

UNVEILING MEANING: THE PITT COUNTY CONFEDERATE SOLDIER'S MONUMENT
AND LOST CAUSE SENTIMENT

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Abstract- In recent years, the meanings of Confederate monuments have become a topic of public debate. Some argue that Confederate monuments are simply memorials for fallen Confederate soldiers and thus stand as reverent commemorations of Southern ancestors. Others argue that these monuments, produced by a post-war Southern propaganda effort, stand as relics of the Jim Crow era and are thus hateful pieces of cultural geography. This case study of the Pitt County Confederate Soldiers' Monument, which stood in Greenville, NC from 1914 until 2020, attempts to define the meaning of the monument through an analysis of its unveiling ceremony. Sentiments expressed and ritualistic acts performed at unveiling ceremonies can provide evidence of the motives and intentions of the monuments' creators. Through an analysis of the unveiling ceremony, this researcher argues that the Pitt County monument was intended to promote five central tenets of the "Lost Cause" ideology: glorification and romanticization of the Confederacy, white supremacy, male dominance of political and cultural life, preeminence of Southern Christianity, and generational transference of the four previous ideas.

Introduction

On November 13, 1914, a large crowd gathered outside the Pitt County Courthouse in North Carolina to witness the unveiling of the local Confederate monument.¹ Typical of such events, much fanfare surrounded this monument unveiling. The crowd sang songs, watched parades of schoolchildren and Confederate veterans, and listened to numerous speeches.²

Ahead of the massive crowd that formed at the intersection of West 3rd Street and South Evans Street stood eight people.³ Reverend Clifton M. Rock gave the formal invocation.⁴ Former Governor Thomas Jordan Jarvis acted as master of ceremonies. Governor Locke Craig gave the keynote speech. State-Senator-elect Fordyce C. Harding presented the monument on behalf of the George B. Singletary Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. The Honorable Fernando G. James accepted the monument on behalf of Pitt County. John Bryan Grimes, Jr. and Mrs. Clemmie Allen formally unveiled the monument.⁵ Also present was Robert Herring Wright, President of East Carolina Teachers Training School.⁶ Following the ceremony, the UDC held a banquet inside the courthouse, served by UDC members and young ladies from the training school.⁷

¹ Frank Smethurst, "Pitt Does Honor to South's Heroes," *The News and Observer*, November 14, 1914.

² "Memorable Day for Pitt County People," *The Morning Star*, November 14, 1914.

³ "Pitt County Confederate Soldiers Monument, Greenville," *Commemorative Landscapes of North Carolina*, DocSouth, accessed October 15, 2021, <https://docsouth.unc.edu/commland/monument/382/>.

⁴ "We Hate War but Love the Warrior: Governor Craig Delivers the Address of Unveiling," *The Carolina Home and Farm and the Eastern Reflector*, November 20, 1914.

⁵ "Unveiling Pitt Monument Made Notable Occasion," *Charlotte Daily Observer*, November 14, 1914.

⁶ "Governor Craig is to Speak at Unveiling," *The Carolina Home and Farm and the Eastern Reflector*, November 6, 1914.

⁷ "Monument to Pitt's Confederate Dead is Formally Unveiled," *Greensboro Daily News*, November 14, 1914; "We Hate War but Love the Warrior," *The Carolina Home and Farm and the Eastern Reflector*.

In recent years, monuments like the Pitt County Confederate Soldiers Monument have been the topic of heated debates. These debates have occurred in periodic waves. The Pitt County monument first experienced such public controversy in 2006, and then in 2015, 2017, and finally 2020, when the county Board of Commissioners voted to remove the monument from the courthouse grounds.⁸ These debates have typically centered around the question of whether these monuments stand as reverent commemorations of fallen Confederate soldiers or as propaganda relics of the Jim Crow era.⁹ In other words, scholars, politicians, and the general public have called into question the meaning of individual monuments and whether they have a legitimate role to play in American cultural geography.¹⁰

This paper seeks to provide one model for answering this question by using a case study of the unveiling ceremony of the Pitt County Confederate Soldiers' Monument. Through an analysis of the unveiling ceremony, this paper argues that the meaning of the Pitt County monument was to support the central tenets of the Lost Cause ideology: the romanticization and glorification of the Confederacy, white supremacy, male dominance, the preeminence of Southern Christianity, and the generational transference of these ideas.

⁸ "Group Wants Confederate Monument Removed From Pitt Courthouse," *WRAL*, February 23, 2006, <https://www.wral.com/news/local/story/154814/>; "Pitt County Confederate Soldiers Monument, Greenville," *Commemorative Landscapes of North Carolina*, DocSouth, accessed October 15, 2021, <https://docsouth.unc.edu/commland/monument/382/>; "NC County Removes Confederate Monument Outside Of Courthouse," *WSPA*, June 22, 2020, <https://www.wspa.com/news/state-news/nc-county-removes-confederate-monument-outside-of-courthouse/>.

⁹ "Whose Heritage? Public Symbols of the Confederacy," *Southern Poverty Law Center*, SPLC, accessed October 15, 2021, <https://www.splcenter.org/20190201/whose-heritage-public-symbols-confederacy>.

¹⁰ Benjamin Forest and Juliet Johnson, "Confederate Monuments and the Problem of Forgetting," *Cultural Geographies* 26, no. 1 (2018): 127-131, <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/1474474018796653>.

Literature Review

Academic curiosity surrounding the Lost Cause and Confederate monuments has existed since the 1970s. Since that time, academics have consistently linked Confederate monuments to the Lost Cause tradition. John A. Simpson's article "The Cult of the 'Lost Cause,'" published in the *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* in 1975, highlighted the efforts of the United Confederate Veterans Association (UCV) in organizing Civil War veterans' reunions and in building Confederate monuments. Simpson argued that the control of the Lost Cause shifted to the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) in 1899, as the members of the UCV recognized their ineffectiveness in financing the proposed Davis Monument in Richmond and transferred responsibility for the monument to its daughter organization. The UDC, Simpson argued, became the hegemonic organization within the Lost Cause tradition.¹¹ However, Simpson's thesis was incomplete, as it presupposed that the origin of the Lost Cause lay within the UCV, and not within the Ladies' Memorial Associations (LMAs) that organized in the South during the 1860s and 1870s.

Gaines M. Foster's *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South* and Caroline Janney's *Burying the Dead but not the Past: Ladies' Memorial Associations and the Lost Cause*, published in 1987 and 2008, respectively, did not include the presumption found in Simpson's article. Foster identified the role of the LMAs in the formation of the Lost Cause.¹² Furthermore, Janney argued that the memorialization efforts of the LMAs set the groundwork for the UDC to succeed

¹¹ John A. Simpson, "The Cult of the 'Lost Cause,'" *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 34, no. 4 (1975): 356, <https://www.proquest.com/docview/1309994217>.

¹² Gaines M. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 38-45.

the associations in monument building.¹³ However, the work of the UDC would be less of memorialization and more of vindication of the Confederacy.

Karen L. Cox identified the vindication efforts of the UDC in *Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture*, published in 2003. Cox analyzed the importance of gender in the organization of the Lost Cause. Cox argued that the male efforts of the UCV toward Confederate memorialization in the 1890s largely failed and that elite Southern women, such as those who formed the LMAs twenty to thirty years earlier, were in a position to succeed where the UCV could not. The UDC, particularly the second generation of Daughters – the granddaughters of the Confederacy – were successful in vindicating Confederate history by way of erecting monuments.¹⁴ Additionally, Thomas J. Brown, in his 2019 book *Civil War Monuments and the Militarization of America*, argued that in erecting these monuments, Lost Cause organizations, like the UCV and UDC, retained, yet later significantly altered, certain pre-war Southern ideals. Brown particularly examines the shift from pre-war Southern reservations regarding martial institutions to the glorification of Confederate soldiers as models of citizenship under the second generation of the UDC.¹⁵

Public debates over Confederate monuments resurfaced after the 2015 shooting at the Emanuel AME Church in Charleston, South Carolina and the 2017 white supremacist

¹³ Caroline Janney, *Burying the Dead but not the Past: Ladies' Memorial Associations and the Lost Cause* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 1-14.

¹⁴ Karen L. Cox, *Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2003), 1-7.

¹⁵ Thomas J. Brown, *Civil War Monuments and the Militarization of America* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2019), 2.

“Unite the Right” rally in Charlottesville, Virginia.¹⁶ Since 2017, academic scholarship has attempted to answer the question of Confederate monument meaning.

Heather A. O’Connell’s and Danequa Forrest’s 2020 article, “Confederate Monument Inscriptions: Different Times, Different Places, Different Messages,” analyzed Confederate monument inscriptions and found that fifty-nine percent of all Confederate monuments included inscriptions that were Lost Cause in nature, those that included language that glorified the Confederacy or Confederate veterans. O’Connell and Forrest’s research also found that nearly seventy percent of Confederate monuments built between 1890 and 1915 included Lost Cause inscriptions.¹⁷ These monuments have existed as both explicit and implicit pieces of Lost Cause propaganda in the post-Antebellum American South.

Joy M. Giguere’s 2019 article “The (Im)Movable Monument: Identity, Space, and The Louisville Confederate Monument,” published in *The Public Historian*, analyzed the Louisville Confederate Monument’s messages of Lost Cause ideology and the monuments relationship with “urban development, public history, and public memory.”¹⁸ Giguere studied the Louisville Monument as a standard of all Confederate monuments

¹⁶ Katie Rogers, “Charleston Shooting Reignites Debate About Confederate Flag,” *The New York Times*, June 19, 2015, <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/06/20/us/charleston-shooting-reignites-debate-about-confederate-flag.html>; Colin Dwyer, “Charlottesville Rally Aimed to Defend a Confederate Statue. It May Have Doomed Others,” *NPR*, August 14, 2017, <https://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2017/08/14/543471538/charlottesville-rally-aimed-to-defend-a-confederate-statue-it-may-have-doomed-ot>; There are numerous statistics that support this claim, but a simple analysis of Google searches of the term “Confederate Monuments” reveals a minor spike immediately following the 2015 shooting and a major spike following the 2017 rally.

¹⁷ Heather A. O’Connell and Danequa Forrest, “Confederate Monument Inscriptions: Different Times, Different Places, Different Messages,” *Du Bois Review* 17, no. 1 (2020): 95, <https://www.proquest.com/docview/2577679899>.

¹⁸ Joy M. Giguere, “The (Im)Movable Monument: Identity, Space, and The Louisville Confederate Monument,” *The Public Historian* 41, no. 4 (2019): 56, <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/744233>.

and found that these monuments both “reflect the values of the people who erected them, [and] shape and are shaped by their environments.”¹⁹

Gene Klein elaborated upon Giguere’s notion in his 2021 article, “Confederate Monuments and their Impact on the Collective Memory of the South and North,” published in *Southeastern Geographer*. Klein cited the work of Buffington and Waldner in asserting that “a monument’s meaning is a complex integration of narratives from three separate periods: the present, the time the monument was created, and the time to which the monument refers.”²⁰ The time to which the monument refers has been extensively researched, and the facts and moods of the present lies outside the study of history. Thus, “the time the monument was created” remains as the only available avenue for definitive research into the meaning of Confederate monuments.

With a case study into the Pitt County Confederate Soldiers’ Monument, the present study seeks to analyze “the time the monument was created.” Speeches given and ritualistic acts performed at formal unveiling ceremonies reflect the intended meanings of monuments in the same way that obituaries and speeches given at funerals reflect the perceived legacy of deceased persons.²¹ Therefore, researchers can use clues from unveiling ceremonies to interpret the meaning of Confederate monuments. This paper will identify the organizers responsible for the monument and examine the Pitt County monument’s unveiling ceremony. Through this analysis, the Pitt County monument’s meaning, and thus the meanings of all Confederate monuments, will be better understood,

¹⁹ Giguere, “The (Im)Movable Monument,” 56.

²⁰ Gene Klein, “Confederate Monuments and their Impact on the Collective Memory of the South and the North,” *Southeastern Geographer* 61, no. 3 (2021): 243, <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/800909/>.

²¹ Cox, *Dixie’s Daughters*, 61-67.

to the extent that the Pitt County monument is representative of all Confederate monuments.

The Lost Cause and the Monument Movement

The “Lost Cause” narrative of American history and its subsequent ideology manifested in the post-war writings of Edward A. Pollard. His books include *The Lost Cause* and *The Lost Cause Regained*. Functioning as a two-volume set, these two works expounded upon Pollard’s thoughts regarding the Civil War, Reconstruction, and the nature of black equality in the United States.²² Released in 1866 and 1868, respectively, Pollard’s works were seminal pieces of post-war Southern political literature. Pollard attempted to reframe the nature of the former Confederacy by contending that it had not formed solely out of a desire to preserve slavery and that the Civil War had been a War of Northern Aggression.²³ Additionally, Pollard insisted that black equality was a detriment to all of white America, as the former slaves were inherently inferior.²⁴ Though most academic and non-academic historians have debunked Pollard’s work as historical analysis, Pollard’s works do remain worth studying as integral pieces of ideology for the socio-political movement that became popular among former Confederates following the end of the Civil War in 1865: the Lost Cause.²⁵

²² Edward A. Pollard, *The Lost Cause Regained* (New York: G.W. Carleton & co., 1868), 7-11.

²³ Pollard, *The Lost Cause Regained*, 13; Edward A. Pollard, *The Lost Cause: A New Southern History of the War of the Confederates* (New York: E.B. Treat & co., 1866), 121.

²⁴ Pollard, *The Lost Cause Regained*, 118-128.

²⁵ New Publications,” review of *The Lost Cause Regained*, by Edward A. Pollard, *New York Times*, August 31, 1868; Jon Meacham, “The South’s Fight for White Supremacy,” review of *The Lost Cause Regained*, by Edward A. Pollard, *New York Times*, September 2020.

Particularly after the fall of Reconstruction in 1877, many former Confederates began to search for rationalization as to why the South had lost the war.²⁶ From this emerged what John A. Simpson called the “Cult of the Lost Cause.”²⁷ This movement, following the writings of Pollard, Alexander Stevens, and others, insisted that the South had not lost; the war had merely evolved from battlefields and bloodshed to textbooks and ideology.²⁸ This perceived transformation of the war coincided with the creation of many Confederate veterans associations in the South following the fall of Radical Reconstruction in 1877.²⁹ These associations came together in 1889 to form the United Confederate Veterans Association (UCV), an organization dedicated both to the mutual aid of Confederate veterans and to the Lost Cause movement.³⁰ Beginning in 1889, the UCV served as the dominant organization among the supporters of the Lost Cause, but because the UCV was limited to veterans who were generally aging out of the political arena, the UCV gave way in 1899 to an organization generationally removed from the former Confederacy but that still maintained a reverent connection to it, the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC).³¹

²⁶ Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy*, 22-35.

²⁷ Simpson, “The Cult of the ‘Lost Cause,’” 350.

²⁸ Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy*, 49-50; Mildred Lewis Rutherford, “A Measuring Rod to Test Text Books, and Reference Books in Schools, Colleges and Libraries,” United Confederate Veterans, *Internet Archive*, accessed December 28, 2021, <https://archive.org/details/measuringrod00ruth/page/n3/mode/2up>, 4; Pollard, *The Lost Cause Regained*, 7-11; Terry A. Barnhart, “Apostles of the Lost Cause: The Albert Taylor Bledsoe - Alexander Hamilton Stephens Controversy,” *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 96, no. 4 (2012): 373, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43855868>.

²⁹ Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy*, 104-105.

³⁰ *Constitution and By-Laws of the United Confederate Veterans*, Internet Archive, Third Annual Meeting of the Organization, New Orleans: United Confederate Veterans Association, 1892 (accessed December 27, 2021), 1, <https://archive.org/details/ConstitutionAndBy-lawsOfTheUnitedConfederateVeterans/page/n1/mode/2up>.

³¹ Simpson, “The Cult of the ‘Lost Cause,’” 351-356.

The UDC officially formed as the “National Association of the Daughters of the Confederacy” in 1894 in Nashville, Tennessee. It formed out of two prototype organizations: the Daughters of the Confederacy in Missouri and the Ladies’ Auxiliary of the Confederate Soldier’s Home in Nashville. The organization took on the name “United Daughters of the Confederacy” the following year.³² Mirroring the Suffrage Movement in the North, the UDC formed out of a general desire among elite Southern women to engage in public life.³³ Elite Southern women, historically relegated to domestic life, engaged in conservative community service because it served as a gateway to power in the South. The UDC attracted thousands of members and had rapid growth in its first few years.³⁴ The UDC proved itself so effective in promulgating the Lost Cause that by 1899 the UDC had replaced the UCV as the dominant organization promoting the ideology of the Lost Cause.³⁵

This ideology included five central tenets. The first among these was to romanticize and distort the history of the Confederacy as an institution of states’ rights, rather than an institution of slavery.³⁶ Second, the Lost Cause embraced the ideals of white supremacy. As Rollin Osterweis argued, to maintain the Southern political-economic system, there was a general “willingness” to “help keep Blacks in practical if not legal bondage.”³⁷ Third among these tenets was male dominance of political and cultural life. The establishment of the UDC and the prominence of elite Southern women

³² “History of the UDC,” United Daughters of the Confederacy, accessed December 27, 2021, <https://hqdc.org/history-of-the-united-daughters-of-the-confederacy/>.

³³ Cox, *Dixie’s Daughters*, 28.

³⁴ Cox, *Dixie’s Daughters*, 28-30.

³⁵ Cox, *Dixie’s Daughters*, 1-6; Simpson, “The Cult of the ‘Lost Cause,’” 356.

³⁶ Justin B. Mullis, “The Cult of the Lost Cause: Historical Negationism and Confederate Monuments in the United States of America,” *The Lookout* 10, no. 1 (Fall 2021): 53-63.

³⁷ Rollin G. Osterweis, *The Myth of the Lost Cause: 1865-1900* (Hamden, CN: The Shoe String Press, Inc., 1973), 6.

in political served as a definite sign of the advancement of women in the South, but, as argued by Foster, overtures of the Lost Cause maintained the Old South ideal of a male-dominated society, even if superficially.³⁸ Fourth, the Lost Cause supported the preeminence of Southern Christianity. White supremacists and the Lost Cause both supported and received support from Southern evangelical protestant churches.³⁹ Finally, the Lost Cause ideology encouraged the teaching of the previous four ideas to children ensure that subsequent generations of Southerners maintained the Lost Cause narrative of history.⁴⁰

The Lost Cause did not form for momentary political gain. The methods pursued by the promoters of the Lost Cause sought to permanently shift American collective memory. They instilled its ideology into the minds of American children with school textbooks and then fostered it throughout their adolescent and adult lives through textual and physical manifestations of that ideology.⁴¹

From its inception, the Lost Cause movement recognized the power of literature. It borrowed its very name from the titles of two books. For the Lost Cause movement, literature provided the first avenue for success. Through Pollard's *The Lost Cause*, S.A. Cunningham's magazine *The Confederate Veteran*, and numerous similar works, the supporters of the Lost Cause sought to normalize both its narrative of history and its ideology.⁴²

³⁸ Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy*, 30-33.

³⁹ Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy*, 122.

⁴⁰ Klein, "Confederate Monuments and their Impact on the Collective Memory of the South and the North," 246-248.

⁴¹ Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy*, 115-117 and 127.

⁴² Beginning in the early-twentieth century, this normalization also existed in the new artform of film. Thomas Dixon, Jr., first a Lost Cause author of *The Clansman*, also helped create the now infamous film *The Birth of a Nation*.

Following this popular normalization of the Lost Cause, the UCV and UDC set their sights on the seminal academic genre of literature: textbooks. In 1919, the UCV resolved to convene a special committee to “disseminate the truths of Confederate history.” This committee, consisting of both members from the UCV and the Sons of Confederate Veterans Association (SCV), considered and approved the work of Mildred Lewis Rutherford, the Historian of the UDC, entitled, “A Measuring Rod to Test Text Books, and Reference Books in Schools, Colleges and Libraries.”⁴³ This “measuring rod” set standards for approval for textbooks regarding the textbooks’ “full justice to the South.”⁴⁴ The “truths” included in this piece include the minimalization of slavery as a direct cause of the war, the benevolence of the institution of slavery, and the aggression of the North in 1861.⁴⁵ As seen by the effort to which UDC and UCV went to in order to effectively change historical literature in the South, literature was everything to the Lost Cause movement.

Alongside the effort to change Civil War interpretations in school textbooks, the Lost Cause movement also sought to erect physical manifestations of their ideology in the cultural geography of the South.⁴⁶ The first monuments to Confederate dead were erected in the 1860s and 1870s, mostly by organizations known as “Ladies’ Memorial Associations” (LMAs). These associations, made up of elite Southern women, built monuments in cemeteries to accompany efforts to locate Confederate dead from the

⁴³ Rutherford, “A Measuring Rod to Test Text Books, and Reference Books in Schools, Colleges and Libraries,” 2-3.

⁴⁴ Rutherford, “A Measuring Rod to Test Text Books, and Reference Books in Schools, Colleges and Libraries,” 3.

⁴⁵ Rutherford, “A Measuring Rod to Test Text Books, and Reference Books in Schools, Colleges and Libraries,” 4.

⁴⁶ O’Connell and Forrest, “Confederate Monument Inscriptions,” 81-83.

battlefields and rebury them in their hometowns.⁴⁷ These monuments, categorized by O'Connell and Forrest as "dead" monuments were more likely to have been erected out of genuine grief than later monuments, given their temporal proximity to the war and the specific language used in their inscriptions.⁴⁸ Listed in O'Connell's and Forrest's work was the Okolona, Missouri monument inscription:

Love's tribute to a thousand Southern soldiers who sleep in our Confederate Cemetery who died in the war 1861-1865. Our Confederate Dead.⁴⁹

As denoted by O'Connell and Forrest, the LMAs erected this kind of monument to evoke a simple, explicit intention: grief.⁵⁰ Earlier monuments, particularly those built before the 1890s and under the supervision of various Ladies' Memorial Associations (LMAs), have better claims to have been erected out of genuine desire for memorialization than their later counterparts.⁵¹ However, the LMAs quickly faded out of existence, and with them their grief. As the war faded farther into history, the monument movement skewed farther away from grief and took on a new tone: vindication.⁵²

Between 1880 and 1890, LMAs began fading out of the monument movement, and strikingly different organizations began filling the vacuum left in the LMAs' wakes.⁵³ Notably in the 1890s, the UCV began pushing for the erection of monuments in the South but with a different tone. Unlike the monuments of the LMAs, these new monuments were not motivated entirely by memorialization, rather by glorification and

⁴⁷ Janney, *Burying the Dead but not the Past*, 38-45.

⁴⁸ O'Connell and Forrest, "Confederate Monument Inscriptions," 88-91.

⁴⁹ O'Connell and Forrest, "Confederate Monument Inscriptions," 91.

⁵⁰ Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy*, 38; O'Connell and Forrest, "Confederate Monument Inscriptions," 91.

⁵¹ O'Connell and Forrest, "Confederate Monument Inscriptions," 91-95; Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy*, 39-40; Janney, *Burying the Dead but not the Past*, 31-37.

⁵² Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 37-39.

⁵³ Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 30; Janney, *Burying the Dead but not the Past*, 3.

vindication.⁵⁴ These ideologically motivated monuments would come to dominate the monument movement because of the efforts of both the UCV and the UDC.⁵⁵

The UCV briefly dominated the monument movement in the 1890s and began designing grand monuments to the former Confederacy and its leaders reflecting this new, vindicative tone.⁵⁶ Around this time, monument inscriptions began to shift toward vindication and glorification of the former Confederacy.⁵⁷ O'Connell and Forrest also provide an example of a "Lost Cause" inscription, taken from the monument in Milledgeville, Georgia:

This tribute to the memory of the Confederate soldier, unveiled April 26, 1912...His heroism in the presence of the conquering foe was equaled only by his generosity to his fallen enemy...To the memory of the Confederate soldier whose name is as imperishable as the everlasting hills; whose courage is as unrivaled since the dawn of civilization; whose name shines in undying glory in the pages of history; this monument is lovingly erected by the Robert E. Lee Chapter Daughters of the Confederacy of Milledgeville, Georgia...His unconquerable patriotism and self-sacrifice rendered abortive the effort of his enemies, after his flag had folded forever, to destroy his proud inheritance.⁵⁸

By the 1890s, the monument movement's efforts had been assimilated into the efforts of the supporters of the Lost Cause, as ideology had overridden desire for memorialization.⁵⁹ As exemplified by the contrasting language between the first and second inscriptions, monuments erected after 1890 retained the previous elements of interment but included a new element of glorification through language like "heroism," "generosity," and "imperishable."⁶⁰

⁵⁴ O'Connell and Forrest, "Confederate Monument Inscriptions," 91-95.

⁵⁵ O'Connell and Forrest, "Confederate Monument Inscriptions," 88-91.

⁵⁶ Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 49; Simpson, "The Cult of the Lost Cause," 355.

⁵⁷ O'Connell and Forrest, "Confederate Monument Inscriptions," 95.

⁵⁸ O'Connell and Forrest, "Confederate Monument Inscriptions," 89.

⁵⁹ Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 49.

⁶⁰ O'Connell and Forrest, "Confederate Monument Inscriptions," 89.

The effect of the UCV's brief stint as the dominant organization of the monument movement was to imbue the movement with Lost Cause ideology. However, the UCV failed to become effective fundraisers for many of their monuments, namely the Davis Monument in Richmond, Virginia. Having failed to meet their budgetary goal, in 1899 the UCV officially transferred responsibility for the Davis Monument to the UDC.⁶¹ With that transfer of responsibility, the UDC became the dominant organization of the monument movement.

The UDC, having existed for only five years in 1899, followed the precedents of both the LMAs and the UCV in leading the monument movement. Like the LMAs, the UDC's ranks consisted of elite Southern women, and like the UCV, the UDC maintained the ideological aspect with their monuments.⁶² The UDC quickly outpaced their predecessor with the Davis Monument. Between 1891 and 1896, the UCV had only raised \$16,000, but between 1899 and 1903 the UDC had raised that total to more than \$62,000.⁶³ Indeed, the UDC proved themselves capable monument organizers. Between 1890 and 1915, during which the second generation of the UDC reigned as dominant, 421 monuments to the Confederacy were erected in the South, 294 of which bolstered Lost Cause ideology.⁶⁴

The monument movement began with Ladies' Memorial Associations searching Civil War battlefields for dead Confederates to rebury them in their hometowns. With these reburials, LMAs also erected many cemetery, or "dead," monuments to denote

⁶¹ Donald E. Collins, *The Death and Resurrection of Jefferson Davis* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2005): 135-149.

⁶² Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 60-61.

⁶³ Simpson, "The Cult of the Lost Cause," 356.

⁶⁴ O'Connell and Forrest, "Confederate Monument Inscriptions," 95.

more genuine grief for the loss of beloved members of Southern communities.⁶⁵ The monument movement shifted from memorialization to glorification and vindication in the 1880s, as the United Confederate Veterans' Association took charge of the movement and imbued many monuments with the ideology of the Lost Cause.⁶⁶ In 1899, the United Daughters of the Confederacy took over where the UCV left off and were successful in fundraising where the UCV was not.⁶⁷ UDC monuments, like the monument erected in Pitt County, were often erected as part of an effort to vindicate and glorify the Confederacy and to promote the ideology of the Lost Cause.⁶⁸

Unveiling the Meaning of the Pitt County Monument

The George B. Singletary chapter of the UDC handled the fundraising and organization of the Pitt County monument, and in order to begin to understand the monument and its meaning, one must first understand the women responsible for it. Though records of the monument organization no longer exist, records of the UDC North Carolina Convention indicate that the officers of the Singletary chapter in 1914 were as follows:

President: Mary W. Jarvis.⁶⁹
 Vice-President: Annie B. Harding.
 Secretary: Lillie H. Wooten.
 Treasurer: Mollie A. Cobb.
 Historian: Mary T. Little.⁷⁰

⁶⁵ Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 2; O'Connell and Forrest, "Confederate Monument Inscriptions," 90-91.

⁶⁶ Simpson, "The Cult of the Lost Cause," 353-355.

⁶⁷ Simpson, "The Cult of the Lost Cause," 356.

⁶⁸ Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 49; O'Connell and Forrest, "Confederate Monument Inscriptions," 88-95.

⁶⁹ For clarity, Mary Jarvis will henceforth be referred to as "Mrs. Jarvis."

⁷⁰ *Minutes of the Eighteenth Annual Convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, North Carolina Division*, Internet Archive, Raleigh, NC: United Daughters of the Confederacy, North Carolina Division, 1914 (accessed March 1, 2022), 136, <https://archive.org/details/minutesofannu1917unit>; June Dunn Parker, "Thomas Jordan Jarvis," in *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography* vol. 3, ed. William S. Powell (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988), xx; *Chronicles of Pitt County*, ed.

The elite statuses of each of these women conform to both Janney's and Cox's understanding of Confederate monument builders in the South. These women were born into regionally prestigious families and married into other prestigious families in Eastern North Carolina.⁷¹ Of these women, the most available resources pertain to Mary Woodson Jarvis.

Mary Jarvis, born into the Woodson family of Goochland, Virginia, married Thomas Jordan Jarvis, former Speaker of the North Carolina House of Representatives and later lieutenant-governor and governor of the state, in 1874.⁷² During their marriage, Mary Jarvis became a well-known member of the North Carolina Division of the UDC and a prominent writer in North Carolina. Her most notable pieces included her two treatises pertaining to the "Ku-Klux Klans [*sic*]."

Within these two pieces, Mrs. Jarvis venerated and glorified the white supremacist organization and their usage of terror to combat "negro rule" in North Carolina, while also demonizing the actions of other militants in American history, specifically the historical abolitionist John Brown.⁷³ These works received massive

Elizabeth H. Copeland, vol.1 (Winston-Salem, NC: Hunter Publishing Company, 1982), 359; Copeland, *Chronicles of Pitt County*, 749; Henry T. King, *Sketches of Pitt County: A Brief History of the County, 1704-1910* (Raleigh, NC: Edwards & Broughton Printing Company, 1911), 240-241; Daniel Lindsey Grant, *Alumni History of the University of North Carolina*, 2nd ed. (Durham, NC: Christian & King Printing Company, 1924), 369 These names were compiled through multi-source referencing. The actual signed names in the convention documents were "Mrs. T. J. Jarvis," "Mrs. F. C. Harding," "Mrs. J. L. Wooten," "Mrs. R. J. Cobb," and "Mrs. J. L. Little." This was done in compliance with the contemporary practice of signing a wife's name as her husband's, only preceded by "Mrs." This clerical factor also contributed to the lack of source availability on these women, as alluded to in the succeeding paragraph.

⁷¹ W. Buck Yearns, "Biography of Thomas Jordan Jarvis," in *The Papers of Thomas Jordan Jarvis*, ed. W. Buck Yearns (Raleigh, NC: State Department of Archives and History, 1969), xx; Given as an example, Mrs. Jarvis was born into the Woodson family of Virginia and was the daughter of Judge John Woodson.

⁷² Parker, "Thomas Jordan Jarvis," 274.

⁷³ Mrs. T. J. Jarvis, "The Conditions that Led to the Ku-Klux Klans," in *The North Carolina Booklet*, vol. 1, ed. Miss Martha Helen Haywood and Mrs. Hubert Haywood (Raleigh, NC: Capital Printing Company, 1902), no. 12; Mrs. T. J. Jarvis, "The Ku-Klux Klans," in *The North Carolina Booklet*, vol. 2, ed. Mrs. T. J. Jarvis (Raleigh, NC: Capital Printing Company, 1902), no. 1.

acclaim between 1902 and 1904, but Jarvis' venture into the Lost Cause began even earlier, as she organized the Singletary chapter of the UDC in Greenville in 1899.⁷⁴

Mrs. Jarvis, who had previously served as the President of the Ladies' Memorial Association of Beaufort County, served as the only president of the Singletary chapter from 1899 until its failure to meet membership dues in 1916.⁷⁵ Given her active organizational role in the North Carolina division and the broader UDC, her previous service in monument building, and her presidency of the Singletary chapter, it is highly likely that Jarvis took a personal stake in the organization of the Pitt County Confederate Soldiers' Monument.

It is highly likely that each of these women, Mrs. Jarvis, Mrs. Harding, Mrs. Wooten, Mrs. Cobb, and Mrs. Little, took personal responsibility for the monument, given that F. C. Harding presented this monument to Pitt County "on behalf of" the Singletary chapter.⁷⁶ Despite their responsibility for the monument, none of these women left any record of participating in the planning of the unveiling ceremony, nor did any of them serve in an active role during the ceremony.

In the November 6, 1914 edition of *The Carolina Home and Farm and the Eastern Reflector*, the announcement of the committee to plan the ceremony included the initials of Thomas Jordan Jarvis, Fernando G. James, Fordyce C. Harding, and Robert H.

⁷⁴ *Minutes of the Third Annual Meeting of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, North Carolina Division*, Internet Archive, Henderson, NC: United Daughters of the Confederacy, North Carolina Division, 1899 (accessed February 7, 2022), 8, <https://archive.org/details/minutesofannualc00unit/page/n1>.

⁷⁵ *Minutes of the Twentieth Annual Convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, North Carolina Division*, Internet Archive, Gastonia, NC: United Daughters of the Confederacy, North Carolina Division, 1916 (March 2, 2022), 12, <https://archive.org/details/minutesofannu1917unit/page/12/>; the chapter was revived in the 1920s by one Loula White Fleming. The Singletary chapter survives to this day, under its President Angie Reid.

⁷⁶ "Monument to Pitt's Confederate Dead is Formally Unveiled," *Greensboro Daily News*; "Memorable Day for Pitt County People," *The Morning Star*.

Wright, the president of East Carolina Teachers Training School.⁷⁷ In the November 12 edition of *The Carolina Home and Farm*, this committee announced the order of events for the ceremony.⁷⁸ They were as follows:

Call to Order by Governor Thomas J. Jarvis
 Prayer by Reverend Clifton Moore Rock
 Music
 Monument Presentation by the Honorable Fordyce C. Harding
 Monument Acceptance by the Honorable Fernando Godfrey James
 Music
 Keynote Address by Governor Locke Craig
 Music
 Unveiling by “Aunt” Clemmie Allen and John Bryan Grimes, Jr.
 The Doxology
 The Benediction by Reverend Clifton Moore Rock

Notable of this speaking order were the names Thomas Jarvis and Fordyce Harding. As one may suspect, Gov. Jarvis and Hon. Harding were the husbands of the president and vice-president of the Singletary chapter. Though neither Thomas J. Jarvis nor Fordyce C. Harding engaged in the organization and fundraising for the monument, they took on the public roles of calling the assemblage to order and presenting the monument *on behalf of* the women. This fact serves as an example of the superficial adherence of the UDC members to the Lost Cause tenet of male dominance of political and cultural life.⁷⁹ Though the women of the Singletary chapter had conducted all the important and practical work to organize the creation of the monument, they also relegated themselves to more silent and visually submissive roles at the ceremony in order to maintain the image of a male-dominated society in the South.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ “Governor Craig is to Speak at Unveiling,” *The Carolina Home and Farm and The Eastern Reflector*.

⁷⁸ “Arrangements [sic] Completed for Unveiling the Monument Friday,” *The Carolina Home and Farm and The Eastern Reflector*, November 13, 1914.

⁷⁹ Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy*, 30-33.

⁸⁰ “We Hate War But Love The Warrior,” *The Carolina Home and Farm and The Eastern Reflector*.

Thomas J. Jarvis called the assemblage to order at 11:10 am on November 13, 1914. Ten minutes behind schedule, Jarvis silenced the crowd to first give a few words about the ongoing war in Europe. Jarvis called upon the crowd to “lift up their prayers” for the end of violence between the Allies and the Central Powers. Then, after Jarvis invited the chaplain to speak, Rev. Clifton M. Rock invoked God’s blessing upon the people present at the Pitt County Courthouse.⁸¹ At a government-sponsored event and on government property, these two men, Gov. Jarvis and Rev. Rock, imbued the idea of Southern Christian preeminence into the events of the day.

Themes of God’s blessing and Southern Christianity were persistent throughout the events of the ceremony. The committee to design the events of the day even designed the ceremony as if it were liturgy, as the ceremony alternated between prayers, music, speeches, and ritualistic acts in order to convey the importance of the ceremony to the spectator.⁸² Speeches of the day invoked the name of God repeatedly, as if to imply that ceremony included a degree of divine inspiration. The inclusion of ritualistic Christian acts, such as the singing of the Doxology, suggest that the organizers of the ceremony intended for the audience to understand the new monument as a gift from God. The singing of the Doxology was particularly poignant, as it was typically sung at the presentation of sacraments, such as holy baptism or the Eucharist.⁸³ The consistency of these allusions to Christian figures suggests the thematic inclusion of the Lost Cause tenet of the preeminence of Southern Christianity.

⁸¹ “We Hate War But Love The Warrior,” *The Carolina Home and Farm and The Eastern Reflector*.

⁸² “Arrangements [*sic*] Completed for Unveiling the Monument Friday,” *The Carolina Home and Farm and The Eastern Reflector*.

⁸³ “Doxology,” *An Episcopal Dictionary of the Church*, the Episcopal Church, accessed February 23, 2022, <https://www.episcopalchurch.org/glossary/doxology/>.

Following the official invocation of the ceremony, Hon. Harding rose to present the monument to the county. According to newspaper accounts, Hon. Harding spoke of “the valor of the Confederate Soldier [*sic*] and the constancy and loyalty of the Confederate women.”⁸⁴ As previously noted, the usage of terms like “valor,” “constancy,” and “loyalty” marked the typical rhetoric of the Lost Cause in reference to Confederate soldiers and citizens. This rhetoric consistently distorted and romanticized the history of the Confederacy.⁸⁵

Other speakers at the ceremony maintained this theme of distortion and romanticization of the Confederacy throughout the ceremony. Gov. Craig’s speech, which followed Hon. Harding’s presentation of the monument and Hon. James’ acceptance of it, emphasized his belief that Pitt County, and the rest of the county, should “love the warrior” but “hate the war,” as if the mission of Confederate soldiers could be separated from the mission of the Confederacy, the preservation of slavery.⁸⁶ Additionally, Craig’s call to “love the warrior” played into the UDC’s efforts to glorify the Confederacy by portraying its soldiers as chivalric knights and ultimate models of citizenship.⁸⁷

The inclusion of Craig as keynote speaker was major news for the contemporary audience, but it also sets important implications for the present case study. Public events, and particularly monument unveilings, have both explicit and implicit messages that are conveyed through the presence of certain speakers. As noted above, Mrs. Jarvis wrote

⁸⁴ “We Hate War But Love The Warrior,” *The Carolina Home and Farm and The Eastern Reflector*.

⁸⁵ O’Connell and Forrest, “Confederate Monument Inscriptions,” 88-89.

⁸⁶ “We Hate War But Love The Warrior,” *The Carolina Home and Farm and The Eastern Reflector*; “Cornerstone Address, March 21, 1861,” *Modern History Sourcebook*, Fordham University, accessed February 23, 2022, <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/mod/1861stephens.asp>.

⁸⁷ Brown, *Civil War Monuments and the Militarization of America*, 64-68.

numerous Lost Cause narratives of history, in which she espoused white supremacist rhetoric in order to defend the KKK. These views did not exist only within Mrs. Jarvis, who relegated herself to a background role at the ceremony. Both Gov. Jarvis and Gov. Craig built their careers on white supremacy and pursued this idea in their work.

Gov. Jarvis worked as a schoolteacher at the outbreak of the Civil War. Almost immediately after the attack on Fort Sumter in 1861, he enlisted into the Confederate army and attained the rank of Captain by 1863. At the Battle of Drewry's Bluff, Jarvis took a bullet in his right arm and never fully recovered.⁸⁸ Following the war, Jarvis, a conservative Democrat, attended the 1865 Constitutional Convention as an elected delegate from Currituck County where he opposed a new constitution, which the electorate later rejected.⁸⁹

Between 1868 and 1872, under a new state constitution, Jarvis served as a member of the North Carolina House of Representatives. Following the Democrat takeover of the General Assembly in 1870, Jarvis, now Speaker of the House, played a prominent role in the impeachment and removal of Governor William Holden, a Republican.⁹⁰

In 1875, the General Assembly, still dominated by conservative Democrats, called for another Constitutional Convention.⁹¹ Jarvis, elected to the Convention to represent Pitt County, commanded the floor and supported many amendments to the state constitution. Most notably, Jarvis supported an amendment that empowered the legislature to appoint justices of the peace and county commissioners, effectively

⁸⁸ Yearn, "Biography of Thomas Jordan Jarvis," xvi-xvii.

⁸⁹ Yearn, "Biography of Thomas Jordan Jarvis," xvii-xviii.

⁹⁰ Yearn, "Biography of Thomas Jordan Jarvis," xix.

⁹¹ Yearn, "Biography of Thomas Jordan Jarvis," xx.

usurping the rights of Black voters to elect their own local governments.⁹² Additionally, Jarvis supported amendments to segregate education in the state and abolish interracial marriage.⁹³ With his role in the 1875 Constitutional Convention, and his later gubernatorial administration, historians credit Jarvis as having helped establish the Jim Crow system in North Carolina.⁹⁴

Gov. Craig also played a role in the establishment of the Jim Crow system in North Carolina and the disenfranchisement of Black North Carolinians. Though twenty-four years younger than Jarvis, Craig also began his career as a teacher after graduating from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in 1880.⁹⁵ The class of 1880 also included Charles Aycock, the later governor of North Carolina.⁹⁶

This connection between Craig and Aycock did not end at Chapel Hill, as both men would gain political prominence in North Carolina during the 1898-1900 “white supremacy” campaigns.⁹⁷ Aycock, believing that Black Americans were political pawns of the Republican Party and advocating their disenfranchisement as a way to restore white rule in North Carolina, was elected governor in 1900 on his platform of white

⁹² *Amendments to the Constitution of North Carolina, Proposed by the Constitutional Convention of 1875, and the Constitution as it Will Read as Proposed to be Amended*, North Carolina Digital Collections, Constitutional Convention of 1875, Raleigh, NC: Josiah Turner, Public Printer and Binder, 1875 (accessed February 22, 2022), 22, <https://digital.ncdcr.gov/digital/collection/p249901coll22/id/417874>.

⁹³ *Amendments to the Constitution of North Carolina, Proposed by the Constitutional Convention of 1875, and the Constitution as it Will Read as Proposed to be Amended*, 22-23 and 26-27.

⁹⁴ Joye E. Jordan, *Thomas Jordan Jarvis* (Raleigh NC: State Department of Archives and History, 1945), 7.

⁹⁵ Artus Moser, “Governor Craig,” in *Memoirs and Speeches of Locke Craig: Governor of North Carolina – 1913-1917, A History – Political and Otherwise*, ed. May F. Jones (Asheville, NC: Hackney & Moale Company, 1923), 12.

⁹⁶ Grant, *Alumni History of the University of North Carolina*, 25 and 138; *The University of North Carolina 2002 Carolina Alumni Directory*, ed. The UNC General Alumni Association, vol. 2, Q-Z (Norfolk, VA: Bernard C. Harris Publishing Company, 2002), 2375.

⁹⁷ May F. Jones and Locke Craig, “Campaign of 1898,” in *Memoirs and Speeches of Locke Craig: Governor of North Carolina – 1913-1917, A History – Political and Otherwise*, ed. May F. Jones (Asheville, NC: Hackney & Moale Company, 1923), 25-31.

supremacy.⁹⁸ Craig, known as the “Aycock in the East,” was elected to the General Assembly in 1898 on a similar platform.⁹⁹

While in the General Assembly, Craig helped design the “grandfather clause,” or the “suffrage amendment” as Democrats called it. This amendment to the North Carolina Constitution established educational requirements to vote, while exempting those requirements for those who had grandparents that were qualified voters. This amendment, passed by the electorate in 1900, allowed for the systematic disenfranchisement of Black North Carolinians.¹⁰⁰

The inclusion of these two men, Jarvis and Craig, in prominent roles during the ceremony suggests acceptance of, if not support for, white supremacist ideals. In addition to this, one must consider the entirety of the unveiling party at the ceremony: Thomas Jarvis, Locke Craig, Fernando James, Fordyce Cunningham, Clifton Rock, Clemmie Allen, and John Bryan Grimes, Jr. Each of these people bore both white skin and a white cause.¹⁰¹

Following Craig’s keynote and some music by the band came the main event of the ceremony: the formal unveiling of the monument.¹⁰² On either side of this tall monument, shrouded by linen to disrupt the audience’s view, stood two people. On one

⁹⁸ “Governor Aycock on ‘The Negro Problem,’” *Anchor: A North Carolina History Online Resource*, NCPedia, accessed February 25, 2022, <https://www.ncpedia.org/anchor/governor-aycock-negro>; “Charles B. Aycock (1859-1912,” *North Carolina History Project*, John Locke Foundation, accessed March 18, 2022, <https://northcarolinahistory.org/encyclopedia/charles-b-aycock-1859-1912/>.

⁹⁹ Locke Craig and May F. Jones, “Campaign Speech on Suffrage Amendment,” in *Memoirs and Speeches of Locke Craig: Governor of North Carolina – 1913-1917, A History – Political and Otherwise*, ed. May F. Jones (Asheville, NC: Hackney & Moale Company, 1923), 32.

¹⁰⁰ “The Suffrage Amendment,” *Anchor: A North Carolina History Online Resource*, NCPedia, accessed February 25, 2022, <https://www.ncpedia.org/anchor/suffrage-amendment>.

¹⁰¹ “We Hate War but Love the Warrior: Governor Craig Delivers the Address of Unveiling,” *The Carolina Home and Farm and the Eastern Reflector*, November 20, 1914.

¹⁰² “Arrangements [sic] Completed for Unveiling the Monument Friday,” *The Carolina Home and Farm and The Eastern Reflector*, November 13, 1914.

side of the monument stood “Aunt” Clemmie Allen. In her late nineties, Mrs. Allen was the last living mother in Pitt County to have given children to the Confederate cause.¹⁰³ On the other side stood John Bryan Grimes, Jr., the young grandson of Major General Bryan Grimes.¹⁰⁴ These two, at the direction of Gov. Jarvis, pulled the linen from the monument to reveal the tall obelisk that would stand in Greenville for one-hundred-and-six years.¹⁰⁵

The inclusion of both Allen and Grimes also had an implicit message: the expectation of younger generations in the South to continue the Lost Cause.¹⁰⁶ Allen, having given children to the war, incarnated the generation that had begun the Confederate cause. Grimes, a young boy at the time, symbolized the upcoming generation that was expected to assume the mantle of the Lost Cause, as they reached maturity. Finally, between them stood the bronze soldier, a memorial to those who had previously taken up the mantle of the cause and had fought and died for it. The present audience explicitly understood this idea of generational transference of the Lost Cause. In *The Carolina Home and Farm* article, T. W. Chambliss spoke of how the inclusion of Allen and Grimes was “touchingly suggestive” and how these two represented four generations of Southerners. Additionally, Craig spoke of how “this day shall remind future generations that wherever armies marched, fought, and fell there were men of Pitt.”¹⁰⁷ For the new generation of Southerners, expectations were high.

¹⁰³ “Unveiling Pitt Monument Made Notable Occasion,” *Charlotte Daily Observer*, November 14, 1914.

¹⁰⁴ “Monument to Pitt’s Confederate Dead is Formally Unveiled,” *Greensboro Daily News*, November 14, 1914.

¹⁰⁵ “Pitt Country Confederate Soldiers’ Monument, Greenville,” *Commemorative Landscapes of North Carolina*, DocSouth, accessed February 25, 2022, <https://docsouth.unc.edu/commland/monument/382/>.

¹⁰⁶ Klein, “Confederate Monuments and their Impact on the Collective Memory of the South and the North,” 246-248.

¹⁰⁷ “We Hate War but Love the Warrior: Governor Craig Delivers the Address of Unveiling,” *The Carolina Home and Farm and the Eastern Reflector*, November 20, 1914.

Following the official unveiling of the monument, the crowd sang the Doxology, and Rev. Moore gave a benediction. After the audience gave thanks to God for their new monument, the ceremony ended at the stroke of noon. A banquet, served by the ladies of the Singletary Chapter of the UDC and students from the Teachers Training School, was held for the veterans of Pitt County.¹⁰⁸

Conclusion

Understanding the meaning of Confederate monuments is a complex issue. Each of the over 800 Confederate monuments in the South has its own unique origins and histories. Some Confederate monuments were erected by LMAs, others by the UCV, and the majority were by the UDC. Just as each of these organizations served different purposes, each Confederate monument served a unique purpose in the localities of the post-war South.

A general answer to the question of monument “meaning” came in the form of Buffington and Waldner’s model for public monument meaning. Buffington and Waldner argued that the meanings of monuments in public spaces are an integration of the time to which the monument refers, the time the monument was erected, and the beliefs of present audiences that look upon the monument on a regular basis. The American Civil War, the time to which the Pitt County Confederate Soldiers’ Monument refers, has been extensively researched by other academics, and the present inherently falls outside the academic field of history. Therefore, the time the Pitt County monument was erected remains as an untapped avenue for historical research.

¹⁰⁸ Frank Smethurst, “Pitt Does Honor to South’s Heroes,” *The News and Observer*, November 14, 1914.

This paper, attempting to tap that avenue of historical research, analyzed newspaper accounts of the unveiling ceremony of the Pitt County monument. These accounts, supplemented by secondary scholarship and biographical information of the historical actors involved, reveal the intended meaning of the Pitt County Confederate Soldiers' Monument.

This monument, born out of the Lost Cause movement of Jim Crow North Carolina, supported five central tenets of the Lost Cause ideology: the glorification and romanticization of the Confederacy, male dominance of political and cultural life in the South, white supremacy, the preeminence of Southern Christianity, and the generational transference of the previous four ideas.

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