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Power in Traditional Gender Roles:

The United Daughters of the Confederacy and White Southern Women's Search for Authority

Kaitlin Borrmann

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After the Civil War, the former Confederate states experienced massive upheaval and change. The Southern system that had been built by and was entirely dependent upon slavery had to be dismantled, as slavery was now illegal. This change in law affected every part of Southern life: not only did Southerners depend heavily on slavery due to the fact that their economic system was founded on unpaid labor, but their social system was also dependent on slavery due to the power structure that slavery had helped to build and maintain. This system, one of social stratification, ensured that the rich plantation owners could hold immense power. Farther down the social ladder were other whites, from the middle class to those who were poor, and at the very bottom fell enslaved people of African descent. The dismantling of slavery and its systems of oppression and stratification meant that other core aspects of Southern society were also under threat of being challenged or forgotten. To fight these threats, white Southerners responded by working to conserve and consolidate their power. Reconstruction did not last long; Jim Crow laws soon sprang up to take its place and slavery's place from the 1870s onward. Racist white supremacists responded with groups such as the Ku Klux Klan, founded in 1865. Others formed groups to indoctrinate children to the "Lost Cause" narrative. Some even edited textbooks to be friendlier to the South. Alongside these changes, monuments to the Confederacy, its veterans, and its dead, began to appear, dotting the southern landscape as nostalgic reminders of the past.

Female disenfranchisement, a further instrumental social norm in the Post-Civil War South, held women back from holding any form of political power and demanded strict adherence to gender roles as shaped by an inherently patriarchal society. Throughout the United States during the nineteenth century, the "cult of domesticity" constrained women, calling for them to be patriotic mothers who only existed inside of the home with the purpose of educating children to become loyal citizens. Gender roles were even stricter for Southern women. Marjorie

Spruill Wheeler argues that the Southern system was founded upon a “patriarchal system based on ‘frail, tender’ women and their chivalric knights.”[1] According to Wheeler, upon the end of the Civil War, the “traditional role of the Southern lady was...a key element of a culture that white southerners were determined to preserve.”[2] This determination came from an attempt to preserve the Southern culture that had become so threatened by Confederate defeat and subsequent emancipation. Just as many whites worked for consolidated racial power, men worked to consolidate gender-based power. I will seek to show that women’s participation in the memorialization of the Confederacy was neither innocent nor powerless. Confederate monuments were not haphazardly funded nor built as harmless nostalgic reminders of the past, although the women desired for them to be portrayed as such. Instead, these monuments were built as an extension of the “Lost Cause” narrative because they provided power to those who were scrambling to find it. I will argue that the largest and most influential group seeking power through the memorialization of the Confederacy were white, middle-class women working inside of prescribed gender roles after the Civil War, and that their motivation was largely shaped by their recent loss of previously consolidated racial power with emancipation.

The United Daughters of the Confederacy

Caroline Meriwether Goodlett and Anna Mitchell Davenport Raines founded the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) in Nashville, Tennessee, on September 10, 1894. Goodlett hailed from Tennessee, and Raines was from Georgia. According to the UDC’s history of their founders, both had been involved in the war effort to some extent, with Goodlett leading other

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[1] Marjorie Spruill Wheeler, “Divided Legacy: The Civil War, Tradition, and ‘the Woman Question,’ 1870-1920,” in *A Woman’s War: Southern Women, Civil War, and the Confederate Legacy,* eds. Edward D. C. Campbell, Jr., & Kym S. Rice (Richmond: The Museum of the Confederacy, 1996), 169.
[2] Ibid., 175.

women to help by creating a sewing circle and tending to the wounded. While Raines had been just a child, she still took time to help supply her local Confederate hospital with food and bandages.[3] Information concerning these women is difficult to find beyond the UDC's website, but whether or not the provided information is true, it demonstrates a core ideal of the UDC: women helping with the war effort.

The UDC consolidated and fulfilled a long tradition of women being publicly involved supporting the war effort. Immediately after the Civil War, Ladies Memorial Associations became incredibly popular. As members of these Ladies Memorial Associations, women sought to ensure that their loved ones were given proper burials and funerals, as well as advocating for the care of southern veterans.[4] With the passage of time, the need for burials diminished, and the need for a larger memorializing organization like the UDC arose. The UDC was a national organization, in contrast to Ladies Memorial Associations, which were place-specific. Only one year after the UDC's founding, there were twenty chapters in Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and Washington, D.C.[5] Within three years, 138 chapters existed.[6] By the end of World War I, nearly 100,000 women were members of the UDC, or "Daughters."[7] The UDC also represented a much larger goal than obtaining proper burials for veterans, as it was closely aligned with and helped create the "Lost Cause" narrative.

The UDC's purposes can be easily contested. Historical evidence shows that the women involved in the UDC had ulterior motives, such as redefining the public's perception of their

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[3] "Meet the Founders," *United Daughters of the Confederacy,* accessed November 1, 2017, https://www.hqudc.org/meet-the-founders/.
[4] Karen L. Cox, *Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003), 9.
[5] Ibid., 28.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Ibid., 29.

Confederate parents' intentions through shifting the Civil War narrative from one concerned with prolonging slavery to a "War of Northern Aggression," a "War Between the States," or a war concerning state's rights. Not only did these women have motives for reshaping history, but they also held white supremacist beliefs and allegiances. In 1917, the UDC presented a commemorative plaque to Pulaski, Tennessee. They placed the plaque, that documented and commemorated the KKK's founding dates and members, on the building in which the original Ku Klux Klan was founded.[8] The Southern Poverty Law Center, an organization that documents American hate groups and their actions, defines the UDC as a Neo-Confederate group, emphasizing that they have frequently defended slavery and affiliated with well-known white supremacists.[9] The UDC's official narrative differs, however, and it claims the following seven goals:

> 1. To honor the memory of those who served and those who fell in the service of the Confederate States.
> 2. To protect, preserve and mark the places made historic by Confederate valor.
> 3. To collect and preserve the material for a truthful history of the War Between the States.
> 4. To record the part taken by Southern women in patient endurance of hardship and patriotic devotion during the struggle and in untiring efforts after the War during the reconstruction of the South.
> 5. To fulfill the sacred duty of benevolence toward the survivors and toward those dependent upon them.
> 6. To assist descendants of worthy Confederates in securing proper education.
> 7. To cherish the ties of friendship among the members of the Organization.[10]

These goals reveal a staunch commitment to the Confederacy, even after its defeat and dissolution. They can also prove UDC members' desire to reshape history, a desire which is

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[8] Michael Lewis and Jacqueline Serbu, "Kommemorating the Ku Klux Klan," *The Sociological Quarterly* 40:1 (1999): 139-40.
[9] "The Neo-Confederates," *Southern Poverty Law Center,* September 15, 2000, accessed November 3, 2017, https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/intelligence-report/2000/neo-confederates.
[10] "History of the UDC," *United Daughters of the Confederacy,* accessed October 25, 2017, https://www.hqudc.org/meet-the-founders/.

especially obvious in goals two, three, four, and six. This push to reshape history will be revisited when I later discuss the UDC and the Lost Cause.

The UDC's requirements of membership also provide insight into these women's staunch commitment to the Confederacy. To this day, women must jump through considerable hoops to join the UDC. Not only must they show proof of their ancestor's service for the Confederacy, but they are also required to prove that they are related by blood to a Confederate veteran.[11] Adopted children cannot claim their adopted parents' relation to a veteran, and must also have sufficient documentation to prove relation by blood to a veteran.[12] If a veteran took the Oath of Allegiance (an oath which required renouncing the Confederacy) to the United States prior to Confederate surrender on April 9, 1865, that veteran cannot be considered a valid relation for joining the UDC.[13] All of these requirements demonstrate a disturbing devotion to the supposed supremacy of supporters of the Confederacy.

Even with stringent membership requirements, large numbers of women joined the UDC. Caroline E. Janney argues that the Daughters relied heavily on Southern history to "shape race and gender relations in the New South."[14] Despite this reliance on tradition, women found that, within the UDC, they had the power to reshape the New South into a place where they could have more social power. Daughters could not act too far outside of prescribed gender roles, but they were able to tailor gender roles to give themselves more authority.[15] Additionally, Janney asserts that UDC members "consciously constructed an image of themselves as elite women."[16]

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[11] "Membership," *United Daughters of the Confederacy,* accessed November 25, 2017, https://www.hqudc.org/membership.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Caroline E. Janney, *Burying the Dead but Not the Past: Ladies Memorial Associations and the Lost Cause* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 171.
[15] Wheeler, "Divided Legacy," in *A Woman's War*, 183.
[16] Janney, *Burying the Dead*, 174.

Due to class-based power structures, Daughters were able to find and create even more social power by portraying themselves as elite women.

Alongside social power, women found political influence through the UDC.[17] Women could not claim that it was political power, however, and were often hesitant to be portrayed as claiming such. The Daughters' attempts to publicly avoid being labeled as a political organization resulted in them going so far as to claim at their first annual convention that the UDC was "social, literary, historical, monumental, benevolent, and honorable in every degree, without any political signification whatever."[18] But the Daughters claim that they did not have political power did not mean that they truly did not hold this influence.

The political power they did hold was acceptable because it was not related at all to women's suffrage. In her memoir, *A Slaveholder's Daughter*, southern suffragist Belle Kearney discusses the way in which Southern men were determined to hold women within the "woman's sphere."[19] She tells that not only did men hold this determination, but that there were also

> Thousands of women in the South who have arrayed themselves in a belligerent attitude toward the [suffragist] movement that was instituted especially for their well-being. There are multitudes of others who are still in a deep sleep regarding the necessity of having the ballot, and are continuing to drone the old song in their slumbers: "I have all the rights I want."[20]

Southern women often showed disdain for the suffragist movement. It would have been much easier for women like the Daughters to maintain this disdain because they had found political power within the UDC's work. Many influential Daughters kept an extreme distance from the suffrage movement, including Mildred Rutherford, who was a well-known Historian General of

[17] Ibid., 198.
[18] John M. Coski and Amy R. Feely, "A Monument to Southern Womanhood: The Founding Generation of the Confederate Museum," in *A Woman's War,* 138.
[19] Belle Kearney, *A Slaveholder's Daughter* (New York: Abbey Press, 1900), 120, accessed October 10, 2017, http://docsouth.unc.edu/fpn/kearney/kearney.html#kearn107.
[20] Ibid.

the UDC and a fervent member of the "Georgia Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage."[21] Rutherford's ability to deny the need for female enfranchisement shows the extent to which she held social power through her position in the UDC. Although these women's political power was not nearly as developed as their social power, UDC members were still able to resist female disenfranchisement through their new-found social and political influence. Recognizing this helps us develop a deeper understanding of the Daughters and what drove them.

The UDC and Memorializing the "Lost Cause"

The "Lost Cause" narrative was one that began to appear almost immediately after the Confederacy lost the Civil War. It consisted of the notion that the Confederacy was fighting for a lost cause from the very beginning of the Civil War, and that it was honorable for them to have continued fighting for so long when their defeat was inevitable. Many Southern historians and intellectuals supported this narrative, hoping to shift future generations' perspectives of the Civil War and its causes to be kinder to the South. Consequently, the "Lost Cause" was a purposeful movement that sought to vindicate the Confederacy through attempting to prove that their goals had been good, decent, and righteous.[22] Bradley T. Johnson, a former Confederate Brigadier General of Maryland, perfectly summed up the purpose of the "Lost Cause" when he spoke at the dedication of the Confederate Museum in Richmond, Virginia:

> Our memorial...for all time will sanctify [the Confederacy] to all true men and women. They will know that it is a memorial of no "Lost Cause." They will never believe that "we thought we were right," they will know, as we know, that we were right, immortally right, and that the conqueror was wrong, eternally wrong.[23]

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[21] Anne. E. Marshall, "Mildred Rutherford (1851-1928)," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, accessed November 10, 2017, http://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/mildred-lewis-rutherford-1851-1928.
[22] Coski and Feely, "A Monument to Southern Womanhood," 137.
[23] Virginia Armistead, *In Memoriam Sempiternam,* (Richmond: Confederate Memorial Literary Society, 1896), 53-54.

Johnson clearly displays a belief in an infallible Confederacy. It is also telling that he gave this speech at an event that was dedicating the Confederate Museum, one of the earliest large-scale memorials to the Confederacy that was orchestrated and designed by women.

In attempting to vindicate the Confederacy, those who developed the "Lost Cause," including the UDC, endeavored to shift the Civil War narrative away from true causes of the war, such as slavery. Although almost every Confederate document of secession explicitly included the preservation of slavery as a goal of secession, many sought to erase this ugly history. The UDC specifically worked to rewrite this history in schools. In 1912, the *Evening Star*, a Washington, D.C. newspaper, told that the UDC had "made a determined attempt to oust history textbooks regarded as unfair to the south from the public schools."[24] Mildred Rutherford, the aforementioned UDC Historian General, made considerable attempts to lobby against textbooks that reflected poorly of the South. She even published *A Measuring Rod to Test Text Books, And Reference Books in Schools, Colleges and Libraries* in 1920. This "measuring rod" included specific instructions on which books were acceptable and which were not. It told those in charge of choosing books to be used in schools and libraries to:

> Reject a book that calls the Confederate soldier a traitor or rebel, and the war a rebellion.
> Reject a book that says the South fought to hold her slaves.
> Reject a book that speaks of the slaveholder of the South as cruel and unjust to his slaves.[25]

These specific directions show how purposeful the UDC and the Daughters were in devoting themselves to the "Lost Cause" narrative. Rutherford even supports her directions for measuring textbooks with various references to flawed histories, citing sources such as William Makepeace

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[24] "By Unanimous Vote," *Evening Star* (Washington, D.C.), Nov. 16, 1912, accessed October 10, 2017, http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1912-11-16/ed-1/seq-8/.
[25] Mildred Lewis Rutherford, *A Measuring Rod to Test Text Books, and Reference Books in Schools, Colleges and Libraries*, (Athens, GA: United Confederate Veterans, 1920), 5.

Thackeray's "Roundabout Papers" to support the thesis that slaveholders were not cruel or unjust. She includes his description of slaves as support for her guidance:

> How they sang! How they danced! How they laughed! How they shouted! How they bowed and scraped and complimented! So free, so happy! I saw them dressed on Sunday in their Sunday best — far better dressed than our English tenants of the working class are in their holiday attire. To me, it is the dearest institution I have ever seen and these slaves seem far better off than any tenants I have seen under any other tenantry system.[26]

This alarmingly false description of slavery was used to inform Southerners who were choosing textbooks for children. It demonstrates the dedication to preserving a deceptive narrative in order to vindicate the Confederacy. Even more, the entire handbook shows the immense social power held by a single woman, Mildred Rutherford in this case. She had a hand in choosing the textbooks that thousands of Southern children would use, without many qualifications besides being a rich Southern woman in an elected UDC position.

The UDC did not stop at changing textbooks. They also created an offshoot for youth called Children of the Confederacy. Founded one year after United Daughters of the Confederacy, Children of the Confederacy acted as an after-school program, and it taught them about the Confederacy and the "Lost Cause."[27] Beyond the textbooks encountered in school, children were also taught the false history promoted by the UDC through "Confederate Catechisms." The catechisms were practiced as a call-and-response, in which children were asked a question and were required to give a specific answer. Boys and girls received positive reinforcement for memorization, and those who could recite the catechisms word-for-word were given points.[28] One specific production of these catechisms was written by Lyon Gardiner Tyler, a son of the slaveholding US President John Tyler. One of his catechisms is as follows:

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[26] Ibid., 10.
[27] Kristina DuRocher, *Raising Racists: The Socialization of White Children in the Jim Crow South* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 2011), 88.
[28] Ibid.

> Did the South fight for slavery or the extension of slavery?
> No, for had Lincoln not sent armies to the South, that country would have done no fighting at all.[29]

All across the South, children were purposefully taught these catechisms, riddled with a false history. The catechisms further prove that the Daughters were determined to exert their social power and exonerate the Confederacy for generations to come. It was also no mistake that so much of the Daughters' influence was in indoctrinating children, clearly inside of their prescribed gender roles.

The Daughters realized, however, that their indoctrination of children could only last so long without public spaces memorializing the Confederacy. With the construction of the Confederate Museum in Richmond, Virginia, women began to grasp the immense power in public memorials. As women worked to put the Confederate Museum together, they found that they could be more publicly assertive. Because they had done all the fundraising to build the museum, women had more power to assert their opinions concerning decision-making for the museum. Women also enjoyed the ability to work outside of the home in some capacity. Minnie A. Baughman, one of the women who worked at the Confederate Museum, wrote in a letter that "home duties detain us when we should like to be at our work at the museum."[30] The museum was only in Richmond, however, and it did not take long to plan and implement the women's plans. Consequently, women began to partake in much more public memorialization of the Confederacy.

This public memorialization took place in the form of the Confederate monuments we all know so well today. Thanks in part to the UDC, Tennessee has more monuments and markers for

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[29] Lyon Gardiner Tyler, *A Confederate Catechism: The War of 1861-1865,* accessed November 28, 2017, http://www.scv.org/pdf/ConfederateCatechism.pdf.
[30] Minnie A. Baughman, Letter to Douglas Southall Freeman, October 17, 1907, *Douglas Southall Freeman Papers,* accessed November 13, 2017, http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.mss/eadmss.ms013045.

Nathan Bedford Forrest, a Confederate general and a General Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan, than Illinois does for Abraham Lincoln, Virginia has for George Washington, or any other state has for any one person.[31] As of April 2016, there were at least 1,503 symbols commemorating the Confederacy in public places, ranging from monuments and statues to schools and highways named after Confederate leaders.[32] A study completed by the Southern Poverty Law Center found that 718 of these symbols are monuments.[33] These monuments can be found in 31 states and the District of Columbia; most are located within former Confederate states, but many are also in Union states, especially border states, and in states that did not yet exist during the Civil War.[34] A large majority of these monuments were erected and dedicated between 1888 and 1919 – over twenty years after the Civil War had ended, showing that they were not a direct result of mourning the losses of the Civil War.[35] All of these monuments were erected despite warnings given by Robert E. Lee, the renowned Confederate General. On various occasions, Lee openly opposed Confederate monuments, claiming that they would continue or even add to "the difficulties under which the Southern people labour."[36] Lee also refused requests to attend a dedication of various markers at the Gettysburg battlefield, claiming that he thought it "wiser, moreover, not to keep open the sores of war, but to follow the example of those nations who endeavor to obliterate the marks of civil strife, to commit to oblivion the feelings it

[31] *The Confederate and Neo-Confederate Reader: The "Great Truth" about the "Lost Cause,"* eds. James W. Loewen and Edward E. Sebesta (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2010), 247.
[32] "Whose Heritage? Public Symbols of the Confederacy," *Southern Poverty Law Center,* April 21, 2016, https://www.splcenter.org/20160421/whose-heritage-public-symbols-confederacy#words.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Robert E. Lee, Letter to Thomas L. Rosser, Lexington, VA, December 13, 1866, *Lee Family Digital Archive*, accessed October 1, 2017, https://leefamilyarchive.org/papers/letters/transcripts-UVA/v076.html.

engendered."[37] While this stance may have been held because Lee disapproved of monuments that could prolong an anti-Southern legacy of the Civil War, it is curious that his words were so blatantly disregarded, especially considering how well-respected he was throughout the South.

The blatant disregard for Lee's advice can be answered in knowing that, as women memorialized the Confederacy with these monuments, they continued to expand their social power. Because the monuments memorialized men who had fought in the Civil War, women were able to bend, not break, gender roles and exert public influence. The UDC planned massive events to unveil their monuments, and they used these occasions as additional ways to exert social power. Their functions were seen as extraordinary. For example, upon the unveiling of a monument in front of the Holmes County Courthouse in Lexington, Mississippi, the superintendent of Holmes County schools called off school for the day. The dismissal was reported in the newspapers, and it was justified as the superintendent claimed that all students needed the "opportunity to learn the lessons of patriotism that this occasion will afford."[38] On the same page of the newspaper, there are three different advertisements for postcards and photographs of the monument. One says that "every person in Holmes County wants a photo of the elegant confederate monument," and another advertisement claims that "everybody should have one."[39] The reaction of the community, as detailed in *The Lexington Advertiser*, shows that the UDC claimed excessive power through the events they planned to unveil their monuments.

The UDC also found that they had the power to bring masses of people together. At one 1910 "Confederate Reunion" in Hattiesburg, Mississippi, the Daughters amassed over 8,000

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[37] "Response of Confederate Generals to the Gettysburg Invitation," *Public Ledger,* Memphis, TN, September 4, 1869, Library of Congress, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers,* accessed November 18, 2017, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85033673/1869-09-04/ed-1/seq-1/.

[38] "Notice to Teachers," *The Lexington Advertiser*, (Lexington, MS), Nov. 27, 1908. Library of Congress, *Chronicling America; Historic American Newspapers,* accessed October 27, 2017, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84024271/1908-11-27/ed-1/seq-8/.

[39] Ibid.

people.[40] The *Hattiesburg News* reported that these crowds were the largest ever seen in the city, and even the largest that region of Mississippi had ever seen.[41] There was also a speech given in front of this massive crowd by a Mr. Stokes Robertson, who was a member of the Board of Supervisors in Hattiesburg's Forrest County. He supported the UDC and the Daughters in telling that he could "personally...vouch" for the "entire truthfulness" of the inscription on the brand new monument.[42] The inscription he referenced claimed that it was through the "devotion and untiring efforts" of Hattiesburg's UDC chapter that the monument was built.[43] While the Daughters were able to find formidable social power in bringing such large crowds to the unveiling of their monuments, they were able to solidify this power by having powerful men – such as a member of the County Board of Supervisors – give speeches that spoke so highly of them. The Daughters' need to have powerful men affirm their efforts revealed that they were still having to work inside of gender roles.

The events also gave women a public speaking platform. Although men were the only people allowed to speak at the earliest dedications of Confederate monuments erected by Ladies' Memorial Associations, women were eventually able to make speeches.[44] In Lexington, Missouri in 1906, the Lexington Intelligencer reported that approximately 6,000 to 10,000 people were documented in attendance at the dedication of a monument.[45] The Lexington Intelligencer also reported that five different women gave public speeches at this event.[46] Another woman was

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[40] "Greatest Event in Hattiesburg's History," *The Hattiesburg News,* (Hattiesburg, MS), Oct. 13, 1910. Library of Congress, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, accessed November 11, 2017, http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn87065167/1910-10-13/ed-1/seq-1/.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Ibid.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Coski and Feely, "A Monument to Southern Womanhood," 134.
[45] "Dedication of Confederate Monument," *The Lexington Intelligencer,* (Lexington, MO), June 9, 1906. Library of Congress, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers,* accessed October 20, 2017, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn86063623/1906-06-09/ed-1/seq-1/.
[46] Ibid.

recorded as giving the presentation address at the unveiling of a Lowndes County, Mississippi monument in 1912.[47] The Mississippi Governor attended this event, showing that women had begun to more thoroughly consolidate their power and further bend gender roles in speaking publicly with such a lofty guest.

One specific monument that shows the social and political power of the UDC on a grand scale is the Confederate Monument in Arlington Cemetery – the military cemetery of the United States, the Confederacy's enemy. The fact that women were able to exert their power and build a monument within Arlington Cemetery shows the Daughters' immense sway. Many of the speeches given by men at the event showed admiration for the Daughters, revealing that they gained the respect of men despite gender roles.[48] This is especially evident in that a woman presented the memorial "to the government," and her presentation was received by the US President Woodrow Wilson, who was in attendance at this dedication.[49] Wilson even gave an address during the program, showing that the Daughters had sufficient social and political influence to lobby him to speak at their event.[50]

Another power demonstrated by the Daughters was that to erect a memorial to a Southern woman named Emma Sansom. Sansom was said to have helped Confederate General Nathan Bedford Forrest during the Civil War by burning a bridge behind him and his men, allowing them to escape Union forces.[51] This was only the third public memorial in the South to a woman,

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[47] "Will Unveil Monument," *The Port Gibson Teveille,* (Port Gibson, MS), Aug. 8, 1912. Library of Congress, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers,* accessed October 2, 2017, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn86090233/1912-08-08/ed-1/seq-4/.

[48] "Monument to Heroes of South Dedicated," *The Washington Herald,* (Washington, DC), June 5, 1914. Library of Congress, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers,* November 3, 2017, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045433/1914-06-05/ed-1/seq-1/.

[49] Ibid.

[50] Ibid.

[51] "Tribute to a Woman," *The Lake County Times,* (Hammond, IN), July 5, 1907, Library of Congress, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers,* accessed November 23, 2017, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn86058242/1907-07-05/ed-1/seq-5/.

and it was monumental that women had the ability to build a tribute to another woman. It is also telling that this marker made ripples across the country – it was even reported on in Hammond, Indiana – a city in Northwestern Indiana, located far from the South.[52] This shows that the Daughters' influence was not isolated in former Confederate states. This is displayed on various occasions by monuments in border states and even Northern states, and it is further reflected by Northern newspapers reporting on their movements.

However, the Daughters' power was not entirely full or uncontested. There were various occasions when men attempted to memorialize Southern women, but the women often refused such memorials in fear of being portrayed as weak mothers. Kelly McMichael, whose writing details the UDC's work in Texas, tells that veterans "continued to view women as simply the vessels that produced great manhood rather than recognizing women as agents of their own lives."[53] Although women worked so hard to find authority outside of the household in building Confederate monuments, and although they were often publicly recognized for this work, they were yet to be recognized as full humans.

Today, Americans still do not widely recognize the work of the Daughters that resulted in hundreds of public Confederate monuments. It is even less known as the work of women to exercise social and political power, and hardly acknowledged as women purposefully rewriting history in order to gain such command. Because this history is so often forgotten, generations are enslaved to the lies perpetuated by the UDC and its members. Today, monuments are seen as harmless memorials of brave Southern heroes, memorials which were placed to remember the great sacrifices made by Confederate soldiers. They are often argued to be markers of heritage

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[52] Ibid.

[53] Kelly McMichael, "'Memories Are Short but Monuments Lengthen Remembrances': The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Power of Civil War Memory." *Lone Star Pasts: Memory and History in Texas* 27 (2007): 115.

and history, and many fail to see them as markers of a false history. Tensions flare whenever monuments are suggested to be markers of slavery and wistful reminders of a white supremacist society, thanks in part to the way in which the UDC cemented the “Lost Cause” narrative public memory through the education of Southern children. In turn, monuments continue to tell the UDC’s false narrative of the Civil War – a “Lost Cause” from the beginning, and a Confederacy in support of state’s rights that men fought so valiantly to protect. McMichael tells that the Daughters understood these repercussions, and told and supported this false narrative so fully because they understood that “creating memory – controlling memory – constitutes real societal power.”[54] In creating monuments to the Confederacy, in memorializing the Confederacy it as they saw fit, the UDC constructed a narrative that to this day exonerates the Confederacy and its intentions, and this is the truest marker of the Daughters’ long-lasting power.

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[54] Ibid., 96.