Stewart believed that Southern mothers and wives made a nobler sacrifice than "all the legends of heroic mythology."[38]

Stewart said a Southern man would leave his family and home because

> "this man came of a race that would sacrifice its all for one thing—duty. This race prized above all things, above happiness, above wealth, above comfort, one treasure—liberty. His native land was invaded; the oppressor's heel was at his door. His liberty was assailed, and duty called him to action. No sacrificial love here dedicating him to an unholy cause, but the spirit of freedom, inherited from his ancestors, sent him forth."[39]

Stewart also believed that the Confederate monument was a tribute to a just and holy cause because it was compatible with American institutions such as the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution.

Stewart also discussed the behavior of the vanquished Confederate soldier after the war. Stewart said, "Did he retire vanquished yet sullen? Did he inspire rebellion, excite insurrection, urge guerrilla warfare? Not he! Within a shorter time than history has recorded in similar cases the soldier became the farmer, the clerk, the merchant, the teacher, the laborer, the professional man. What a metamorphosis!"[40] Stewart believed this was the result of the high ethical principles of the South during Reconstruction. Stewart also praised the Southern women depicted in the monument. Stewart said of the Southern woman, "She knitted, she sewed, she patched, and, almost impossible of belief, she, with a few faithful house servants, managed the plantation. She taught her children. When I think of her magnificent deeds, I feel that she is entitled to the most beautiful monument that can be erected."[41] Stewart's speech reveals the Lost Cause ideology that the noble Southern man fought a righteous cause justified by the Founding Fathers.

In contrast to Stewart's speech, George W. Bailey, Union Captain of the Sixth Infantry Missouri Volunteers, gave a speech to the Grand Army of the Republic Ransom Post, No. 131, focusing on the inscription written by Dr. R.C. Cave on the northern face of the St. Louis Confederate monument. Bailey said,

> "This inscription appears indefinite and unsatisfactory, as stating but half the truth, or as a mere conclusion from connected facts not stated, and apparently well calculated to confuse rather than to educate. It ignores utterly all the essential facts and circumstances inseparably connected with the subject—matter and a consideration of which is absolutely necessary to an intelligent comprehension of the same."[42]

Bailey began by addressing and dispelling the passage about the Confederacy fighting for the rights declared by Jefferson's pen and won by Washington's sword by reading quotes from Jefferson and Washington referring to their convictions about the preservation and unity of the national government. Bailey predicted that the public displays of Union and Confederate veterans coming together as friends in peace would be deeply regretted as an unpatriotic blunder. Bailey asked, "What would our people think of the spectacle of monuments erected in our public parks to gratify our British, our Mexican, and our Spanish citizens and proclaiming and teaching that in the wars with their respective countries the respective cause of our enemies were just and necessarily implying that our government was wrong in defending itself against those who would defeat or destroy it!"[43]

Bailey also took issue with the passage, "[The Confederacy] battled to perpetuate the Constitutional Government which was established by the Fathers," because it implies that Lincoln and the Union were battling to overthrow the constitutional

George W. Bailey was active in the Grand Army of the Republic, a fraternal organization for Union veterans formed after the Civil War. It became one of the first advocacy groups in American politics, including its work for pensions for Union veterans starting in the 1880s. It was the model for other veterans groups organized around local posts, such as the American Legion. *(Image: State Historical Society of Missouri Photo Collection)*

government of the Founding Fathers. Bailey sarcastically said, "Every encyclopedia and every standard history that have been published and distributed throughout the civilized world during the last half century should be immediately recalled and revised and made to conform to the 'truth' as sanctified and certified by a select little coterie of individuals on a Confederate Monument in St. Louis!" Bailey believed that the acceptance of that statement would be a very serious matter if it were not so ridiculous that even school children would read it as "a joke, or a laughable historical blunder."[44] Bailey then quoted Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederacy, and Vice President Alexander Stephens as saying that their government was founded on the opposite theory of the constitutional government of the Founding Fathers. This speech by George Bailey shows that the influence of the Lost Cause ideology was not all encompassing and that a divided memory of the Civil War remained.

Bailey concluded his speech by saying, "There remains the hope that this monument, with its inscriptions, may indeed be truly educational far beyond the most ardent expectations of its founders, from the very fact that the indefinite and vague character of its inscriptions may excite sufficient curiosity or interest to lead many to a studious investigation of the indisputable facts and circumstances upon which these monumental abstractions and conclusions are predicated."[45]

"The Gates of Opportunity," designed by George Zolnay (1863-1949) in University City held the promise of a thriving area, despite appearances when completed in 1909. Today, the gates stand amidst a populated University City. *(Image: University City Public Library)*

NOTES

[1] *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, December 5, 1912.
[2] David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belnap Press of Harvard University Press, 2001), 38.
[3] Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 344.
[4] *Ibid.,* 37.
[5] *Ibid.,* 256.
[6] *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, May 2, 1949.
[7] *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, November 14, 1912.
[8] *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, November 15, 1912.
[9] *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, November 15, 1912.
[10] Cynthia Mills and Pamela H. Simpson, eds., *Monuments to the Lost Cause: Women, Art, and the Landscapes of Southern Memory* (Knoxville, Tennessee: The University of Tennessee Press, 2003), xv-xvi.
[11] Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 354.
[12] *Ibid.,* 355.
[13] *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, November 30, 1912.
[14] *Ibid.*
[15] *Ibid.*
[16] *Ibid.*
[17] *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, December 2, 1912.
[18] *Ibid.*
[19] *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, December 3, 1912.
[20] *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, December 7, 1912.
[21] *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, December 2, 1912.
[22] Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 80-81.
[23] *Ibid.*, 392.
[24] David W. Blight, *Beyond the Battlefield: Race, Memory, & the American Civil War* (Amherst, Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002), 155.
[25] Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 388-90.
[26] *Ibid.*, 391.
[27] Blight, *Beyond the Battlefield*, 155.
[28] *Ibid.*, 204.
[29] "Opinion: The Democrats and the Negro," *The Crisis*, Vol. 5 No. 3 (Jan. 1913).
[30] *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, December 3, 1912.
[31] *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, December 5, 1912.
[32] *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, December 7, 1912.
[33] Bennett H. Young, *Confederate Wizards of the Saddle* (Boston, Massachusetts: Chapple Publishing Company, Ltd., 1914), 11.
[34] *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, December 6, 1914.
[35] *Ibid.*
[36] *Ibid.*
[37] "Confederate Monument in St. Louis," *Confederate Veteran* Vol. 23, No. 1 (Jan. 1915): 16.
[38] Seymour Stewart, "Address By Seymour Stewart, Commander in Chief S.C.V., at Unveiling of the St. Louis Monument," *Confederate Veteran* Vol. 23, No. 1 (Jan. 1915): 35.
[39] Stewart, *Confederate Veteran*, 35.
[40] *Ibid.*
[41] *Ibid.*
[42] George W. Bailey, *The Confederate Monument in Forest Park [a speech delivered at] The Grand Army of the Republic, Ransom Post No. 131, Feb. 27, 1915* (n.p., n.d.), St. Louis Public Library, Central Branch, St. Louis, Missouri.
[43] *Ibid.*, 5-6.
[44] *Ibid.*, 3.
[45] *Ibid.*, 6.